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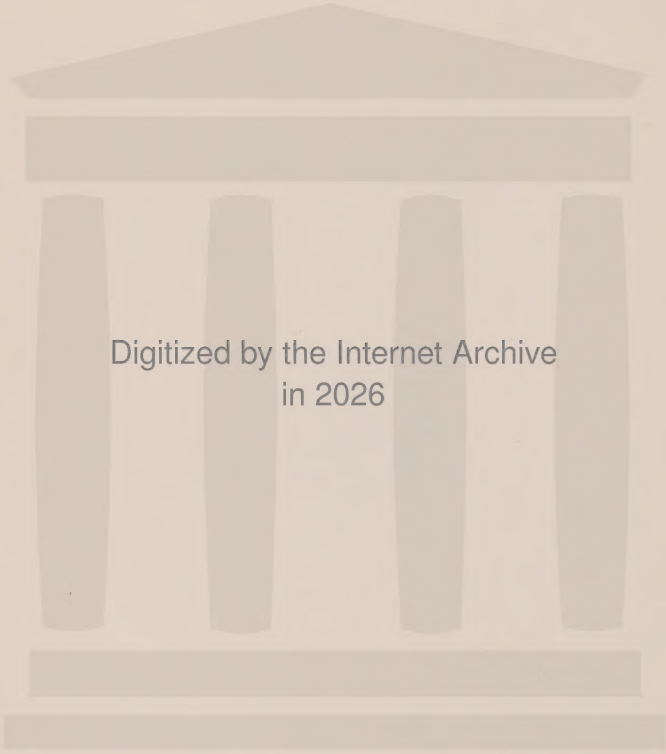
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THE COMPLETE WORKS OF JOHN LYLY

HOSPITALARIORVM Militum S.ti IOH. HIEROSOL.
Domus olim excelsæ in suburbio civitatis LONDIN.
portæ Australis à Circio prospectus.

ST. JOHN'S GATE

South entrance to the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, the seat of the Revels Office from 1571 or earlier to 1610: p. 38

From Dugdale's *Monasticon*

THE COMPLETE WORKS
OF
JOHN LYLY

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME COLLECTED
AND EDITED FROM THE EARLIEST QUARTOS
WITH LIFE, BIBLIOGRAPHY, ESSAYS
NOTES, AND INDEX

BY

R. WARWICK BOND, M.A.

Sad patience that waiteth at the doore.—*The Bee.*

Ceux qui ont été les prédécesseurs des grands esprits, et qui ont contribué en quelqué façon à leur éducation, leur doivent d'être sauvés de l'oubli. Dante fait vivre Brunetto Latini, Milton du Bartas; Shakespeare fait vivre Lyly.—MÉZIÈRES.

VOL. I

LIFE
EUPHUES: THE ANATOMY OF WYT
ENTERTAINMENTS

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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PREFACE

THE work here offered to Elizabethan students is the first collected edition of an author whose immense importance to English Literature is beginning to receive a tardy recognition. I hope it may come to seem yet more strange that Lyly should have had to wait so long for his due. The neglect of him is, I think, partly referable to his depreciation by Collier, whose indefatigable and invaluable labours as a bibliographer and collector of facts were not, so far as I have observed, assisted by any commensurate critical or literary gift. Prof. Arber's excellent reprint (with Introduction) of the text of *Euphues* was issued in 1868; Fairholt's edition, however inadequate, of the eight acknowledged plays, as early as 1858; while *Pappe* has appeared obscurely once or twice; and it would be a churlish temper that failed in gratitude to these, who have at least kept Lyly within the ken of readers. We have had, further, essays on Euphuism from Professor Morley in 1861 and Dr. Weymouth in 1871, a chapter on the same subject in Mr. Courthope's *History of Poetry*, vol. ii, chapters on the connexion of Lyly's dramatic work with that of Shakespeare from Mr. J. A. Symonds and Dr. A. W. Ward, Mr. Sidney Lee's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and other contributions. But attention to the substance of Lyly's work and recognition of its literary bearings has been paid first, or chiefly, abroad. It has reached us mainly through the channels of Mézières, Hense, Landmann, Jusserand, and others; while the best and most complete account of Euphuism

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is from the pen of an American, Mr. C. G. Child, and the only serious attempt at a Life from that of another American, Mr. G. P. Baker. And almost everywhere far more attention has been paid to Euphuism than to the matter of the Euphuist's work, or to the man. Lyly is still generally regarded in England mainly as the originator of a tiresome and fantastic style that enjoyed an exaggerated and mistaken vogue among contemporaries of ill-regulated taste, and as one who may further deserve some brief notice because he wrote in Shakespeare's time.

This is not the subject which arrested my attention a long while since, not that to which I have, latterly, devoted four years of continuous and exclusive work. These volumes deal, in the first place, with the earliest English writer with an acute sense of form, or, if Pettie, his model, must be excepted, at least with the first who made Englishmen feel that prose was an art ; also with the first English novelist, and—though this is a point of quite minor importance—with one of the most admired and conspicuous men of letters of the period 1580–1600. They deal, in the second place, with the first regular English dramatist, the true inventor and introducer of dramatic style, conduct, and dialogue ; and, in these respects, the chief master of Shakespeare and (but mainly through the latter) of Ben Jonson, and the attendant host of playwrights. There is no play before Lyly. He wrote eight ; and immediately thereafter England produced some hundreds—produced that marvel and pride of the greatest literature in the world, the Elizabethan Drama. What the long infancy of her stage had lacked was an example of form, of art : and Lyly gave it. It was seized upon by men of more splendid talents than he, of younger years, of mind uncramped by the learning and the toils which had produced it in himself ; and the world, with the detestable complacency of the self-protective creature, accepted the supreme service and speedily forgot its benefactor. Later scholars, working backwards from

Shakespeare, found all before him, of course, much inferior. They included Lyly with Greene and Kyd and Marlowe and Peele as 'Predecessors,' and overlooked the not unimportant fact that he wrote before all the rest. It was natural enough. Before them lay the whole rich field: Lyly was only one among many; one whose work had been done in the half-light of dawn before the rising of the sun; one, too, it must be admitted, whose immense merits and originality were further obscured by the surface-qualities, the artificiality and tedium, of his style. I appeal now to the thoughtful critic to study his plays along with my essay on 'Lyly as a Playwright,' and to judge if there is not far more dramatic credit due, and far more influence on Shakespeare attributable, to him than to Marlowe or any other of those with whom he has been customarily classed [1].

As a poet I make no such claim for him. Spite of his authorship of two or three of the most graceful songs our drama can boast—an authorship which, if still unsusceptible of positive proof, is equally so of disproof—some of those in his plays, and others, pretty certainly his, which I have found elsewhere, stamp him as negligent, uncritical, or else as inadequately practised in the art; while he lacked altogether, in my judgement, 'those brave translunary things' so infinitely beyond technique, so far above mere grace or daintiness of fancy, of which the true poet is made. The poems I print as 'doubtful' exhibit, however, a growing mastery; some of the 'Later Love-Poems' yield a positive, and many a qualified, pleasure; I have given decided praise to some of the verse in *The Woman*; and it is only fair to add that the worst of his youthful essays have been disinterred from MSS. or collections where his carelessness or his judgement left them to moulder, only as illustrating the growth and the limitations

[1] The reader will not suppose me to be speaking of *power* or beauty: I allude to form, art, intelligence, the qualities of the French rather than the English mind.

of one who has other and imperative claims on our literary respect.

In a separate full discussion of the Text and Bibliography of *Euphues* (vol. i. 83–118) I have endeavoured to fix the number and order of the very numerous quarto editions of that book.

On Euphuism (Essay, vol. i. 119–75) I have little to say that has not already been said by others. My aim has been rather to summarize and condense, than to enlarge a discussion that has already grown unwieldy. I have been much aided in my treatment by the lucid and elaborate essay of Mr. C. G. Child in *Münchener Beiträge*; and I have appended to vol. i a brief note on Sentence-structure in *Euphues*, deprecating what I deem the existing tendency to too curious a consideration of this aspect of Lyly's work. To the criticism of the book, however, as the first great example of artistic prose and the earliest English novel, I hope I have added something; and I have explored, more thoroughly than has been hitherto attempted, the question of sources, showing, for example, in detail how exactly Euphuism, save in the building of the long sentences, was anticipated by Pettie, and tracing many borrowings or reminiscences from other works, contemporary or classical. Never before has the attempt been made to annotate the Two Parts of *Euphues*, a work which bristles with quotations, proverbs, and allusions of every kind; and Fairholt, who did supply some useful notes to the Plays, generally abandoned this exercise of verification and hunting-down to his successor. Such tracking down of matters to which the text usually furnished no clue has formed by far the most arduous part of my task, and, next to my endeavour to give Lyly his rightful position as a playwright, that which I am chiefly glad to have accomplished; though a later editor will still find points that have defied my search. Above all I deemed it desirable to ascertain with as much precision as possible the limits of my author's debt to Pliny and Plutarch.

Investigation shows that the majority of his natural-history allusions are definitely assignable to the former ; the majority of his historical allusions, and several long passages besides the *Ephœbus* tractate, to the latter ; but some of his history comes from Pliny or other sources ; and some of his natural history from Plutarch or Aelian or Bartholomaeus Anglicus ; while some striking events, and many unusual phenomena, are purely of his own invention. His proverbs are generally from John Heywood's collection, or from the *Chiliades* of Erasmus ; but often, I think, rather part of a folklore personally imbibed in youth.

Further, the Notes, or the various Essays, call attention not only to some general points of practice wherein Lyly set the example to Shakespeare, but also to a great many Shakespeare parallels of phrase or idea, though not to all that I have observed. Though the note is seldom so worded, I make no doubt that the great majority of such are cases of imitation, adaptation, or unconscious reminiscence by Shakespeare, and not of mere coincidence. If any be inclined to except against such notification as superfluous or too frequent, I would urge that one of my chief objects is to show a closer, fuller, more vital and more detailed connexion between the work of the two men than has hitherto been shown ; and, further, that the Baconian heresy, sensationally attractive in itself, maintained by some honest folk, and by some other folk anxious to get on, has derived so much plausibility from Shakespeare's rustic origin and want of full education as renders it especially desirable to adduce all that may make more credible the sudden marvel of his great achievement.

In addition to the general essay on Lyly's work as a playwright (vol. ii. 230–300), I have prefixed to each Play a brief Introduction, dealing with such matters as the state of the text, date, materials, treatment of the Unities, &c. For all except *Mother Bombie* I am able to show some definite, if only

partial, source not hitherto pointed out[1], though in this matter Lyly is distinguished rather by his independence. In a long note immediately following the text of *Gallathea* (vol. ii. 473–85), I have discussed the question of his probable debt to some particular Italian works; and I have written a separate essay in revision of Halpin's view of the Court-allegory underlying the play of *Endimion* (vol. iii. pp. 81–103).

As regards the Life, too, I have, I hope, made some considerable additions to former knowledge; fixing Boxley near Maidstone with tolerable certainty as Lyly's paternal home or birthplace (cf. pp. 4–5, 384–5); ascertaining the precise post he occupied in the Revels Office and the probable dates of his tenure of it, besides gathering other details connected with the routine of duty within the Office itself; giving a brief account of the Marprelate Controversy and of Lyly's connexion with Nash in that affair; setting at rest the vexed question of the dates of his two Petitions to the Queen; and printing seven autograph letters never before included in his biography, one of which (from the Cotton MSS.) I owe to the generous courtesy of Mons. A. G. Feuillerat, lecturer at Rennes University, while the rest are derived from the Hatfield MSS., with the exception of one, to which Dr. Bloxam gave a reference, among the State Papers in the Record Office. I regret that much of this new matter must be sought rather in the Biographical Appendix (vol. i. pp. 377–401) than in the Life itself, which was printed off a year ago, before I had attained to present knowledge; but except as regards his entry of the Office in 1588 rather than 1585, the deferring of the Petitions to 1598 and 1601, the discovery of a brother of the author, chaplain of the Savoy, and the probability of Lyly's receipt of some grant before his death, the

[1] Hense indicated the Ovidian origin of the two stories of which *Midas* is composed, and of that of Erisichthon and Protea in *Loves Metamorphosis*.

conclusions of the Life remain unaltered (see Chronological Summary, pp. 398–9).

Further, I have to introduce to the reader as Lyly's a certain number of Speeches or Entertainments (vol. i. 403–507) dating 1590–2, 1600, and 1602, which serve to illustrate his occupations in connexion with the Revels Office, and to enlarge somewhat the circle of his acquaintance. Nearly all of them were printed anonymously in his lifetime, and found their way later into Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*; none has ever been claimed for Lyly, though one or two of them have been generally assigned elsewhere. They are of no great literary weight, but thoroughly Lylian and (with brief and partial exceptions noted in their places) undoubtedly his, as will, I believe, be allowed by him who reads the Introduction to them and verifies the marginal references to his other works. Also I present as his a very respectable but anonymous *Funeral Oration* on Queen Elizabeth (vol. i. pp. 509–16); and some distressing lines (vol. iii. 427–32) on the suppression of the Babington plot, which I much doubt whether I shall, or should, be forgiven for discovering. The list of my additions to Lyly's text is completed by the above-mentioned collection of unsigned *Poems* (vol. iii. 433–502) from contemporary printed or manuscript sources, the references appended to which, though I have labelled them collectively as 'doubtful,' will I think facilitate and in some cases compel the reader's acceptance. Among them is *The Bee*, hitherto assigned to Essex.

I have included *The Maydes Metamorphosis*, though I believe Lyly merely added some portions to this play in preparing it for performance by the Paul's Boys; and also *A Whip for an Ape* and some of the doggrel in *Mar-Martine*, to which he has unfortunately a better claim.

Turning to the pleasant task of acknowledgement, besides what I inevitably owe to those who have previously printed work upon Lyly—among whom I would particularly distinguish Professors Arber, Landmann, Steinhäuser, C. G. Child, and G. P. Baker—I am indebted to many others for special suggestions or helpful kindness during the prosecution of my task; to Mr. John Murray for full reproduction permitted of the contents of my *Quarterly* article of January, 1896; to the Committee of the Hampstead Public Library for the free loan during four years of the very valuable Morley copy of *Euphues*, which belongs to that institution; to Lord Salisbury for kind permission to copy five letters of Lyly among the Hatfield MSS. and to photograph two of them, and to Mr. R. T. Gunton, his private secretary and librarian, for taking the copies (one of the letters was of his suggestion) and making some other search at my request; to Mr. F. J. H. Jenkinson, the Cambridge University Librarian, for most courteous hospitality and assistance during one of my visits; to Dr. Sinker, librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, for opportunities of collation; to Professor Littledale, of Cardiff, for some notes of his own on the plays, freely placed at my disposal; to Mr. P. A. Daniel for one or two similar notes; to Prof. M. Sampson, of Indiana University, for some remarks on Euphuism; to Mr. R. J. Whitwell for a suggestion; to Mons. A. G. Feuillerat, of Rennes University, for the Cotton letter above mentioned, whose own forthcoming critical survey of Lyly's life and works I expect with peculiar interest[1]; to various incumbents of churches in London or in Kent, whom I have pestered with inquiries about their Parish Registers; to the officials of the British Museum, and especially to the Superintendent of the MS. room; to Mr. Salisbury of the Record Office for unvaryingly patient and indispensable help in deciphering old documents; to Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson,

[1] I was pleased to find that M. Feuillerat had, like myself, decided that Tellus in *Endimion* must be identified with Mary Queen of Scots.

Bodley's Librarian, and Mr. F. Madan; to the Rev. H. A. Wilson, librarian of Lyly's college of Magdalen, and to one or two other librarians of Oxford colleges; to Professor Robinson Ellis and to the Bishop of Oxford, for suggestions; lastly and chiefly to the Printer, and to the various officials of the Clarendon Press, who have given such minute attention to the proof-sheets, and from whom I have gratefully accepted an occasional correction or suggestion. With Professor York Powell, especially, I have been in consultation throughout as to the form and scope of the work; and a judicious squeeze, kindly imparted by himself, has wrung some drops of superfluous humour from my Notes. To all, and any others who have rendered me help now momentarily forgotten, my best thanks.

I part from my long and self-imposed task with some regret, in spite of the heavy toil it has cost and the very serious sacrifices that such work, under present conditions, must involve. I am never likely to find either the patience, or the means, for another such. Even here I am troubled by the sense that there is more yet to be discovered about Lyly, and that more time might profitably have been spent on the appraisement of his striking bulk of work even than I have given. Too much of my four years has been consumed in mere collation, in search too often resultless, in the finding, noting, and renumbering of a host of cross-references. I trust this expenditure, but half-voluntary, of 'stupid industry' may make for utility and permanence; and that in other respects this edition, much needed, long meditated, and now at length completed, may not be found to fall short of the rapidly-rising standard of present-day Elizabethan scholarship.

R. W. B.

Upper Norwood,
Sept. 20, 1902.

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LIFE OF JOHN LYLY

JOHN LYLY was born between Oct. 9, 1553 and Oct. 8, 1554. These inclusive limits are obtained from the date (Oct. 8, 1571) of his matriculation at Magdalen College, Oxford, some two years after he actually entered the University[1]. At matriculation he is entered as of '17' years of age, the year named on such an occasion being that last completed. Since on Oct. 8, 1571 he has completed seventeen years,

Oct. 9, 1570 is the earliest possible date for the completion of his seventeenth year, and Oct. 9, 1569 the earliest possible for its commencement.

Oct. 9, 1569 is the earliest possible date for the completion of his sixteenth year, and Oct. 9, 1568 the earliest possible for its commencement.

Oct. 9, 1554 is the earliest possible date for the completion of his first year, and Oct. 9, 1553 the earliest possible for his birth.

On the other hand—

Oct. 8, 1571 is the latest possible date for the completion of his seventeenth year, and Oct. 8, 1570 the latest possible for its commencement.

Oct. 8, 1570 is the latest possible date for the completion of his sixteenth year, and Oct. 8, 1569 the latest possible for its commencement.

Oct. 8, 1555 is the latest possible date for the completion of his first year, and Oct. 8, 1554 the latest possible for his birth.

[1] *Registrum Universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford, 1887), vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 51, gives among the list of those matriculated as members of Magdalen College in 1571, 'Lyllie, John, Kent, pleb. f. 17.' The list is taken from 'Matriculation Register P.' The date Oct. 8 depends on Dr. J. R. Bloxam's *Registers of Magd. Coll.* In vol. iv. p. 186 and elsewhere that date is given as that of a general matriculation of the College. Dr. Bloxam wrote to Prof. Arber in or before 1868: 'Wood was probably right when he supposes Lylly to have entered College in 1569, for, as 1571 was the first year of matriculation, and all the members of the College, old and young, were matriculated together, the matriculation would not fix the date of entrance. Lylly might have been a poor Scholar, but there is no reason to suppose that he was either a Demy or Clerk.' (Arber's Reprint of *Euphues*, p. 3.) Elsewhere in his printed volumes, however, Bloxam mentions an earlier matriculation *en bloc*, in 1564.

Wood's statement, that when he 'became a student in Magdalen College in the beginning of 1569' he was 'aged 16 or thereabouts[1],' does not conflict with the upward limit, being applicable enough to a man who, during all that part of 1569 which preceded Oct. 9, may have been in his sixteenth year: and his mention of 'the beginning of 1569' may be regarded as some indication that Lyly had commenced his sixteenth year before the close of 1568, that is before March 24, 1568–9, and therefore that his birth occurred before March 24, 1553–4.

In the absence of any but the most scanty details available from reliable sources for Lyly's early years, it has been natural to turn to his romance of *Euphues*. We cannot of course draw any absolute inferences from a source where fact, if present at all, must necessarily be subject to the changing and colouring process that would best suit the author's ideal purpose; yet the probability of an autobiographical element in the book is considerable, and it is confirmed, as Mr. Baker[2] points out, by the opening of the dedication of the Second Part.

'The first picture that Phydias the first Paynter shadowed, was the portraiture of his owne person, saying thus: if it be well, I will paint many besides Phydias, if ill, it shall offend none but Phydias.

In the like manner fareth it with me (Right Honourable) who neuer before handling the pensill, did for my fyrst counterfaite, coulour mine owne Euphues, being of this minde, that if it wer lyked, I would draw more besides Euphues, if loathed, grieue none but Euphues.'

Accepting this source, then, for what it is worth, we may find suggestions both in Euphues' account of his stay in England, especially in the *Glasse for Europe* near the end of the book, and in the story Lyly puts into the mouth of the old courtier Fidus. There is no need to press the statement that he was 'scarse borne' at the time of Mary's accession[3], July 6, 1553, to the extent of requiring an earlier date for his birth than Oct. 9 of that year, which we have just fixed as the earliest possible. But the following details given by Fidus are sufficiently in accord with the little we know to claim some attention.

[1] Passage quoted in full below, p. 7.

[2] *Endymion . . . by John Lyly, M.A.* Edited with . . . a Biographical Introduction by George P. Baker, . . . New York, 1894, p. ix.

[3] Vol. ii. p. 206, l. 14: 'The elder sister the Princes *Marie*, succeeded as next heire to the crowne . . . touching whose life I can say little bicause I was scarse borne, and what others say, of me shalbe forborne.'

'I was borne in the wylde of Kent[1], of honest Parents, and worshipfull, whose tender cares, (if the fondnesse of parents may be so termed) prouided all things euen from my very cradell, *vntil their graues*, that might either bring me vp in good letters, or make me heire to great lyuings. I (without arrogancie be it spoken) was not inferiour in wit to manye, which finding in my selfe, I flattered my selfe, but in y^e^ ende, deceiued my selfe: For *being of the age of .xx. yeares*, there was no trade or kinde of lyfe that either fitted my humour or serued my tourne, but the Court: thinking that place the onely meanes to clymbe high, and sit sure: Wherin I followed the vaine of young Souldiours, who iudge nothing sweeter then warre til they feele the weight. I was there enterteined as well by *the great friends my father made*, as by mine own forwardnesse, where it being now but Honnie Moone, I endeauoured to courte it with a grace, (almost past grace,) laying more on my backe then my friendes could wel beare, hauing many times a braue cloke and a thredbare purse[2].'

Fidus continues:—

'Who so conuersant with the Ladyes as I? who so pleasaunt? who more prodigall? In-somuch as I thought the time lost, which was not spent either in their company with delight, or for their company in letters. Among all the troupe of gallant Gentle-men, I singled out one (in whome I mysliked nothing but his grauitie) that aboue all I meant to trust'

—and thereupon Fidus details the wise advice given by this gentleman as to his bearing. In due course he falls in love with a beautiful girl attached to the Court, to whom he gives the fictitious name of Iffida, and who is described as paying a country-visit near Fidus' own home: 'And in this iourney I founde good Fortune so fauourable, y^t^ hir abiding was within two miles of my Fathers mantion house, my parents being of great familiaritie with the Gentleman where my Iffida lay' (Vol. ii. p. 54, l. 3). Returning home in pursuit of her, Fidus finds her,

[1] This seems to be the origin of Cooper's definite statement (*Athenae Cantabrigienses*, ii. 325) that Lyly himself was 'born in the Weald of Kent,' a term applicable to the whole wide valley between the ranges of the North and South Downs, and including the towns of Tonbridge, Ashford and Maidstone.

[2] *Euphues and his England*, vol. ii. p. 49. I have italicized one or two expressions that may possess autobiographical significance. The reader should compare with this statement of Fidus, which entirely tallies with what we know of Lyly, the later mention by Euphues of his own introduction at Court, in the *Glasse*, p. 198, l. 24: 'It was my fortune to be acquaĩted with certaine English Gentlemen, which brought mee to the court, wher when I came, I was driuen into a maze to behold the lusty & braue gallants, the beutiful & chast Ladies, y^e^ rare & godly orders, so as I could not tel whether I should most cõmend vertue or brauery. *At the last cõming oftner thether, then it beseemed one of my degree, yet not so often as they desired my company*, I began to prye after theyr manners, natures, and lyues, and that which followeth I saw, where-of who so doubteth, I will sweare.'

with other ladies, a guest at his father's house; and from his description of the evening it is clear that Iffida, though 'the best in the companye, and at all assayes [at all events] too good for me' (p. 58, l. 14), is not separated from himself by any marked social gulf. Fidus' father hunts (p. 63, l. 27), and has a taste for social pastimes; and in the contest of wits between Iffida and Fidus supports the lady, 'whether it were to flatter hir, or for feare to offend hir, or that he loued money himselfe better then either wit or beautie [the three subjects of discussion]. And our conclusions thus ended, she accompanied with hir gentlewomen and other hir seruaunts, went to hir Vncles, hauing taried a day longer with my father, then she appoynted' (p. 72, l. 25). Though Fidus is anxious to conceal his passion from his father (p. 69, l. 23), it is clear from all this, and from her subsequent coming to nurse him in his illness, that they are approximately of the same social position; indeed Fidus, in an angry moment, allows himself to say, 'If I should compare my bloud with thy birth, I am as noble: if my wealth with thine, as rich' (p. 66, l. 10). Without insisting on a literal correspondence of the fiction with fact, we shall perhaps be justified in concluding that our author, described in the Oxford Register as *plebeii filius*, was the son of a substantial yeoman, whose wealth and degree of cultivation had raised him into the class of the landed gentry. So much at least is inferable from Lyly's known connexion, before his book had made him famous, with two important patrons, Burleigh, to wit, and Lord de la Warre, to the latter of whom he dedicates it.

His precise birthplace must still remain uncertain. Tonbridge and Ashford, both within the Weald of Kent, are barely alluded to in *Mother Bombie*, his one play of contemporary life; as also is Canterbury, while the scene is laid at Rochester—though neither of these can be included in the Weald. The parish register of Tonbridge, which is older than 1553, yields nothing to help us; that of Ashford only dates from 1570; and in that of Maidstone, also just within the Weald, there is, the vicar informs me, *hiatus valde deflendus* from 1551 to 1558, which covers the possible period for Lyly's birth. There is no prima facie reason, perhaps, why he should be born at any of these towns rather than at one of the numerous villages scattered over the county: but the Record Office has supplied me with some reason for preferring Maidstone, in an old Crown lease, endorsed '13th Feb^{y} xiiij Eliz.' i. e. Feb. 13, 1571–2, which leases a farmer's barn, garden, and about eighteen acres of

land, part of the Manor of Boxley in Kent (a village 2½ miles to the north-east of Maidstone), for twenty-one years to William Lyllye, at a rent of £20 per annum; he to be responsible for repairs, for which he may take materials from the woods and ground[1]. Here at least is a Lyly living at or near Maidstone in 1572, within such easy reach (34 miles) as would invite the trips made from the capital by Fidus or by Lyly in 1582, and occupying apparently much the same social position as is required by the evidence for our author's father—a yeoman farmer, adding to the land he farms and paying the substantial rent of £20 for his new acquisition[2]. Boxley parish register only commences in 1558; that of Maidstone, where the farmer may quite as probably have lived, exhibits the unfortunate gap above mentioned; so that we are cut off from our best chance of obtaining the desired entry of Lyly's birth. By charter of Queen Elizabeth, dated Dec. 4, 1559, Maidstone had recovered the franchise it had forfeited for its share in Wyatt's rebellion in 1554, and returned two members to Parliament. The same charter empowered the Corporation to make regulations for the government of the masters and scholars of the new school, for which land had been acquired in the time of Edward VI. The earliest schoolmaster was Thomas Cole[3]. If my surmise is correct, it would be here that our *alter Tullius Anglorum* imbibed his rudiments; and I find one slight confirmatory circumstance in Hasted's mention of a valuable vein of fullers' earth at Boxley, much of which was in 1702 exported for use of clothiers abroad, a mention which recalls Prisius' fulling-mill in *Mother Bombie*[4].

The only other contemporary of the name mentioned by Hasted is Elizabeth Lilley, wife of Richard Shakerly of Brooke Court or Borough Court in Ditton, Kent, who bore to him a son John about 1600 and also a daughter Mary, and who may have been our author's sister or his niece: one of his own daughters was named Elizabeth. The other Lillies whom Hasted mentions are of the eighteenth century.

Some dozen contemporary Wills of various Lyllies or Lillies are preserved in Somerset House, but their perusal affords nothing that

[1] *Exchequer Augmentations*, Transcripts of Leases, 14 Eliz., vol. xv. No. 82.

[2] i.e. about £160, the purchasing power of money in those days being roughly eight times what it is to-day. See Mr. Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, pp. 3, 197.

[3] Hasted's *History of Kent* (4 vols., 1778–99), ii. 116.

[4] Act i. sc. 3; ii. 5; v. 3.

can certainly be relied on as pointing to our author[1]. Among them is that of George Lyllye, prebendary of Canterbury, proved 26 July, 1559. He was the son of William, the famous grammarian; and like him, and our author, an *alumnus* of Magdalen College, Oxford[2]. The Will mentions his brothers Peter and Jacob, and his sisters Margaret and Jane; but nothing of any William or John. Another representative of the name is Edmund Lilly, Fellow of Magdalen from 1564–1579, a person of much independence of view, who subsequently became Vice-Chancellor, and Master of Balliol College. Had he been of kin to our author, however, he would probably have assisted his candidature for a Magdalen fellowship, which occurred during his tenure of his own; but Lyly expressly says that he has no aid but Burleigh's to rely on[3].

I find, then, as sole result of much research, a person of sufficiently close correspondence to Fidus' father, and to Lyly's circumstances, in William Lyllye, yeoman of Boxley or Maidstone in Kent. Of his mother Lyly makes no special mention, nor of any brother or sister.

With his transfer to Oxford we get upon surer ground. He entered Magdalen College as a commoner probably in the spring of 1569, when he was just about sixteen years old; and since in 1574 he describes himself as Burleigh's *alumnus*[4], and owns obligations to him, it is possible that he owed his University career to Burleigh's assistance. For that career we have, besides the Register's record of his degrees, B.A. April 27, 1573 and M.A. June 1, 1575[5], the report of Anthony à Wood some hundred and twenty years later

[1] Among them is a judicial decision on the appeal of Mary Lillie of Bromley in Kent, in 1604, against the Will of her first cousin, Geoffrey Lyllie, draper, of St. Sepulchre's parish, London.

The Will of Edward Lyllie, husbandman of Gilden Morden in Cambridgeshire, which is dated 1599, leaves small legacies of £4, and shares in debts due, to his brothers John and Richard Lyllie, and other sums to his brothers Henry and Thomas Lyllie; while 'to my mother Lyllie' he leaves 'twenty shillinges.' It is possible, of course, that this Edward was a brother of the author, and that their mother was still living in 1599; but more probably the John Lyllie here mentioned is the yeoman of Bramford in Suffolk, who on May 14, 1590 claims a messuage and lands in Bramford under a Will of his maternal grandmother, Johan Marsh. (*Proceedings in Chancery*, Eliz., vol. ii. p. 177, L. l. 11, No. 61.)

[2] Wood punningly remarks that the College 'was seldom or neuer without a Lilye' (*Ath. Oxon.* i. 302, ed. Bliss).

[3] See below, p. 14. [4] Below, p. 13.

[5] *Registrum Universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford, 1887), vol. ii. part iii. p. 27, in the register of Degrees occurs—

'Lillie, John; suppl[icat] B.A. 1 Apr., adm[ittitur] 27 Apr. 1573, det[erminat] 157$\frac{3}{4}$; suppl. M.A. 19 May, lic[entiatur] 1 June 1575, inc[ipit] 1575.'

(1691), some spiteful remarks of Gabriel Harvey in a polemical pamphlet of 1589[1], and further evidence afforded by Lyly's Latin letter of 1574 and by the First Part of *Euphues*. Wood writes as follows:—

'John Lylie, or Lylly, a *Kentish* man born, became a student in Magd. coll. in the beginning of 1569, aged 16, or thereabouts, and was afterwards, as I conceive, either one of the Demies or Clerks of that house; but always averse to the crabbed studies of Logic and Philosophy. For so it was that his genie being naturally bent to the pleasant paths of Poetry (as if *Apollo* had given to him a wreath of his own Bays, without snatching or strugling,) did in a manner neglect Academical studies, yet not so much but that he took the degrees in Arts, that of Master being compleated 1575. At which time, as he was esteemed in the University a noted Wit, so afterwards was he in the Court of Q. Elizabeth, where he was also reputed a rare Poet, witty, comical, and facetious[2].'

Harvey's remarks apply to Lyly's character in general, rather than to his Oxford career in particular, of which perhaps he knew little except by hearsay long after it was over[3]: and his delay in publishing them, together with his reluctance, perhaps affected, to break with Lyly altogether, may indicate a consciousness that they were exaggerated. He vaguely hints at some discreditable relations[4], alludes to 'his horning, gaming, fooling and knaving[5],' and

[1] The *Aduertisement for Papp-Hatchett and Martin Marprelate* is dated 'At Trinitie hall: this fift of Nouember: 1589,' though it first appeared in print as the Second Book of *Pierce's Supererogation*, 1593.

[2] *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1691, fol., vol. i. col. 256 (ed. Bliss, 1813, i. 676). Wood goes on to enumerate Lyly's works, including *The Maides Metamorphosis* and (wrongly) *A Warning for Fair Women*, and professing himself unable to identify his alleged Marprelate contribution. He adds: 'What other Books, Comedies, or Trag. our author hath written, I cannot find, nor when he dyed, or where buried, only that he lived till towards the latter end of Q. *Elizabeth*, if not byond, for he was in being in 1597, when the *Woman in the Moon* was published.'

[3] Harvey, then Master of Trinity Hall, M.A. and LL.D. of Cambridge, is licensed D.C.L. of Oxford July 13, 1585 (*Registrum Univ. Oxon.* vol. ii. part ii. p. 349). His personal acquaintance with Lyly seems to have been formed in London about 1578. See below, pp. 17–18.

[4] *Pierce's Supererogation*, reprinted in Brydges' *Archaica*, vol. ii. p. 135 (or Grosart's ed. of Harvey's *Works*, vol. ii. p. 210): 'It is somebody's fortune to be haunted with back friends; and I could report a strange dialogue betwixt the Clerk of Backchurch and the Chaunter of Pancridge that would make the better vizard of the two to blush.' 'Back friends' is equivalent to back-biters, unavowed enemies who pretend friendship; and by 'the Clerk of Backchurch' Harvey means that Lyly is a leader among scandal-mongers. If, however, Lyly is to be identified with 'the Chaunter of Pancridge,' the passage shows that on his first coming to London he turned his musical talent to account. Pancridge is St. Pancras, as in Ben Jonson's *Tale of a Tub*, ii. 1.

[5] Ibid. p. 84 (ed. Grosart, ii. 129).

stigmatizes *Pappe* as 'the fruit of an addle and lewd wit, long since dedicated to a dissolute and desperate licentiousness[1].' And on an earlier page he says :—

'They were much deceived in him at Oxford and in the Savoy, when Master Absalon lived, that took him only for a dapper and deft companion, or a pert conceited youth, that had gathered together a few pretty sentences, and could handsomely help young Euphues to an old simile, and never thought him any such mighty doer at the sharp[2],'

i. e. such a controversialist, 'the sharp' being a duelling-sword as distinguished from the blunted foil. Again:—

'He hath not played the Vicemaster of Poules, and the Foolemaster of the Theater for naughtes: himselfe a mad lad as ever twang'd, never troubled with any substance of witt, or circumstance of honestie, sometime the fiddlesticke of Oxford, now the very bable of London[3].'

Nash in *Haue with you to Saffron Waldron* (1596) tells us that Lyly particularly resented this Oxford allusion: 'With a blacke sant he meanes shortly to bee att his chamber window, for calling him the Fiddlestick of Oxford': but his own admission in *Euphues* (1578)—'I haue euer thought so supersticiously of wit, that I feare I haue committed Idolatry against wisdom[4],' and his representation of Euphues' youthful attitude at Naples, warrant us in concluding that Harvey's report is substantially correct. We shall be tolerably safe in supposing that his Oxford life was marked by a madcap temper, some disregard of the authorities, and some neglect of prescribed studies.

The actual curriculum in force during his undergraduate days cannot be fixed with absolute certainty. The successive changes in religion, involving the ejectment or voluntary departure of many scholars, and a visitation of the plague in 1563, had greatly disorganized the University. Wood reports[5] that in 1561 there were 'few Proceeders' or candidates for a degree. Spurred by royal injunction the University in 1564 set about reforming itself under its new Chancellor, the Earl of Leicester; special care being taken to prevent the too liberal granting of dispensations (i.e. exemptions from compliance with the statutes) or graces (admissions to a degree), especially in Divinity, Law or Physic, without good evidence that the requisite exercises had been performed[6]. These three faculties,

[1] *Pierce's Supererogation*, in *Archaica*, ii. p. 141, or ed. Grosart, ii. 220.
[2] Ibid. p. 84 (ed. Grosart, ii. 128). [3] Ibid. p. 137 (ed. Grosart, ii. 212).
[4] *Euphues*, p. 196. [5] *History and Antiquities of Oxford*, ii. p. 147.
[6] Ibid. p. 153.

on all of which Lyly touches in his 'Cooling Card to Philautus[1],' were almost invariably preceded by the two degrees in the Faculty of Arts, in which the subjects studied were—for the B.A., Grammar, Logic and Rhetoric; for the M.A., Natural and Moral Philosophy. Four years' residence from the time of admission was necessary before the B.A. could be taken; and three more between the B.A. and M.A., the latter involving its separate course of study, and not granted, as to-day, after a lapse of two years, without fresh examination, on the mere payment of fees[2]. On his entry at Magdalen College Lyly would probably be entrusted to the care of the 'instructor in grammar,' or Master of the College School. He does not appear in the list of choristers or clerks, whose names are preserved from 1553 onwards; but his musical taste suggests the possibility that he may have been one, at least for a time. Wood tells us that William Camden, the antiquary, came to Magdalen as a chorister or

[1] *Euphues*, p. 251.

[2] The regulations governing a student's life at Oxford during the fifty years 1570-1620 are lucidly detailed by Mr. Andrew Clark in the 'Introductions' which fill vol. ii. part i. of the *Registrum Universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford, 1887): but he lays stress at the outset on the changes, formal and tacit, that University institutions were at this time undergoing, and the progress he describes is supposed as that of 'a student coming to the University in any year between 1590 and 1620.' For the statements made above see pp. 7, 13, 66. On p. 96 Mr. Clark quotes a most important list of lecturers, or 'regent-masters,' whose duty it was to deliver the ordinary lectures of the University course in 1563; which list is, he tells us, 'the fullest notice we have at this period of the subjects of these lectures; nine lectures with (practically) three lecturers in each subject.' The subjects (I omit the lecturers) are as follows: '1563, lectorum ordinariorum designatio. Metaphysics . . . Moral Philosophy . . . Natural Philosophy . . . Astronomy . . . Geometry . . . Music . . . Arithmetic . . . Logic . . . Rhetoric . . . Grammar . . .' I append one or two of the details reproduced by Mr. Clark, p. 98, as bearing on the dislocation of studies during the time of Lyly's residence. '18 Apr. 1567, a committee was appointed to determine "tempus et modum legendi et audiendi ordinarias lectiones."—23 June 1567, every "lector ordinarius" was to be fined 12*d.* for each "lectio" omitted to which he was bound, of which 8*d.* was to go to the University and 4*d.* to the proctors.—7 Dec. 1571, a committee was appointed to provide "de lectionibus ordinariis (ut vocant)" for next Term, as there had been no comitia in 1571 [at which meeting, towards the end of the Summer Term, the lecturers for the ensuing year should have been appointed]. 9 Feb. 1571–2, the report of that committee having been received, Convocation decreed: (1) That all masters created in the last comitia are to remain regents till the admission to Congregation of the masters created in the next comitia. (2) But, of these masters, four only (selected by the proctors) shall lecture, beginning on 25 Feb. and lecturing, on every "dies legibilis" till next comitia, in Dialectic, Rhetoric, Astronomy and Philosophy. (3) That the proctors shall pay each of them five shillings, to be collected "ab inceptoribus proxime futuris."—19 May, 1572, a committee was appointed to nominate persons "qui artes proximo termino publice profiteantur," "et ad mercedem idoneam eisdem allocandam."—29 June, 1576, a committee was appointed to examine and correct the statutes "de lectionibus publicis et exercitiis," and to report to Convocation. They made their report on 22 Oct. On 16 Nov. 1576, Convocation passed statutes "pro emendatione tam praelectorum quam auditorum negligentiae."'

servitor in 1566, and perfected himself in grammar, learning at the College School under Thomas Cooper[1]; on which Dr. Bloxam remarks[2], 'Though his name does not appear in the annual list of choristers, he might have been one for a few months.' In or after his ninth Term the student would, in ordinary cases, have to dispute publicly in grammatical or logical subjects, once as opponent, and once as respondent; and after this initial (*pro forma*) disputation, would have to do so once a Term till he took the B.A.[3] Then would follow more study and disputation *in utraque philosophia*, i. e. Moral and Natural, preparatory to the M.A.; coupled with the delivery of some trial lectures intended to fit him to take a share, after the assumption of that degree, in the ordinary lecturing work of the University[4]. The M.A. taken, he might proceed to one of the higher faculties, Divinity, Law, or Physic. But there is no evidence that Lyly sought any higher degree than that of M.A., nor yet that he resided for the full seven years required by the statutes for that. Dispensations from residence were frequently granted by Congregation, occasionally for as long as two years, on grounds of the student's poverty, business, or illness; while the visitations of the plague sometimes necessitated his absence. Wood relates that in 1571 a violent plague led to the intermission of all ordinary and public lectures and exercises between April 26 and Trinity Term, a period subsequently extended till the last Monday in March 1572; and that Congregation decreed 'that all Exercises performed by the Oxonian Students in the Country (that is, in the rural Mansions belonging to the respective Colleges, or elsewhere where they shall think most fit to live together) should be esteemed as if done in the University[5].' We have Lyly's own testimony to an absence of three years early in his University course in his address 'To the Gentlemen Scholers[6]':—

'Yet may I of all the rest most condemne Oxford of vnkindnes, of vice I cannot, who seemed to weane me before she brought me foorth, and to giue me boanes to gnaw, before I could get the teate to sucke. Wherin she played the nice mother in sẽding me into the country to nurse, where I tyred at a dry breast three yeares, and was at the last

[1] Afterwards Bishop of Winchester, author of the *Admonition to the People of England*, 1589, and the object of Marprelate attacks. He resigned the mastership of Magdalen School about March, 1567, to act as tutor to Sir Philip Sidney, so that we cannot claim him as Lyly's teacher. (Bloxam's *Registers of Magd. Coll.* vol. iii. pp. 116–7.)

[2] *Registers of Magd. Coll.* i. 17–28.

[3] *Registrum Univ. Oxon.* ii. pt. i. pp. 21, 24.

[4] Ibid. p. 66.

[5] Wood's *History and Antiquities*, ii. 170.

[6] *Euphues*, p. 325.

enforced to weane my self. But it was destinie, for if I had not bene gathered from the tree in the budde, I should beeing blowne haue proued a blast, and as good it is to bee an addle egge as an idle bird.'

The Rev. H. A. Wilson, the present librarian of Magdalen, in a most thoughtful and helpful letter of April 29, 1898, suggests to me that the phrase about 'sending me into the country to nurse,' like that of 'giuing me boanes to gnaw,' may be merely a metaphor for leaving him without proper tuition, or may refer to his being 'consigned in 1569 to the care of the grammar master till his matriculation.' But I feel it difficult to understand the passage save of a literal absence from the University. Wood's testimony to a general exodus caused by the plague affords us a sufficient reason for such absence, without our having to resort to the explanation that has been suggested of Lyly's 'rustication,' a punishment, according to Mr. Wilson, not in use at this date; and the latter affords us valuable confirmation in the statement—'I find that the College was at Brackley[1] in July, 1571, when the July election was held there; and that they returned to Oxford some time in 1572.' The migration of the College may well have occurred much earlier than this election in July, 1571, though not perhaps early enough to account for Lyly's 'three yeares.' Another explanation may be that Lyly was, during the whole or part of this period, engaged in teaching; a means frequently employed by poor students to eke out their subsistence during a University course, and a ground on which 'dispensations' from the full term of residence were frequently granted[2]. There is no evidence that Lyly was in need of such assistance, but the acquisition of influential friends may have furnished as powerful a motive; and it is possible that some such tutorial work may have been the real origin of his connexion with Lord de la Warre[3].

But the passage quoted above seems at least to afford us evidence that he began his University career by idling. If he does not, like

[1] A small market-town on the Ouse in South Northants.

[2] *Registrum Univ. Oxon.* vol. ii. pt. i. p. 19.

[3] The inclusion in *Euphues* of Plutarch's treatise on Education, and the nature of some of Lyly's changes or additions therein, support the idea that before 1578 he had seen some educational work. See Notes, p. 353; and cf. especially p. 267, l. 35; about money wasted on sport and grudged for a son's education; p. 270, l. 12, 'It is vertue maketh gentlemen' (cf. the rebuke of Alcius, pp. 316–8, for pride of rank, while Guevara had lectured Epesipo rather for pride in his appearance); p. 276, l. 30, his recommendation of exercise to relieve mental strain; pp. 281–2, his strong sense of the opposition between the tutor's influence and that of flatterers—these things, not contained in Plutarch, or not pushed to nearly the same length, seem to me eloquent of personal experience.

Milton at Cambridge some sixty years later, venture to criticize the curriculum then in force, it was perhaps because he was uncertain what it embraced. His attack on Athens[1], for which, in spite of his disclaimer, we may read Oxford, concerns the morals and discipline rather than the studies of the place, and loses much of its force from one of Lyly's reputation as a madcap. It should, I think, be regarded as mainly an ebullition of personal spite, which chose to substitute the government of the University as a whole for the Magdalen dons against whom he had some real or fancied grievance. But it by no means follows that his Oxford career was wasted because he did not quite fit the bed of the University Procrustes. Gerard Langbaine, writing at Oxford in the same year as Wood, 1691, though not specially of his University career, tells us Lyly 'was a very close student, and much addicted to Poetry[2].' Probably on his return to Oxford, before he took his B.A., which he did April 27, 1573, he buckled down to hard work. At any rate, the sources from which he borrowed in his plays, the plentiful use of Plutarch and Pliny in *Euphues*, and the classical allusions sown thickly over all his writings, are proof that, if he did not exhibit ardour precisely where the authorities expected it, he read much, and remembered it.

Since he took his M.A. on June 1, 1575, in little more than two years after the B.A., he must have been dispensed by Congregation from one year's residence. In the previous year we have direct personal record of him in the shape of a Latin letter addressed to Lord Burleigh. In the opening words he describes himself as Burleigh's *alumnus*, and alludes to some specific favours shown him by the Lord Treasurer. The fact that the Kentish yeoman's son should be writing in 1574 to one of the chief personages in the realm, as well as the purport of the letter, reminds us of 'the great friends' of Fidus' father, and confirms us in the belief that Fidus' visit to Court at 'the age of .xx. yeares[3]' is autobiographical. Engaged, perhaps, in some tutorial capacity by Lord de la Warre or some other nobleman during the earlier years of his University course, his social qualities had procured him an introduction to the Treasurer, to whose bounty he had been indebted, and whose assistance he now ventures to invoke in a more important matter. The letter, written in a beautifully fine and clear round hand, probably by some professional

[1] *Euphues and his Ephoebus*, pp. 273–6.
[2] *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (under name).
[3] Passage quoted above, p. 3.

calligraphist, is endorsed '16 May, 1574, John Lilie, a scholar of Oxford, an Epistle For ye Queens letters to Magdalen College to admit him fellow'; and runs as follows[1]:—

'Viro illustrissimo, et insignissimo Heroi Domino, Burgleo, totius Angliæ Thesaurario, Regiæ Maiestatis intimis a consilijs, et patrono suo colendissimo J. L.

'Quod in me tuum alumnum benignitas tua munifica extiterit, (Clarissime Heros) et vltro ne expectanti quidem studium, operam, et singularem industriam declaraueris, agnosco pro eo ac decet supplex tuam humanitatem, et in literarum studiosos pietatem. Quare cum incredibilis mansuetudo tua, non solum merita, sed spem longe superarit, et quod meus pudor nunquam rogasset prolixius indulserit, habeo tuo honori gratias maximas, et vero tantas, quantas meæ facultatulæ referre nunquam poterunt. Et licet proiectæ cuiusdam audaciæ et præfrictæ frontis videri possit, iuuenem rudem et temerarium, virum amplissimum et prudentem, eum cui nec ætatis accessio iudicij maturitatem, nec casta disciplina integritatem morum, nec artium doctrina scientiæ supellectilem est elargita, insignissimum Heroem, pro regni incolumitate, salute reip., communium fortunarum defensione, excubantem, rursum iniquis precibus interpellare, et importunius obstrepere. Tamen cum optimi cuiusque bonitas commune omnium sit perfugium, subinde percogitans esse animi excelsi cui multum subuenit ei velle plurimum opitulari, ad tuam amplitudinem quam perspectam indies, suspectam nunquam, probatam sæpius habui, supplici prece accedo, passis manibus tuam operam, studium, humanitatem implorans. Hæc summa est, in hoc cardo vertitur, hæc

[1] The letter is here exactly reproduced from the *Lansdowne MS.* xix. No. 16, in the British Museum, without correction of the one or two trifling errors, of punctuation or other, e.g. 'magistatis,' 'obrepre,' 'opæra.' I append a translation of it.

'J. L. to the most illustrious and distinguished Peer, Lord Burleigh, High Treasurer of England, of the Queen's Majesty's Privy Council, and his own revered patron.

'In the gracious bounty shown, most noble Peer, to me your foster-son, and in your gratuitous and unlooked-for interest, effort, and extraordinary pains on my behalf, I recognize with all becoming humility your good and kindly disposition toward men devoted to learning. And since this inconceivable indulgence of yours has far surpassed, not merely my deserts, but my hopes, and has granted at large what my modesty would never have asked, I rest in deepest debt to your honour, in a degree indeed which must always be beyond my poor opportunities of repayment. And though it may seem almost the height of boldness and brazen effrontery for a rash and inexperienced youth, one who lacks the ripe judgement bestowed by advancing years, the sound character formed by chaste rule of life, the learned equipment furnished by the teaching of the arts, once more to assail and rudely importune with troublesome petitions a man of highest excellence and wisdom, a distinguished Peer, sleeplessly vigilant for the safety of the realm, the welfare of the State, the protection of all our fortunes; yet seeing that every great man's goodness is the common refuge—reflecting, moreover, that a lofty soul delights to overflow in bounty where it has once been generous—I approach with humble petition that excellence of yours which I have had every day in view, which I have never doubted, and of which I have experienced many a proof, imploring with outstretched hands your aid, interest, and kindness. This is the sum, the

Helena, vt tua celsitudo dignetur serenissimæ regiæ magistatis literas (vt minus latine dicam) mandatorias extorquere, vt ad Magdalenenses deferantur quo in eorum societatem te duce possim obrepre. his fortunæ nostræ tanquam fundamento, tibi tanquam firmamento, connituntur: Nisi his subleuer, et sustenter, misere corruo, nihil enim potest quod me consoletur excogitari remedij, nec aliquid esset L. nisi tuus honor tanquam numen quoddam propitium, aut sacra anchora, aut salutare sydus, et Cynosura præluxerit. Adeoque meum corpus tuo honori, et tenues fortunas tuæ voluntati, et animum ad tua mandata conficienda habes expeditissimum. Quare in quem sæpe celsitudo tua benefica, opæra parata, studium semper promptum fuerit, eundem hoc tempore supplicem et ad pedes tuos abiectum pro solita tua et incredibili humanitate subleuato. ego interim supplices manus ad deum Opt. & Max. tendam vt beneficentia Alexandrum, humanitate Traianum, etate Nestorem, inuicta mentis celsitudine Camillum, Salamonẽ prudentia, Dauidem sanctimonia, Josiam religionis collapsæ instaurandæ, et incorruptæ conseruandæ cura, possis adæquare. Hoc interim promitto et spondeo meam nec in imbibendis artibus curam, nec in referenda gratia animum, nec in perferendo labore industriam, nec in propaganda tua laude studium, nec religionem in officio, nec fidem in obsequio, vnquam defuturam. Vale.

'Tuæ amplitudinis obseruantissimus

'Joannes. Lilius.'

That the aid Lyly thus invoked was not much out of the common course is clear from a letter to Burleigh from the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Cambridge Colleges, dated March 22, 1579, and presented by Dr. Still himself, complaining of an abuse of the practice; to which Burleigh made courteous reply, acknowledging that unwarrant-

cardinal point, the grand occasion—that your highness would deign to procure Her Most Gracious Majesty's mandatory letters (excuse the defect of latinity) to the authorities of Magdalen, that so under your auspices I may be quietly admitted as Fellow there. Such letters are as it were the strong foundation, you the lofty framework, to support my fortunes. Without this bulwark and buttress I collapse, I am ruined; for I can devise no remedy which may give me comfort, nor would Lyly be aught unless your Honour serve for his protecting deity, his blessed anchor, his saving constellation and pole-star shining before him. And so your Honour may command my body's service, dispose of my poor fortunes, and hold me as willing agent of your bidding. Raise up then with your wonted inconceivable kindness one toward whom your highness has ever been bounteous, and ready with help and attention, and who now casts himself suppliant-wise at your feet: I the while will lift up hands of prayer to the Supreme that Alexander's well-doing, Trajan's humanity, Nestor's years, Camillus' unshaken loftiness of soul, Solomon's wisdom, David's piety, Josiah's zeal in re-establishing the faith and in keeping it pure, may be rivalled by your own. This in the meantime I promise and vow that there shall never be wanting on my part diligence in the acquisition of learning, a grateful purpose, the effort to carry tasks through, zeal in spreading abroad your praises, conscientious performance of duty, nor faithful obedience. Farewell.

'Your excellency's most obedient servant,

'JOHN LYLY.'

able use had been made of the Queen's letters without her knowledge, but reserving her right to recommend[1]. But Lyly admits that he stands no chance without such aid ('nec aliquid esset L.' &c.). Dr. Humphrey, the precise and Puritanical President of Magdalen at this time, may well be supposed insensible to the merits of music and wit in an undergraduate—both might be, perhaps had been, employed to his inconvenience; and the grace of the method which sought intellectual distinction 'without snatching or strugling' would be equally likely to escape him. There is, on the whole, a heaven-born impudence about this scheme for turning the tables on the Magdalen Common Room that is worthy of the cheekiest page in Lyly's plays. The 'insignissimus Heros Dominus Burgleus' must have relished the application; and, while he seems to have declined to invoke the power of the Crown to pleasure a College scapegrace, remained Lyly's friend.

Here may best be mentioned the single entry concerning Lyly which Dr. Bloxam found in the College records, that, namely, of a debt due by him for commons and batells: 'Mr. Ihon Lillie communarius debet pro communis et batellis 23*s.* 10*d.*' It is found, Mr. Wilson informs me, in a Bursar's Day-book (or record of charges for food and drink from the buttery or kitchen) of 1584, and forms part of the *Billa Petitionis* or list of debts due to the College in that year. Mr. Wilson adds, 'But the position of the entry shows that it was a debt of some standing. It is in that part of the list which includes debts due before 1579; from 1579 onwards the debts are classed under the years in which they had been added to the list. . . . Bound up in the same volume there is also the *Billa Petitionis* of 1586, and therein it appears that the debt was still due, as indeed were most of the other debts in that part of the list of 1584. . . . In the earlier entry the word "communarius" is added above the line. It was perhaps to distinguish him from Edmund Lillie, Fellow from 1564 to 1579: but, taken strictly, the word implies that, though not a Fellow, he had been admitted to share in the emoluments of the College, having the "commons" of a Fellow. The Demies were "semi-communarii," both being distinguished, in 1580, from the "Socii[2]."' Probably he was connected with the choir. I leave this point of his exact status in the College perforce undecided; and

[1] Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, ii. 368.

[2] Wood, in the passage quoted above, p. 7, conceives that he was at some time 'one of the Demies or Clerks.'

merely note, in regard to the debt, that while there is no certain evidence whether it was incurred before he took his M.A. in 1575, or during some later visit paid from Cambridge or London, the large amount of it[1] points to a residence of some weeks.

Disappointed in his hopes of an Oxford fellowship, and sobered, perhaps, by the dawning perception that a lively wit is not an infallible aid to a man's advancement, Lyly appears, after taking his M.A. June 1, 1575, to have repaired to the sister University, and there pursued his studies. I say 'appears'; for his actual residence at Cambridge is somewhat problematical. All we actually know is that he was incorporated M.A. of that University in 1579[2]. Nor, if we take some period of residence there as proved by Euphues' statement that he had been in both Universities[3], and by some allusions in *Pappe with a Hatchett*[4], need we suppose that he stayed there long. Gabriel Harvey, bent on discrediting him, has not a malicious hint to give us in connexion with his Cambridge life. Mutual incorporation between the two Universities, and indeed between them and foreign Universities, was common enough[5]. The step extended a scholar's reputation, and widened his chances of appointments; and it was rendered easy by the recognition of Terms kept at one University as if kept at that in which he sought incorporation, though doubtless the necessary exercises would have to be performed. Lyly's incorporation at Cambridge, therefore, is not inconsistent with his residence elsewhere during the major part of the interval between 1575 and 1579.

[1] We must multiply by eight to arrive at its modern equivalent.

[2] Cooper's *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, ii. 326.

[3] Vol. ii. p. 192, l. 37: 'I was my selfe in either of them, & like them both so well, that I meane not in the way of controuersie to preferre any for the better in Englande, but both for the best in the world, sauing this, that Colledges in *Oxenford* are much more stately for the building, and *Cambridge* much more sumptuous for the houses in the towne,' &c. Cf. the whole passage.

[4] On an early page he alludes to some one, whom he suspects of being Martin Marprelate, thus: 'the one that I meane, thrust a knife into ones thigh at Cambridge, the quarrel was about cater-tray, and euer since hee hath quarrelled about cater-caps.' Gabriel Harvey took his M.A. at Cambridge in 1573. On the same page 'old Vidgin the cobler' may be a Cambridge reminiscence.

[5] *Registrum Univ. Oxon.* vol. ii. pt. i. pp. 350–62 gives lists of M.A.'s of Cambridge incorporated as M.A.'s of Oxford, among them '11 July, 1581, Andros, Lancelot'; '11 July, 1585, Holland, Philemon'; '11 Apr. 1588, Robert, Earl of Essex'; 'June, 1588, Green, Robert' (no degree mentioned); '10 July, 1593, Meres, Francis': while at p. 349 we are told that '2 July, 1585, Harvey, Gabriel, Master of Trin. H. Camb., M.A. and LL.D. Camb., asked D.C.L. at Oxford,' and was licensed on July 13. John Penry, the leader and the victim of the Martinist controversy, who matriculated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, Dec. 3, 1580, having graduated B.A. of Cambridge in 1583–4, subsequently became a commoner of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, and proceeded M.A. there on July 11, 1586. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

Evidence that he was in fact residing elsewhere during some portion at least of this period is extant in Gabriel Harvey's statement that when *Euphues* was being written, i. e. in 1578 and perhaps earlier, he knew Lyly 'in the Savoy[1].' The Lancastrian palace of the Savoy, blown up and burnt in Wat Tyler's rebellion, had been restored by Henry VII as 'a charitable foundation, to harbour an Hundred poor People, Sick or Lame, or Travellers'; and from the details given by Stow[2] of its management during the reigns of Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, it is clear that the lax wording of the foundation statutes and a recommendation from an influential friend would procure easy admission, for some temporary period at least, of a needy man of letters or university-student to the benefits of the Hospice. Moreover from details given in Mr. W. J. Loftie's *Memorials of the Savoy*, it appears that various chambers and tenements in the Savoy precinct were customarily let to tenants, and that in 1573 Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, is over ten pounds in arrear of rent to the Savoy for two such tenements[3]. Oxford, of course, was Burleigh's son-in-law, having married in December 1571 Anne, his eldest daughter by his first wife Mary, sister of Sir John Cheeke. Burleigh's own house in the Strand was close to the Savoy[4] and his influence as Secretary of State on the Government of the Hospital seems to have been more important than that of any one else. It is to him that appeal is made in 1570 against the mismanagement and embezzlement of the funds by Thomas Thurland, the Master. A commission presided over by Edmund Grindall, Archbishop of York, deprived Thurland of his office on July 29 of

[1] 'Pap-hatchet (for the name of thy good nature is pitifully grown out of request) thy old acquaintance in the Savoy, when young Euphues hatcht the eggs that his elder friends laid (Surely Euphues was some way a pretty fellow: would God Lilly had alwaies been Euphues and never Papp-hatchet), that old acquaintance now somewhat strangely saluted with a new remembrance, is neither lullabied with thy sweet Papp, nor scare-crow'd with thy sour Hatchett.' *Pierce's Supererogation*, Bk. ii. written in 1589 (*Archaica*, ii. 82, or Grosart's ed. of Harvey's *Works*, vol. ii. p. 124). To this must be added the later passage (*Archaica*, ii. p. 84; Grosart, ii. 128) 'They were much deceived in him at Oxford and in the Savoy, *when Master Absalon lived*, that took him only for a dapper and deft companion, or a pert conceited youth,' &c.

[2] *Survey*, i. 210, ed. Strype.

[3] *Memorials of the Savoy* (1878), p. 125, which gives from a document of 15 Elizabeth in the Office of the Receiver-General arrears of rent due for chambers in the Hospital from divers persons—Sir Ralph Sadler, Thomas Haines, Esq., Dorothea Brodbelt, lady of the Privy Chamber, Sir Henry Lee, Ralph Bowes, gent. —and among them 'From Edward Earl of Oxford, part rent of two tenements within the Hospital, late in the tenure of John Hurleston, £4, and Barnard Hampton, 63s. 4d., £10 : 11 : 8.'

[4] Ibid. p. 127.

that year; but no one was appointed in his stead; and on April 26, 1574 Burleigh, on his oath to certain articles of reformation, reinstated him[1]. The date of his final disappearance is not absolutely determined; but Mr. Loftie fixes 1575 or 1577 as the probable date of Dr. Mount's succession to the office of Master, which he held till 1602[2]. Dr. Mount, then, cannot be the 'Master Absalon' whom Harvey, writing in 1589, represents as dead. Possibly it is a nickname expressing Thurland's extravagant and unprincipled character. The upshot, at any rate, is that in 1577 or earlier Lyly was living, whether temporarily or permanently, in the Savoy, probably owing his residence there to Burleigh's interest; and that in this famous old spot he made the acquaintance of Gabriel Harvey, who was living there on much the same conditions. A reference to gambling in *Pappe*[3] gives us a momentary glimpse into one side of the life there; and when, two pages farther on, Lyly alludes, as a possible champion to be engaged against Martin, to 'one that shall so translate you out of French into English, that you will blush and lie by it,' proceeding immediately to threaten Martin with another antagonist in Harvey, one is strongly tempted to think of Edmund Spenser as a possible associate of the two men in the same place. Spenser, who left Cambridge for the north after taking his M.A. in 1576, came to London in 1578, probably at his friend Harvey's suggestion. To Harvey he seems to have owed his introduction to Sidney, and through him to Sidney's uncle Leicester, from whose house he dates a letter on Oct. 15, 1579. It is likely enough that Lyly, Harvey's friend, was known sooner or later to Sidney, Leicester, Spenser—to all whom Harvey knew; nor after 1579 would he stand in need of Harvey's introduction to anybody. In support of my identification

[1] *Memorials of the Savoy* (1878), p. 125: but since a letter survives from the Archbishop to Burleigh of that same date (Apr. 26) [*Lansdowne MS.* xix. No. 4] protesting against the reappointment, his restoration would seem to have been a little later.

[2] 'His (Thurland's) successor was Dr. [Wm.] Mount, and the date of his appointment may have been in 1575 or 1577. There are State papers, dated in both those years, relating to the condition and revenues of the Hospital, which may have been drawn up on the vacancy. It was during Dr. Mount's incumbency that the abortive rising of the Earl of Essex took place, and troops were stationed in the Savoy, apparently to protect Lord Burleigh [or rather his son and successor, Sir Robert Cecil. Burleigh died in 1598], whose house, as we have seen, was opposite. Dr. Mount died apparently in 1602, and was succeeded by Dr. Neale' (Ibid. p. 127).

[3] Vol. iii: 'Why, is not gaming lawful? I know where there is more play in the compasse of an Hospitall, than in the circuite of Westchester' (i.e. Chester: see note ad loc.).

of this translator 'out of French into English,' I will merely mention that Spenser had done some such translation, from du Bellay, as early as 1569, that in 1589, when *Pappe* was written, he was still known chiefly as the poet of *The Shepheardes Kalender*, with its renderings from Marot, and that, as we shall see later on, some stanzas of his spoken by Thalia in *The Teares of the Muses* (publ. in *Complaints*, 1591) probably allude to Lyly himself.

Euphues: the Anatomy of Wyt, Lyly's first literary work[1], appeared without date at the close of 1578, 'hatched in the hard winter with the Alcyon[2].' It was entered on the *Stationers' Register* by the publisher, Gabriel Cawood, on December 2 of that year[3]; and is spoken of by Lyly as 'lying bound on the Stacioners stall at Christmas,' in a passage in which alterations made to suit subsequent editions show that he is referring to his own work[4]. That he had finished it in the summer of that year (1578) is to be inferred from the hope expressed at the end of it to have Euphues returned from his English visit 'within one Summer' (p. 323, l. 20), compared with the entry of *Euphues and his England*, which describes that visit, in the *Stationers' Register*, on July 24, 1579[5], and with Lyly's own remark in the dedication thereof (vol. ii. p. 4, l. 12), 'Of the second I went *a whole yeare* big, and yet when euerye one thought me ready to lye downe, I did then quicken'—the natural interpretation of which is that in the summer of 1579, a year from the conclusion of Part I had already elapsed, but Part II, not actually published till the spring of 1580[6], had then been hardly begun. The interval of half a year between the conclusion and the appearance of Part I would be occupied by the finding of a publisher and the printing of the work. It is dedicated to 'my very good Lord and Master Sir William West Knight, Lord Delaware[7]'; it professes to be 'set

[1] 'Which discourse (right Honorable) I hope you wil the rather pardon for the rudenes in that it is the first,'—Dedication to Sir William West, p. 180. 'In the like manner fareth it with me (Right Honourable) who neuer before handling the pensill, did for my fyrst counterfaite, coulour mine owne Euphues'—Dedication of Part II to the Earl of Oxford, vol. ii. p. 3, l. 12. There is absolutely no ground for supposing, with Mr. G. F. Baker, that *Endimion* preceded *Euphues*.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 5, l. 23.

[3] Arber's *Transcript*, ii. 342.

[4] Address 'to the Gentlemen Readers,' p. 182: on which passage see my remarks, 'Bibliography,' pp. 90–1.

[5] *Transcript*, ii. 357.

[6] In the address 'To the Gentlemen Readers,' prefixed to *Euphues and his England*, vol. ii. p. 11, l. 11, he tries to excuse the delay—'Secondly, being a great start from Athens to England, he thought to stay for the advantage of a Leape yeare, and had not this yeare leapt with him, I think he had not yet leapt hether.'

[7] The family seat of the Wests, lords de la Warre, was at Broadwater in Sussex (about a mile to the north of the present town of Worthing), in the parish church

foorth' not 'for any deuotion in print, but for dutie which I owe to my Patrone[1],' and is spoken of later as having been 'sent to a noble man to nurse, who with great loue brought him vp for a yeare[2].' This is all there is to be gleaned from Lyly himself; and though it is possible, as suggested above, that he had held some tutorial post in Lord de la Warre's household during his Oxford course, we have no certain evidence of any closer connexion than a permission to dedicate, a permission generally understood to carry some substantial recognition of the compliment on the patron's part.

The new novel was an immediate and striking success. Less, perhaps, for the novelty of the style—which carried to its highest point the antithetic balance of structure discernible in North's *Diall of Princes*, 1557, and much more strongly, and with large addition of alliterative devices, in Pettie's recent *Pallace of Pleasure*, 1576—than for its originality of plan and purport, this first considerable English romance of contemporary life was hailed by the cultivated classes of society as a welcome change from the interminable adventures of wandering knights or classical heroes, and from a portraiture of the fair sex more chivalrous and conventional than lively or accurate. A spice of satirical flavour was added in the severe attack on university discipline, delivered in the chapter entitled *Euphues and his Ephoebus*, in which, under the anachronism of 'Athens,' the public had no difficulty in recognizing the author's own university of Oxford. Novelty, wit, and scandal alike promoted a sale; a second edition was called for by Midsummer of 1579, a third by Christmas of that year, and a fourth at Easter of 1580. To the second Lyly, besides revising the text throughout, made considerable additions, and appended an address, 'To my verie good

of which village they were successively buried. I cannot find that they had any property in Kent, though in my *Quarterly* article of Jan. 1896, I suggested (wrongly) that Broadwater might link Lyly with Tunbridge Wells, where there is a Broadwater Down. William West, born about 1519, and bred up as heir to his childless uncle Thomas, Lord de la Warre, was disabled from all honours by Act of Parliament in 1547-8, for attempting to poison that uncle, who did not die till 1554, when the title became extinct. William served, however, at the siege of St. Quentin in 1557: on April 10, 1563, he was restored in blood, was knighted in 1568, and on Feb. 5, 1569-70, is believed to have been created by patent Baron de la Warre. He was summoned to Parliament by writs, from May 8, 1572 to Feb. 19, 1591-2, and sat on the trials of the Duke of Norfolk (1571-2) and the Earl of Arundel (1589). He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Strange of Chesterton, and died Dec. 30, 1595. (Dugdale's *Baronage*, pp. 139-144, Collins' *Peerage of England*, iii. 391 sqq., and *Dict. Nat. Biog.* vol. lx. p. 344.)

[1] Address to the Gentlemen Readers, p. 182.

[2] Dedication to Part II, vol. ii. p. 4, l. 28.

friends the Gentlemen Scholers of Oxford'; in which, without positively retracting, he endeavoured to allay the irritation caused by his remarks on university life, and suggested that in a forthcoming sequel should rather be sought his real views on Oxford. Such a sequel had been promised at the close of the original edition, without any very definite intention of fulfilment[1]. But the rapid success of his venture must have soon determined him to continue working the rich vein he had opened; and by the time the second edition of *The Anatomy of Wyt* was issued, its hero was well under weigh for this country. Had he not been so we should hardly find the Second Part entered on the *Stationers' Register* by Gabriel Cawood on July 24, 1579[2]. But Lyly's clear statement in the Dedication, vol. ii. p. 4, l. 12, 'Of the second I went a whole yeare big, and yet when euerye one thought me ready to lye downe, I did then quicken,' &c., relieves us from all necessity of supposing it then ready for the press; or of assenting to the reasons invented to account for the delay to publish (1) by Mr. Fleay[3], who supposes that Lyly withheld his book, with its flattery of Elizabeth, and compliments to Burleigh, because he was disappointed by Tylney's appointment as Master of the Revels on the same day that Cawood entered the book (July 24, 1579); (2) by Mr. G. F. Baker[4], who, postulating an early connexion between Lyly and Leicester—we mustn't forget that Leicester was Chancellor of Oxford University when Lyly was an undergraduate!—asks us to believe that Leicester's disgrace in August, 1579 induced our author to reserve his work, and that his partial restoration to favour in September–October occasioned the composition and performance (all in about three weeks!) of the play of *Endimion*. The notion of any candidature by Lyly for the Revels Mastership so early as 1579, a notion

[1] Compare 'I haue finished the first part of *Euphues* whome now I left readye to crosse the Seas to *Englande*, if the wind sende him a shorte cutte you shall in the seconde part heare what newes he bringeth and I hope to haue him retourned within one Summer.' *Anatomy of Wyt*, p. 323, l. 15—with Epist. Ded. to Part II (vol. ii. p. 4, l. 20) 'So I suspecting that *Euphues* would be carped of some curious Reader, thought by some false shewe to bringe them in hope of that which then I meant not, leading them with a longing of a second part, that they might speake well of the first,' &c.; and with the words of the Address (2nd ed. of Part I), 'Euphues . . . is now on the seas, & how he hath ben tossed I know not, but whereas I had thought to receiue him at Douer, I must meete him at Hampton,' p. 325, l. 17, i. e. Southampton. The stormy weather is alleged in excuse of his non-arrival by the promised date, summer.

[2] *Transcript*, ii. 357.

[3] *Biographical Chronicle of the English Stage*, vol. ii. p. 37.

[4] Biographical Introduction to *Endymion the Man in the Moon* . . ., edited by George F. Baker, New York, 1894, pp. xxxiii–vi, lxix–xci.

intrinsically improbable, is completely negatived by the final settlement of the vexed question of the dates of his two petitions to the Queen, which enables me to date his first vague appointment definitely in 1585[1], and the idea that *Euphues and his England* was finished, or nearly finished, by the summer of 1579, is contradicted not only by the affair mentioned in the *Glasse* (vol. ii. p. 207, l. 32) of a gun discharged at the Queen's barge, an incident which Camden, who reports it, clearly intends to represent as occurring at the end of July[2], but still more emphatically by the allusion on an earlier page to Gosson's *Ephemerides of Phialo*, a book not entered on the *Stationers' Register* until November 7, 1579[3]. The idea of any connexion between Leicester and Lyly at this date, an idea which has really nothing to support it, and Prof. A. W. Ward's easy acceptance of which is not a little surprising[4], is sufficiently negatived by the absence in the *Glasse* of any eulogy of that statesman, such as Burleigh receives (vol. ii. p. 198), and by the general opposition between Leicester and Burleigh, to whose party in the Court Lyly was certainly at this time attached[5].

[1] See below, pp. 32 sqq.

[2] Immediately after narrating the incident (*Annals of Elizabeth*, 1579, *Hist. of England* in 3 vols, fol., ii. p. 471) he proceeds—'Some few days after, the Duke of Anjou himself arrived privately in England'—a visit known to have occurred early in August. (Froude's *Hist. of England*, xi. 153-4.)

[3] *Euphues and his England*, vol. ii. p. 99, l. 17 note, and *Transcript*, ii. 361. It is just possible that Lyly was the author of *Straunge Newes out of Affrick*, a pamphlet in reply to Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*, to which the latter devotes some two and a half folios at the opening of the *Ephemerides of Phialo*. The pamphlet is lost, but no writer would correspond so well as Lyly to Gosson's description of its contents, a description quoted in full in Arber's edition of *The Schoole of Abuse*, pp. 62-3. Yet, though Lyly might be willing enough to defend the stage, the character of his reference to Gosson in this passage of *Euphues*, vol. ii. p. 99, is not unfriendly, which it could hardly have avoided being after Gosson's remarks on *Straunge Newes*, had he been its author; nor in *Playes Confuted* (1582?) does Gosson allude at all to Lyly, or to *Campaspe* or *Sapho and Phao*, both of which had, I believe, been performed on the popular stage.

[4] *English Dramatic Literature* (ed. 1900), vol. i. 289-292, and compare Baker's absurdly weak arguments, *Endymion*, p. xxxv.

[5] The occasion of all this baseless fabric of ingenious conjecture is not merely the interval between the entry and the publication of the Second Part, but the discrepancy, first noted by Professor Arber in 1868, between the date of Philautus' last letter to Euphues (vol. ii. p. 223), 'the first of Februarie. 1579,' i.e. 1579-80, and the date given at the outset of the book (vol. ii. p. 13) for the commencement of Euphues' voyage to England, 'the first of December, 1579'; which latter would demand, since a year or more of time is required by the action of the novel, a date as late as 1580-1 for Philautus' letter. Mr. Fleay considers that the dates were originally earlier to suit the intended earlier date of issue, and in this he is probably right—originally, no doubt, Euphues sailed on Dec. 1, 1578: and he is right, too, in supposing the discrepancy to have been caused by the necessity of dating Philautus' last letter before the date of actual publication, spring, 1580. But the motive of altering the first date, which Mr. Fleay thinks done 'to conceal

The simple reason for the delay in publishing was that the book was not finished; and if we consider the length of the work—it is more than half as long again as Part I—the elaboration of the style which must absolutely have precluded rapid composition, and Lyly's own statement[1] that, when his friends were expecting its appearance it was in reality hardly begun, the delay need cause us no surprise. Moreover, from the number of allusions in the prefatory matter to the Greek painters, and especially Apelles[2], and in particular from the excuse alleged (vol. ii. p. 11, l. 6) for the delay in Euphues' arrival, that 'he loytered, tarying many a month in Italy *viewing the Ladyes in a Painters shop*,' I am inclined to believe that the first half of 1579 was occupied, not so much with *Euphues and his England*, as with his first dramatic venture *Campaspe*; a belief that is confirmed when I read in *Euphues and his England* (vol. ii. p. 59, l. 21) that 'Appelles (loued) the counterfeit of *Campaspe*,' a circumstance that cannot be said to form part of Pliny's brief account[3], but only of Lyly's play[4]. But the verbal transcription in the latter of passages from North's *Plutarch*, the dedication of which is only dated January 16, 1579–80, forbid us to suppose the play finished before 1580, or else compel us to regard it as receiving additions in that or the next year[5].

his disappointment' about the Revels, was simply, I believe, to make it square with the successive alterations, 'Christmas,' 'Midsomer,' 'Christmas,' made at p. 182 in the first three editions of Part I. Lyly forgot—or, unable to foresee a laborious and critical nineteenth century, expected his readers to overlook—that the other notes of time in the novel do not allow of such a compression.

[1] Vol. ii. p. 4, ll. 12-4.

[2] Ibid. pp. 5, 6 (twice), 9, &c.

[3] *De Historia Naturali*, lib. xxxv. cap. x.

[4] *Campaspe*, iii. 5, iv. 4, v. 4. Lyly's references to painting are, indeed, of such a number and character as to suggest that he had some closer acquaintance with the art than could be gleaned merely from a perusal of Pliny's *De Pictura*. In the *Glasse*, vol. ii. p. 194, l. 16, he refers, perhaps following Holinshed, to the painting of the Englishman, naked, with a pair of shears and a piece of cloth, which was one of a series of national figures painted by the Fleming, Lucas de Heere (1534?–1584), in the gallery of the Earl of Lincoln (*English Painters*, by H. J. Wilmot-Buxton, p. 20). De Heere was Court painter to both Mary and Elizabeth; and his portrait of the latter, attended by Juno, Minerva and Venus, dated 1569, which is preserved at Hampton Court (No. 635), may have suggested the lines *Ipuis Elizabeth* with which Lyly concludes his encomium (p. 216). It is likely enough that in 1579 he made De Heere's, or some other painter's, acquaintance, and haunted his studio. I can trace no painting, miniature, or sketch, which may claim to be the counterfeit presentment of our author; Mr. Lionel Cust, Director of the National Portrait Gallery, knows of none such; nor is there any that can be identified with him in the Hope Collection at Oxford: but in the case of one so well known the probability seems great that his features were preserved in one form or another, either by De Heere, or by our earliest native painter of note, Nicholas Hilliard (1547–1619), and that such portrait still exists in some private collection, though its identity may be lost beyond recall.

[5] See *Campaspe*, Sources and Date.

Euphues and his England appeared, at any rate, with the date 1580 upon its title-page, evidence that it was not published before March 25 of that year. It proved no less of a success than its predecessor; a close examination of the surviving early copies showing that two other editions were printed in the same year, and one in each of the two following years[1]. It was dedicated 'To the Right Honourable my very good Lorde and Maister Edward de Vere, Earle of Oxenforde'; and here we have the first authentic indication of Lyly's connexion with Burleigh's son-in-law, a connexion which may have begun in the Savoy where, as we saw, Oxford rented 'two tenements,' but which Lyly must in any case have owed to Burleigh's recommendation. The nature of the connexion is to be inferred from Lyly's own letter of 1582, and from Harvey's *Advertisement to Pap Hatchet*[2]. He was engaged as private secretary to the Earl, and admitted to his confidence. The two men were much of an age—Oxford was born in 1550—and had common elements of character and directions of taste. From the Earl, probably, it was that Lyly first received the dramatic impulse. None of Oxford's comedies survive, but Puttenham, writing in 1589, classes him with Richard Edwardes as 'deseruing the hyest price . . . for Comedy and Enterlude[3]'; and we hear further of a company of players under his patronage playing at Ipswich, at Cambridge in 1581, and other places[4], while the Revels Accounts of 1584 record the performance before the Queen of 'The history of Agamemnon 't Ulisses . . . by the Earle of Oxenford his boyes on St. John's daie at night at Grenewiche[5].' Suggestion, encouragement, and apparatus thus lay ready to Lyly's hand; and it was natural that he should turn to comedy, though it is to the St. Paul's and the Chapel children that his first pieces are entrusted. If *Campaspe* was composed in 1579 it may have been performed at the Blackfriars[6] that

[1] See under *Text and Bibliography*, pp. 95–7; and for remaining editions, of which the seventeenth of either Part was issued in 1636, see Table, pp. 101–5.

[2] Brydges' *Archaica*, vol. ii. p. 139, where Harvey says that some expressions he reproduces from *Pappe*, 'and a whole sink of such arrant phrases, savour hotly of the same Lucianical breath, and discover the minion secretary aloof.' (Grosart's ed. ii. 215.)

[3] *The Arte of English Poesie*, ed. Arber, p. 77.

[4] *Dict. of National Biog.*, art. 'Vere, Edward de, 17th Earl of Oxford.'

[5] Cunningham's *Extracts*, p. 188.

[6] Though it has been sufficiently demonstrated that the Blackfriars Theatre was not at this time in existence, being built in fact by Burbage in 1596–7, yet it is clear from Lyly's Prologues 'At the Blackfriars,' that his first two plays were performed at that place. In the deed of feoffment to Burbage, dated Feb. 4, 1596,

Christmas, or at least at Christmas, 1580, though I believe the 'newyeares day at night' of its first performance at Court to have been that of 1581-2, and the passages in Act i, borrowed from or founded on North's *Plutarch*, cannot have been written before 1580[1]. In the summer of 1581, when the futility of Alençon's suit of Elizabeth was evident to the Court, Lyly was probably writing *Sapho and Phao*; and though her subsequent vacillation may have caused him to lay it aside, I believe it was finished almost immediately on Alençon's final departure on February 2, 1582, and produced at Court by the Paul's and Chapel children conjointly on 'Shroue tewsday,' February 27.

In the spring of this same year, 1582, we have other information of him in the shape of a letter prefixed to Thomas Watson's Ἑκατομπαθία *or Passionate Centurie of Loue*, a collection of a hundred love-sonnets, dedicated to Lyly's patron the Earl of Oxford, and entered by Lyly's publisher on the *Stationers' Register* under date March 31[2]. Lyly may have known Watson at Oxford: that their tastes and dispositions were very similar is proved by Anthony à Wood's very similar statements about them[3]; and the tone of Lyly's

and quoted in Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines*, i. 299, the property conveyed to him consists chiefly of 'seaven greate upper romes as they are nowe devided, being all uppon one flower and sometyme beinge one greate and entire rome.' Remembering the old connexion of the Revels Office with the Blackfriars in Sir Thos. Cawarden's time, remembering, too, that in 1596 the Lord Chamberlain's house is described as being 'neere adjoyning' the property bought by Burbage, and that until Tylney's appointment in 1579 plays used to be 'recited' before the Lord Chamberlain himself to obtain his licence, there seems sufficient probability that some large room in the Blackfriars, and possibly the very one bought by Burbage as seven rooms, had in 1580-3 and earlier (but long after official excuse had disappeared with the transference of the Revels Office to St. John's Priory, near Smithfield), been used for dramatic purposes by connivance of the Lord Chamberlain or some private personage. The privilege would be doubly welcome to the players, since the liberties of the Blackfriars were exempt from the jurisdiction of the Common Council; while the fact of the room being on private premises would warrant the petitioners against Burbage's theatre in 1596, in stating that 'there hath not at any tyme heretofore been used any comon playhouse within the same precinct.' (*Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, i. 304.)

[1] North's dedication to Elizabeth is dated Jan. 16, 1579-80.

[2] Arber's *Transcript*, ii. 409: 'vltimo Die marcij 1582 master Cawoode Licenced to him vnder the andes of master Recorder and master Dewce Watsons passions manifestinge the true frenzy of love . . . vj^d.'

[3] 'Thomas Watson, a Londoner born, did spend some time in this university, not in logic and philosophy, as he ought to have done; but in the smooth and pleasant studies of poetry and romance, whereby he obtained an honourable name among the students in those faculties. Afterward retiring to the metropolis, studied at common law at riper years. . . . He hath written other things of that nature or strain [i.e. that of Watson's *Meliboeus* and *Amintae Gaudia*, previously referred to], and something pertaining to pastoral, which I have not yet seen, and was highly valued among ingenious men, in the latter end of Q. Elizabeth.' (*Athenae Oxonienses*, i. 601 (ed. Bliss, 1813).)

letter is that of close intimacy. Most interesting is the allusion to some former unfortunate flame of his own; of which we have, I believe, a reflection in the unrequited passion of Fidus for Iffida, in *Euphues and his England*, but which Lyly here frankly acknowledges has ceased to pain him. His tone is quiet and slightly cynical, without any of the bitterness felt by Euphues or Philautus on their rejection, respectively, by Lucilla or Camilla. And he promises to repay his friend's confidence by imparting to him in private the verses which his own passion had called forth, but which he has no intention of printing. Whatever these were—and if we may judge by *Cupid and my Campaspe*, they may well have been daintier than anything of Watson's—they are now irrecoverable. At least it seems clear from the letter that Lyly is not yet married. I reproduce it from the *editio princeps* of Watson's book, where it immediately follows the address 'To the friendly reader,' preceding all commendatory verse by other writers, among whom is 'G. Peele'.

'JOHN LYLY TO THE AUTHOUR HIS FRIEND.

'My good friend, I haue read your new passions, and they haue renewed mine old pleasures, the which brought to me no lesse delight, thē they haue done to your selfe commendations. And certes had not one of mine eies about serious affaires beene watchfull, both by being too too busie had beene wanton: such is the nature of persuading pleasure, that it melteth the marrowe before it scorch the skin, and burneth before it warmeth: Not vnlike vnto the oyle of Ieat, which rotteth the bone and neuer ranckleth the flesh, or the Scarab flies, which enter into the roote and neuer touch the rinde.

'And whereas you desire to haue my opinion, you may imagine that my stomake is rather cloyed, then quesie, & therfore mine appetite of lesse force thē mine affection, fearing rather a surfet of sweetenes, then desiring a satisfying. The repeating of Loue, wrought in me a remembrance of liking, but serching the very vaines of my hearte, I could finde nothing but a broad scarre, where I left a deepe wounde: and loose stringes, where I tyed hard knots: and a table of steele, where I framed a plot of wax.

'Whereby I noted that young swannes are grey, & the olde white, yoūg trees tender, & the old tough, young mē amorous, & growing in yeeres, either wiser or warier. The Corall in the water is a softe weede, on the land a hard stone: a sworde frieth in the fire like a blacke ele, but layd in earth like white snowe: the heart in loue is altogether passionate, but free from desire, altogether carelesse.

'But it is not my intent to inueigh against loue, which womē account but a bare word, & that mē reuerence as the best God: onely this I would

add without offence to Gentlewomen, that were not men more supersticious in their praises, thē womē are constant in their passions: Loue would either shortly be worne out of vse, or men out of loue, or women out of lightnes. I cā cōdemne none but by cōiecture, nor commend any but by lying, yet suspicion is as free as thought, and as farre as I see as necessary, as credulitie.

'Touching your Mistres I must needes thinke well, seeing you haue written so well, but as false glasses shewe the fairest faces, so fine gloses amēd the baddest fancies. Apelles painted the Phenix by hearesay not by sight, and Lysippus engraued Vulcan with a streight legge, whome nature framed with a poult[1] foote, which proueth men to be of greater affection then iudgement. But in that so aptly you haue varied vppon women, I will not vary from you, so confesse I must, and if I should not, yet mought I be compelled, that to Loue were the sweetest thing in the earth: If women were the faithfullest, & that women would be more constant if men were more wise.

'And seeing you haue vsed mee so friendly, as to make me acquainted with your passions, I will shortly make you pryuie to mine, which I woulde be loth the printer shoulde see, for that my fancies being neuer so crooked he would put thē in streight lines, vnfit for my humor, necessarie for his art, who setteth downe, blinde, in as many letters as seeing.

'Farewell.'

In the 'serious affaires,' about which he professes himself 'watchfull,' we may perhaps recognize the oncoming of the difference between him and his patron which is the subject of his letter to Burleigh in the following July. The most natural interpretation of that letter is that some person had charged Lyly with a falsification of accounts or appropriation of moneys; but the accusation may equally well have referred to some want of openness in dealing, some breach of the Earl's confidence, or possibly some unfavourable criticism passed on him behind his back. Lyly seems a little uncertain with what precisely he is charged; and the whole affair may be nothing more than an ebullition of gloomy and suspicious temper on the part of Oxford, who was at this very time confined by the Queen's order to his own house, on account of a quarrel between himself and a gentleman of the privy chamber, Thomas Knyvet, which had already led to the wounding of both the principals and the death of a retainer on either side[2]. Whatever the cause, it does not appear that Lyly had at the time of writing been actually

[1] *poult foote*, club-foot, literally chicken-foot. Again of Vulcan, *Euphues*, pp. 179, 239.

[2] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, art. 'Vere, Edward de.'

dismissed, nor can we be sure that he ever was so. The letter, as has been remarked, has the ring of honesty; and from Harvey's expression 'the minion secretary' in 1589[1] we might even infer that he still held his post, though I think it more probable that he resigned it on his assumption of duties in the Revels Office in or about 1585.

The letter is written in a natural and legible hand, very different to the fine copperplate of the Latin epistle of 1574, and is probably Lyly's autograph. It is endorsed, presumably by Burleigh's secretary, 'Julij 1582, John Lilly to my L.', and superscribed

'To y^e^ right honorable, y^e^ L. Burleigh, L. high Tresorer of England.

'My duetie (right honorable) in most humble manner remembred.

'It hath plesed my Lord vpon what colour I cannot tell, certaine I am vpon no cause, to be displesed w^t^ me, y^e^ grief wherof is more then the losse can be. But seeing I am to liue in y^e^ world, I must also be iudged by the world, for that an honest seruaunt must be such as Cæsar wold haue his wif, not only free from synne, but from suspicion. And for that I wish nothing more then to commit all my waies to yo^r^ wisdome, and the deuises of others to yo^r^ iudgment, I heere yeld both my self and my soule, the one to be tried by yo^r^ honnor, the other by the iustic of god. and I doubt not but my dealings being sifted, the world shall find whit meale, wher others thought to shew cours branne. It may be manie things wil be obiected, but y^t^ any thing can be proued I doubt, I know yo^r^ L. will soone smell deuises from simplicity, trueth from trecherie, factions from iust servic. And god is my witnes, before whome I speak, and before whome for my speach I shall aunswer, y^t^ all my thoughtes concerning my L. haue byne ever reuerent, and almost relligious. How I haue dealt god knoweth and my Lady can coniecture, so faithfullie, as I am as vnspotted for dishonestie, as a suckling from theft. This conscinc of myne maketh me presume to stand to all trialls, ether of accomptes, or counsell, in the one I neuer vsed falshood, nor in the other dissembling. my most humble suit therefore vnto yo^r^ L. is y^t^ my accusations be not smothered and I choaked in y^e^ smoak, but that they maie be tried in y^e^ fire, and I will stand to the heat. And my only comfort is, y^t^ he y^t^ is[2] wis shall iudg trueth, whos nakednes shall manifest her noblenes. But I will not troble yo^r^ honorable eares w^t^[3] so meinie idle wordes only this vpon my knees I ask, y^t^ yo^r^ L. will vousalf to talk w^t^ me, and in all things will I shew my self so honest, y^t^ my disgrac shall bring to yo^r^ L. as great meruell, as it hath done to me grief, and so

[1] Brydges' *Archaica*, ii. 139; Grosart's ed. of Harvey's *Works*, ii. 215.

[2] 'is' is repeated in the MS.

[3] 'w^t^' is preceded in the MS. by 'but' erased, and followed by 'so' which Fairholt (vol. i. p. xv) omits.

thoroughly will I satisfie everie obiection, y^t yo^r L. shall think me faithfull, though infortunat. That yo^r honnor rest p'suaded of myne honest mynd, and my Lady of my true servic, that all things may be tried[1] to y^e vttermost, is my desire, and the only reward I craue for my iust, (I iust I dare tearme it) seruic. And thus in all humility submitting my Caus to yo^r wisdome and my Conscinc to y^e triall. I commit yo^r L. to the Almghtie.

'Yo^r L. most dutifullie to commaund

'Jhon Lyly.'

'for y^t I am for some few daies going into the countrie, yf yo^r L. be not at leasure to admitt[2] me to yo^r speach, at my returne I will giue my most dutifull attendaunc, at w^ch time, it may be my honesty may ioyne w^t yo^r L. wisdome and both preuent, that nether, wold allow. In the meane season what color soever be alleged, if I be not honest to my L. and so meane to bee during his plesure, I desire but yo^r L. secret opinion, for as I know[3] my L. to be most honorable, so I besech god in time he be not abused. Loth I am to be a prophitt, and to be a wiche I loath.

'Most dutifull to commaund

'Jhon Lyly'.'

From his mention of going into the country for a few days we may perhaps infer, in spite of Fidus' expression 'vntil their graues' in *Euphues*, vol. ii. p. 49, l. 18, that his father in Kent was still alive. The closing phrase about 'a wiche' claims a word. Taken in conjunction with Harvey's remark in his 'Advertisement[5],' it seems to imply that dabbling in magic had been made a charge against Lyly; and in spite of his disclaimer of belief in such arts in *Euphues* (vol. ii. p. 118, l. 31),

[1] In the MS. the word 'tried' is preceded by 'boulted &' (i. e. sifted) erased.

[2] Before the word 'admitt' the MS. has 'conferre' erased.

[3] 'I know' is read by Fairholt, in brackets, in place of words obliterated in the MS. by the seal, but leaving sufficient trace to confirm the correctness of his reading.

[4] *Lansdowne MS.* xxxvi, No. 76. I must point out that the language of the letter is entirely opposed to the idea, commonly entertained hitherto, that Lyly was directly in Burleigh's employment. The 'your L.' several times addressed is obviously not the same person as the 'my L.' with whom the writer is in disgrace. Lyly's real master is Burleigh's son-in-law, Lord Oxford; Burleigh, through whom he had obtained the post, and who was Oxford's guardian and constant providence, is the court to which Lyly appeals; and 'my Lady' is neither the Queen (Mr. Fleay overlooks the solecism of such a style) nor Lady Burleigh, but Anne, Lady Oxford, Burleigh's eldest daughter, who died in 1588.

[5] *Archaica*, ii. p. 135 (Grosart's ed. ii. pp. 209, 211, 217): 'I know one that hath written a pamphlet, entitled *Cock-a-lilly*; or *The White Son of the Black Art* . . . he that can tickle Marprelate with taunts [words applied by Lyly to Harvey in *Pappe*, see note [2] next page] can twitch double V to the quick' . . . and (p. 140) he says of this pamphlet 'he that penned (it) saw reason to display the black artist in his collier colours': compare, too, 'would fair names [i.e. lily] were spells and charms against foul affections' (p. 140).

his introduction of the matter there, and later in *Endimion*, as also the Sibyl in *Sapho*, the wise woman Mother Bombie (where he is clearly trying to combat a popular prejudice), and even the Alchemist in *Gallathea*, might possibly lend some colour to the absurd accusation.

Here may best be detailed an occurrence which serves to show that Lyly, if faithful to his master, was not always perfectly discreet; one which may, indeed, afford us the clue to his present trouble. In 1580 Gabriel Harvey had published some letters that had passed between himself and his friend Spenser[1]; in the second of which, dealing with the earthquake, his personal disappointment at failing to secure the public oratorship at Cambridge had found vent in some reflections on the University and on Dr. Perne, then Vice-Chancellor, in particular; while the third letter, also his, had introduced among his remarks on English versification some satirical hexameters, entitled *Speculum Tuscanismi*, describing an Italianate Englishman. It appears from what Lyly says in *Pappe*, and Nash, too, in one of his pamphlets, that these letters brought Harvey into trouble for libel[2]. Harvey himself admits that 'The sharpest parte of those vnlucky Letters was ouer-read at the Councell Table[3]'; though he denies that he suffered imprisonment for them, as Nash had suggested, the Privy Council being satisfied with an apology.

'And that,' he continues, 'was all the Fleeting that euer I felt, sauing that an other company of speciall good fellows (whereof he was none of the meanest that brauely threatned to coniure vpp one, which should massacre Martin's wit or should bee lambackd himself with ten yeares prouision) would needs forsooth verye courtly perswade the Earle of Oxforde, that something in those Letters, and namely, the Mirrour of Tuscanismo, was palpably intended against him: whose noble Lordship I protest I neuer meante to dishonour with the least preiudicial word of

[1] 'Three Proper and Wittie, familiar Letters lately passed between two University men: touching the Earthquake in Aprill last, and our English reformed versifying . . . 1580': they were reissued in June of the same year with the addition of two others, the first (like the first of the former three) from Spenser, and dated 'Leycester House 5 of Oct. 1579,' and the second from Harvey, both on the subject of versification. See Grosart's ed. of Harvey's *Works*, vol. i.

[2] *Pappe*, vol. iii: 'And one will we coniure vp, that writing a familiar Epistle about the naturall causes of an Earthquake, fell into the bowells of libelling, which made his eares quake for feare of clipping, he shall tickle you with taunts; all his works bound close, are at least sixe sheetes in quarto, & he calls them the first tome of his familiar Epistle . . . . If he ioyne with vs, *periisti* Martin, thy wit will be massacred: if the toy take him to close with thee, then haue I my wish, for this tenne yeres haue I lookt to lambacke him.' Cf. Nash's *Strange Newes* (*Works*, ii. 235, 239) and *Haue with you* (iii. 115).

[3] *Foure Letters and certaine Sonnets*, 1592; Grosart's *Harvey's Works*, i. 180.

my Tongue, or pen, but euer kept a minde full reckoning of many bounden duties toward The same: ..... and that Fleeting also proued like the other .... a thing of nothing[1].'

There was plausibility in the suggestion of a satire on Oxford, who had returned from an Italian tour in 1576 laden with new luxuries in dress and effeminacies of the toilet; but Harvey here denies the intention, and accuses Lyly of prompting the Earl's suspicions. He adds that no consequences followed. Probably he wrote to the Earl to vindicate himself, and by that letter sowed in Oxford's mind seeds of distrust of Lyly which bore fruit two years later. The ten years' grudge against Harvey, which Lyly acknowledges in *Pappe* (1589), may refer to some such representations made by Harvey in 1580, or to some earlier grievance, now undiscoverable, which had possibly occasioned his own tale-bearing.

I have passed lightly over Lyly's début as a dramatist, but in truth the step was more important to him, to his contemporaries, and to ourselves, than the composition of his two novels. Oxford held the hereditary office of Lord Great Chamberlain, and was besides a special favourite. Presentation to Majesty would be no difficult thing for his secretary to compass; while the performance of his first play before her, probably on Jan. 1, 1581–2, would offer the natural occasion. In his second effort a classical tale is manipulated with supreme address to serve the purposes of royal flattery; and though it deals allegorically with no less a matter than the proposed French match, it does not seem to have called down the veto of the Master of the Revels nor the displeasure of the Queen; nor, if any political sense at all is to be attached to the delay in granting the licence to print[2], need we interpret it as more than a sign of due caution in view of delicate French negotiations still pending. The effect of these two comedies on their auditors may best be estimated by a comparison of them with their shiftless, pointless, witless predecessors[3]: and it is reflected in the circumstance that *three* editions of *Campaspe* were called for in the year of its publication (1584),

[1] Grosart's *Harvey's Works*, p. 183.

[2] *Stationers' Register* (ed. Arber), ii. 430: '6 Aprilis 1584 Thomas cadman Lyllye yt is graunted vnto him yat yf he gett ye commedie of Sappho laufully alowed vnto him. Then none of this cumpanie shall Interrupt him to enjoye yt ... vj^{d}.'

[3] For all this, and Lyly's general position and immense importance in the drama's development, see the essay prefixed to the Plays, vol. ii. pp. 332 sqq.

while both it and *Sapho* were reprinted in 1591. In his next essay Lyly turned from history and classical allegory to pastoral. *Gallathea*, partly based on an *Astrological Discourse* issued by Richard Harvey in 1583, and on Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 1584, reminds us, in its allusion to ship-building, of the Commission appointed to overhaul the navy in the autumn of 1583, and of Burleigh's anxiety about it in the following spring [1]. About the same time the two companies of children, those of the Chapel and St. Paul's, who had performed Lyly's earlier plays, seem to have fallen into some disgrace. They do not appear in the Revels Accounts as contributing to the Christmas festivities of 1583–4; and we shall probably be right in considering the publication of *Campaspe* and *Sapho* in 1584 as evidence that they were prohibited from acting, and therefore had resigned to the printer MSS. whose nting, otherwise, would have been considered prejudicial to their acting-receipts. On April 1, 1585, Gabriel Cawood, the publisher of *Euphues*, enters on the *Stationers' Register* 'A Commoedie of Titirus and Galathea.' There is little doubt that this is practically identical with Lyly's *Gallathea* [2]; and the fact of its entry is argument that it had already been played, if not by the Paul's or Chapel boys, perhaps by those of Lord Oxford. But no copy of 1585 survives, and it is doubtful whether the printing was then actually proceeded with. With great probability Mr. Baker argues [3] that the failure to publish may be connected with the issue on April 26, 1585, of a writ authorizing Thomas Giles, the Master of the Paul's Boys to 'take vpp' fresh boys for the choir, a writ which may safely be taken as implying the renewal of their permission to act [4]. This would constitute a sufficient motive for either Lyly, or Giles (and the latter probably held the copyright), withdrawing the play from the printer with a view to its reproduction; and the form in which it eventually appeared, in 1592, is probably a revision of the play as originally performed [5].

Other and stronger evidence points to Lyly's direct concernment in this writ issued to Thomas Giles. Among some references jotted down by Dr. Bloxam about Lyly, the present librarian of Magdalen reported to me one to the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*,

[1] Act i. sc. 4 ad fin., and *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1581–1590, under dates Oct. 6, Dec. 29, 1583, Jan. 30, Feb. 3, June 28, 1584.

[2] *Stat. Reg.*, ed. Arber, ii. 440. Neither title is properly representative of the play. See introductory matter ('Date') to the play in vol. ii.

[3] Biographical Introduction to *Endymion* (New York, 1894), pp. cxxiv sqq.

[4] See below, p. 35.

[5] See the introductory matter to the play (under 'Date') in vol. ii.

Dec. 22, 1597; and the verification of that reference[1] has yielded a letter of the first importance to Lyly's biography, in that it settles definitely the vexed question of the dates of his two undated petitions to the Queen. As is well known, the first of those petitions alludes to a time when Lyly received some appointment in connexion with the Revels Office, coupled with the vague prospect of attaining in time to the Mastership, a hope for the fulfilment of which, he complains, he has waited ten years[2]; while the second petition reproaches the Queen in yet bitterer terms—'Thirteen yeares yo^r Highnes Servant; butt yett nothinge.' The letter to which Dr. Bloxam referred is written to Secretary (Sir Robert) Cecil, dated Dec. 22, 1597, and says 'I haue not byn importunat, that thes 12 yeres w^h vnwearied pacienc have entertayned the p'roguing of her maties promises; w^ch if in the 13, may conclud w^h the Parlement[3], I will think the griefs of tymes past but pastymes.' Obviously this etter intervenes between the two petitions, and enables us to date Lyly's first appointment twelve years before it was written, i.e. in 1585, the year to which our account has brought us.

The nature of that appointment is to be inferred from the language held in the three documents, as well as from some expressions of Harvey. In the first petition he prays that if after ten years' tempest he must 'suffer shippwracke of my tymes, my hopes, and my Wittes,' the Queen may at least bestow on him some thatched cottage where he may 'write prayers instead of playes,' and repent that he has 'played the foole soe longe.' In the letter to Cecil he says—'I find it folly that, one foot being in the grave, I should have the other on the stage.' In the second petition he says—'After many yeares servyce, It pleased yo^r Ma^tie to except against Tentes and Toyles: I wishe that ffor Tentes I might putt in Tenem^tes soe should I bee eased of some Toyles.' And Harvey says—'He hath not played the Vicemaster of Poules, and the Foolemaster of the Theater for naughtes; himselfe a mad lad, as ever twanged, neuer troubled with any substance of witt, or circumstance of honestie, sometime the

[1] *State Papers, Domestic*, 1595–1597, vol. cclxv. No. 61.

[2] 'I was entertayned yo^r Ma^ties servant by yo^r owne gratious ffavo^r stranghthened w^th Condicõns, that I should ayme all my Courses att the Revells; (I dare not saye, w^th a promise, butt a hopeffull Item, of the Reversion) ffor the w^ch theis Tenn yeares, I haue Attended, w^th an vnwearyed patience'; see transcript of the whole of both documents, below, pp. 64, 70.

[3] Lyly represented Appleby in the Parliament summoned Oct. 24, 1597, and dissolved Feb. 9, 1597-8: see *Parliaments of England*, i. (1213–1702), p. 425 (printed 1878). The full text of this letter to Sir Robert Cecil is given below, pp. 68-9.

fiddlesticke of Oxford, now the very bable (i.e. bauble) of London; would fayne forsooth haue some other esteemed, as all men value him[1].' These passages, and the surviving plays, are the only direct evidence we have for deciding the nature of Lyly's avocations. If in my effort to interpret them the reader feels some tendency to prolixity, I trust he will pardon it in consideration of the fact that we are dealing with matters which have not yet been thoroughly explored.

Mr. G. F. Baker is quite right, I think, in inferring from the last-quoted passage that Lyly occupied the post of Thomas Giles' assistant, or vice-master of the St. Paul's choir-boys. It is probable that in this capacity he had to teach the lads the elements of Latin; perhaps also of logic: so much we may fairly infer from the fun he endeavours to extract from these subjects in the plays he wrote for the boys to act[2]. It is also probable that, with his musical faculties, he had to do with their choir-training. But his chief duty, there can be little doubt, was to coach them in the acting of plays to be performed before the Queen; plays rehearsed perhaps, in the first instance, in the great hall of the Revels Office at the dissolved Priory of St. John of Jerusalem in Clerkenwell[3], but given also both before and after their performance at Court at their own singing-

[1] Harvey's *Works* (ed. Grosart), ii. p. 212, or Brydges' *Archaica*, ii. p. 137.

[2] It may remove a doubt if I note here that the cathedral choir-boys do not seem to have been, ordinarily, attendants of Dean Colet's school, situated at the east end of the building. That school was expressly founded to teach Greek and Latin, to which some Hebrew was added. Though intended, perhaps, by its founder for poor scholars, it very soon came to represent the highest school-training to be had in England at that date, and was on this account attended chiefly by the sons of citizens of the upper class. See the useful information about the early status of the school collected by the Rev. R. B. Gardiner in his *Admission-Registers of St. Paul's School* (Geo. Bell, 1884), pp. 4–5. The line of training for the St. Paul's choristers would necessarily be different. Neither Thomas Giles nor John Lyly appear in the full lists of high-masters and under-masters, from the foundation in 1509 onwards, supplied by Mr. Gardiner; and the single mention recorded of the choir-boys implies, I think, their separate status and occupation. It occurs on p. 11, among Mr. Gardiner's 'Fasti,' and runs as follows:—'1584. Thomas Gyles, Master of the Quiristers in S[t] Paul's Cathedral, is directed to instruct them in the Catechism, Writing and Music; and then suffer them to resort to S[t] Paul's School that they may learn the principles of Grammar: and after, as they shall be forwards, learn the said Catechism in Latin, which before they learned in English, and other good books taught in the said School (Churton's *Life of Nowel*, p. 190).' This reads as if a new arrangement, made perhaps in consequence of their inhibition, which would leave them more time for serious study. On the removal of that inhibition and Lyly's appointment as vice-master, their attendance at Colet's school probably ceased, and their instruction devolved largely on Lyly himself.

[3] In Cunningham's *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, p. 194, charges are entered for 'candles of all sortes for the rehersalles and workes at S[t] Johnes,' and for 'rushes for the great hall at S[t] Johnes the M[rs] Chamber 't office at the Court,' the latter being distinguished from the former in an earlier entry.

room, behind the Convocation House at St. Paul's[1], to which the public were admitted on payment. It is most natural to associate this appointment of Lyly's, which his own statements allow us to fix in 1585, with the issue of the writ to Thomas Giles on April 26 of that year[2]. That document, indeed, makes no mention of any dramatic function contemplated for the boys so taken up; but that such function was recognized or winked at, and regarded as a proper means of supplementing the master's salary, is evident from another important document; a petition, namely, of one Henry Clifton, in the year 1600[3], praying for redress against Nathaniel Gyles, master of the Chapel children, and others who, on the authority of a similar writ, had taken boys from school, who were not musical, simply for acting-purposes. The petition alleged that Gyles and his 'confederates,' when threatened with complaints to the Council,

'said . . that yf the Queene . . . would not beare them furth in that accion, she . . . should gett another to execute her comission for them' (p. 130), and that 'they had aucthoritie sufficient soe to take any noble mans sonne in this land, and did then & there vse theise speeches, that were yt not for the benefitt they made by the sayd play howse whoe would, should serve the Chappell wth childeren for them' (p. 131, *Hist. Lon. Stage*).

From this language, and from the fact of the choir-boys of Windsor, the Chapel, or St. Paul's so frequently appearing before her, it seems clear that the Queen relied on these choirs not only for the proper rendering of church-services, but also in part for the provision of dramatic amusement for herself and her Court; and that she winked at the practice of the various masters augmenting their gains by the public acting of their pupils. The connexion between the choirs and the Revels Office had grown up gradually out of the dramatic work done by Richard Edwardes, a gentleman of the Chapel, and William Hunnis, who became master of the Chapel children in 1566[4], and was probably quite informal; yet when Elizabeth

[1] Boswell's *Malone*, ii. p. 194; i.e. in the neighbourhood of Paternoster Row.

[2] The writ is printed in full by Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poet.*, vol. i. pp. 258–9 note. It professes to be 'Yoven under our Signet at our Manor of Grenewich, the 26th day of Aprill, in the 27th yere of our reign,' i.e. 1585, a sovereign's year counting from the date of accession (Nov. 17, 1558) to the same date in the following year. It authorizes Thomas Giles 'to take vpp such apte and meete children, as are most fitt to be instructed and framed in the arte and science of musicke and singing, . . . in anye Cathedral or Collegiate Churche or Churches and in everye other place or places of this our Realme of England and Wales.'

[3] The petition was published in the *Athenaeum* for Aug. 10, 1889, by Mr. James Greenstreet, and reproduced almost in full in Mr. Fleay's *History of the London Stage*, pp. 126 seqq.

[4] See Mrs. C. C. Stope's paper on Hunnis in the *Athenaeum* for March 31, 1900.

entertained Lyly as her servant, with the injunction that he should 'aim all his courses at the Revels,' she no doubt expected to reap the fruit of his musical and dramatic abilities in the shape of plays, masks or 'deuises' written by himself, and performed under his direction by the Paul's Boys. All his plays, except *The Woman in the Moone*, are described on their title-pages as presented by these children; though the two earliest, *Campaspe* and *Sapho*, are shared with the Chapel children, for whom they were perhaps rather written, and the latest, *Loves Metamorphosis*, was transferred to them in or about 1600. The circumstance of their being written for boys had the important results for Elizabethan drama that it favoured the free mingling of farcical with serious or ideal-comic matter, that it revived for the English stage the Plautine and Terentian type of the witty and rascally servant (of which, however, Edwardes' *Damon and Pithias* had already given some example), and that it caused the introduction of a number of songs intended to show off the boys' voices—a lyric element for which we cannot be too grateful. Very possibly Lyly himself composed the music for these songs; and the fact that the words, handed to the boys along with the music, were omitted by him from the MS. copy of the successive plays, may be the simple explanation of their omission also from the printed quarto editions. Writing for boys, on the other hand, would not be favourable to the introduction either of strong passion or subtle characterization, while it would tend, perhaps, in the direction of ribaldry and coarseness. Superficiality of tone, however, is a much more noticeable feature in Lyly's dramas than grossness, from which they are comparatively free. Probably the most important result of employing child-actors was histrionic rather than literary. In days when women were not yet countenanced on the stage, boys would be far better qualified to render female parts than men, alike by their stature, their voice, their general fairness and smoothness of complexion. Above all, these boy-companies supplied a trained body of actors from which the adult stage might be recruited[1]. The effect of this early training on the acting of the day must have been very great: and if some parents objected to the dramatic use made of their children, others would no doubt welcome it as

[1] Compare Hamlet's remark (Act ii. sc. 2. 360) on the unwisdom of the child-actors 'exclaiming against their own succession' and 'berattling the common stages,' i. e. abusing the older players with whom they must shortly be ranked themselves.

opening a career to them after their voices had broken. The sense of incongruity between their sacred and secular functions, of the irreverence of rehearsing (as was sometimes done) in consecrated buildings, and of the impropriety of devoting so much time in the impressionable years of childhood to occupations so frivolous, was partly deadened, perhaps, for Elizabethans by that sacred origin which the drama still clearly recalled, and which had given rise to these practices. With the complete secularization and growing popularity of the stage, however, it could not fail to make itself felt, and found at last official expression in 1626, when the warrant issued to Nathaniel Gyles for enlisting fresh boys for the Chapel choir, distinctly provides that they shall not be employed as comedians[1].

Besides writing plays and coaching the boys in them, I conceive that Lyly, 'the Foolemaster of the Theater,' occasionally took a part himself. His talk about 'repenting that he has played the fool so long,' and 'having one foot on the stage while the other is in the grave,' carries something of the angry sense of one who has

> 'gone here and there,
> And made himself a motley to the view':

and Harvey's remark, 'What more easy than to find the man by his humour, *the Midas* by his eares, the calf by his tongue,' &c., and the description of him as one 'that will suffer none to play the Rex but himselfe,' suggest that in the Long Vacation of 1589 he may actually have seen his old friend and present opponent in the title-rôle of *Midas* at the singing-room in Paul's[2]. A function at first welcome to Lyly's high spirits and love of fun would easily become distasteful to him as time went on, and may even have somewhat impaired Elizabeth's sense of his fitness for the more authoritative position to which he aspired.

But from his statement that the Queen had 'excepted against Tentes and Toyles,' we must infer a further and more definite connexion with the Revels Office than would be afforded by the vice-mastership of the Paul's Boys. In an article written some seven years ago[3], I suggested that the phrase 'Tentes and Toyles' was to be interpreted of the furniture and costumes used in the Court performances; that Lyly had charge of these and was responsible,

[1] Symonds' *Shakespeare's Predecessors*, pp. 301–3.
[2] Harvey's *Works* (ed. Grosart), ii. pp. 128, 215; *Archaica*, ii. 84, 139; and see under 'Date' of *Midas*, vol. iii.
[3] Printed in the *Quarterly Review* for Jan. 1896, p. 112.

generally, for the mounting of plays and masks at Court. I was not then aware of the existence of a contemporary Office of Tentes and Toyles, originally separate and devoted to the custody of the royal paraphernalia for hunting or camping in war, but later amalgamated with the Revels Office, an amalgamation partly due no doubt to the change of sex in the sovereign, and to the perception that much of the costly material in the hunting-store might be made available for stage-shows and masks at Court [1]. Stow [2], speaking of the dissolution of the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem in 1541, says—

'This Priory, Church and House of S[t] John was preserved from Spoil or down-pulling so long as King Henry viii Reigned, and was imployed as a Store House for the Kings Toyls and Tents for hunting, and for the Wars &c.'

He then proceeds to relate the partial destruction of the church by gunpowder in Edward VI's reign, and its partial restoration under Mary; but says no more of the other buildings of the Priory, which the plates in Dugdale's *Monasticon* [3] show to have been extensive. Now, though we know that in 1547 the apparel and furniture for revels and masks at Court had been removed from Warwick Inn to the dissolved monastery of Blackfriars, 'the whole house, scite or circuit compass and precinct' of which was granted to Sir Thomas Cawarden on May 12, 1551 [4], it is clear that a later transference of the stuff must have been made to St. John's, which is the seat of the Revels Office all through the period covered by Mr. Cunningham's *Accounts*, at least from 1571 to 1610 [5]; a transference probably dictated by the intention to amalgamate the properties of the

[1] The French *toiles*, which led me to the suggestion (though Malone, I find, mentions the Office), is, it appears, the origin of our 'toil,' a net or snare. Skeat quotes s.v. from Cotgrave—'*toile*, cloth, linen cloth, also a staulking-horse of cloth; *toile de araigne*, a cob-web; pl. *toiles*, toils, or a hay to inclose or intangle wild beasts in.'

[2] *Survey*, ed. Strype, Bk. iv. ch. 3, p. 63.

[3] Vol. ii. p. 504 (1661).

[4] Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poet.* i. 139.

[5] The fees paid to John Dauncey, 'Porter of S[t] Jhons gatte,' which still stands (to the south of St. John's Square, which occupies the site of the Priory), commence in the earliest year for which the accounts are recovered, 1571: see *Extracts*, pp. 16, 194, 201, 207, and the warrants quoted in Mr. Cunningham's *Introduction*, pp. xxi-ii, to allow the Revels officers yearly compensation for the loss of their official residences through James I's gift of St. John's to Lord d'Aubigny in 1610. *Enrolments*, vol. ii. p. 108, 'Whereas William Hunning and Edward Kyrkham, Officers of the Revells, are by these Lettres patent . . . to have the use of such houses and lodgings as anciently did belong to either of their places, And whereas upon his Mat[s] gift of the house of S[t] Johns to the Lord Aubigny they have been dispossessed of the houses and lodgings formerly appointed to their offices. . . . These are therefore to will and require you to allow unto

Revels Office with the store of Tentes and Toyles already at St. John's. Of Tentes and Toyles as a special department the Revels Accounts are silent; but I find a good deal about them in a MS. which from internal evidence I date in 1573[1]. It is described in the *Catalogue of Lansdowne MSS.* as treating 'Of the first institution of the Revels, and in what respects regulations in the office should take place.' After setting forth that originally the Prince, when disposed for pastime, would appoint a different Master of the Revels as each occasion arose, the document continues—

'It is alleged by some that afterwardes the Revelles togethers with the Tentes and Toyles was made an office and certen of the kinges householde servauntes appoynted by patent to have care thereof. Off whiche office there was a Seriaunt [Serjeant] Yeoman groomes etc. . . . John Barnard . . . was the first Clerke Comptroller of the said office for the Revelles and Tentes by patent . . .

. . . . . .

The Quenes maiestye that nowe [is] devided the said Office into diverse Offices videlt

The Revelles to Sir Thomas Benger knight.

The Tentes to M^r^ Henrye Sakeford of her maiesties privie Chamber.

The Toyles to M^r^ Tamworth of her maiesties privie Chamber.

Yf the offices of the Tentes and Toyles might in tyme be vnyted agayne into the said office of the Revelles The prince might therebye have an office of better accompte. The officers might also be the better enhabled to do her Maiestye good service and her highnes charges might somewhat be dyminished.

The habilitye of the officers of the Revelles for their trust and skill might sufficiently serve for execucion of anye of the other offices.

The woorkemen servinge in the Revelles may very aptly serve in the other offices.

either of them fifteen pounds by the year in the Accounts of the Master of the Revells . . . from Whitehall the 10th of November 1610': and from the next document quoted it appears that Sir George Buck, the Master, was allowed on this account £30 a year, to which £20 was added in 1612.

[1] *Lansdowne MS.* 83, No. 59, fols. 158–161, closely written on both sides. Collier seems to allude to this document (i. 290), but confuses it with others, bound with it in the MS., of the date 1597. I date it (1) by the absence of any later name than Sir Thomas Benger as Master, who died in March 1577; (2) by the fact that, in proposing some ordinances for the conduct of the office, the writer, while leaving the precise date to be filled in, does not hesitate to give the year of the reign ('the fiftente'), as expecting that before its expiration the Council will have accepted or rejected his proposals. They are distinctly *propositions*, though they embody some previous regulations or suggestions; and he heads them with the following preamble:—'by her highnes with the aduise of her most honorable pryvye counsell the daye of Anno dm̃ in the fiftente yere of her most gracious Reigne appoynted established and stractlye cõmaunded to be observed . . . accordinge to certen articles and Instruccions hereunder lymyted,' &c. (fol. 160 recto).

The prouision maye be made by one Comission for all.

The storehouses of theym all be presentlye [i.e. at this moment] in one place.

The Clerke Comptroller and the Clerke of the Revelles have hitherto bene and yet are officers both for the Revelles and tentes.

Syr Thomas Carden as I am enformed hadde the dealinge of all three offices at once' (fol. 158).

The writer here advocates the annulling of the formal distinction between two or three offices which are in practice, so far as the inferior officers are concerned, identical; but that the formal distinction was maintained, at least between the Revels on one side, and the Tentes on the other, is clear from two other documents. The first[1] is a certificate by William Dethick, Garter King of Arms, and William Camden, Clarencieux, dated May 20, 1601, and establishing the position and precedence of 'Mr Hen. Sackford, master of tents and pavilions to the Queen' by a reference to the position assigned him by the Earl Marshal in the thanksgiving procession to St. Paul's after the Armada, November 18, 1588[2]. The second document, originally issued, it seems, before the separation of the Offices, is thus described[3]:

'March 25, 1560. Westminster. 58. Grant to Thos. Blagrave of the office of the clerk of the tents and pavilions, also of games, revels, masks, triumphs, tilts, tourneys, banqueting houses, sports and pastimes, from the death of Thos. Phelipps, the last clerk; fee 8s. a day, and 24s. for a yearly livery, with convenient house, cellar, stable, gardens, &c. to be assigned by the master of tents and revels. *Interlined with a grant of the same office by James I, 30 May 1603, to Wm. Honings on the death of Thos. Blagrave* [3 sheets, Latin].'

Clearly, while the two Offices had remained nominally distinct, each boasting its own Master, yet the subordinate officers were the same for each up to and after James I's accession. Now Lyly's petition shows that he was wholly or in part responsible for the condition of the 'Tentes and Toyles,' else would the Queen not have blamed him on this account; and the posts of Master and of Clerk were occupied, as we have seen, by Henry Sackford and Thomas Blagrave. There

[1] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1601–3, pp. 42–3, vol. cclxxix. No. 86.

[2] Burleigh was then Earl Marshal, and his formal list for the order of the procession is preserved in *Harl. MS.* 1877, fol. 48. At line 23 we find 'Mr of the Tentes and Mr of the Reuells': they are preceded by 'Mr of the Rolls and Lo: cheife Jjustice of ye Kinges bench,' and followed by 'Lieutenānt of thordinance. Ande Mr of the Armorye.'

[3] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Addenda, 1547–1565, p. 501, vol. ix. No. 58.

remain those of Yeoman and Clerk-Controller; and since the former was occupied by Edward Kirkham from 1586 to 1612, Lyly must have filled the latter. In the Revels Accounts, Edward Buggyn is Clerk-Controller from 1571 to November, 1583[1]; but in the year October, 1584, to October, 1585, though the Clerk-Controller's salary is entered, Buggyn's name disappears from the accounts, which are signed by Tylney, Blagrave, and Kirkham only. So, too, in the period November, 1587, to October, 1588, the next reproduced by Mr. Cunningham, the salary is paid, but no name is given. The next batch given covers the year November, 1604, to November, 1605, and Edmond Pagenham is named as Clerk-Controller at that date; but there seems no reason why Lyly should not have discharged the duties and drawn the salary from 1585 onwards, for an indefinite period, though we lack the signature which would prove it.

The functions of the different officers of the Revels are hardly distinguishable. An attempt to distinguish, made in the above-quoted MS. of 1573, leaves no clear result; and it is difficult to disentangle the writer's suggested reformations from his statements of existing practice[2]. The Revels Accounts reveal much the same uncertainty of function. Where Edward Buggyn, the Clerk-Controller, appears, it is generally as paymaster, but sometimes as providing designs for masques[3]. Possibly the actual ordering, or authorizing of purchase, lay with him; but generally speaking, in view of the 'privitye' or intercommunication of the officers recommended, the functions of the three subordinates may be supposed

[1] Cunningham's *Extracts*, pp. 16, 172, 186.

[2] 'The Clerke Comptroller,' he says, on fol. 159 verso, 'is to be continuallye attendaunte in the office of the Revelles in the tyme of service who in dede shoulde have the speciall charge of husbandinge of the stuffe or prouision of the office and of checke and rate for the princes comoditye but to prouide no stuffe of anye greate charge to the prince nor deliver the like to be occupyed [i.e. cut up] without warraunte from the M^r^ or Seriaunte. The Clerke Comptroller to kepe with the clerke of the same office a Jornall booke of the charge of the office, both their Jornall bookes to be extant at all tymes of the woorkes in the office to the ende the M^r^ and Seriaunt maye be alwayes privye therevnto. The Clerke comptroller to make noe prouision of anye matter of weight in charge to the Prince without the consent of the M^r^ and Seriaunte and the privitye of the rest of the officers for the price.' On fol. 161 v. however, we learn that the actual custody of the properties devolves rather upon the Yeoman—'Item concernynge the lendinge furthe of the Quenes Maiesties stuffe in the office of the Revelles The stuffe once made and put in Inventorye resteth onely in the Yeomans charge who hath the kepinge of it by patent and therefore the rest of the officers not to be charged for any misdemeano^r^ concerninge the same Nevertheless suche order may be taken therefore as shall seeme meete and convenyent.'

[3] *Extracts*, pp. 172, 182.

largely interchangeable. The Clerk-Controller, however, seems to have been the second official in the Office, though with the same rate of pay as the Clerk and Yeoman, two shillings per day and the same per night, so long as the special periods of service lasted, i.e. (1) at Christmas, Twelfth-tide and Shrove-tide, (2) at the Airing, or annual review of the properties in the autumn for the purposes of preservation, repair or readaptation. The Master's pay was at just double that rate; his duties including, at least after Tylney's appointment in 1579, the choice and censorship of plays to be performed before her Majesty. From November, 1584 to February, 1584–5 the three subordinate officers' pay, reckoned for fifty-one days and fourteen nights, amounts to 'vj^{li}. x^{s}.' apiece: for the 'airing' period of 1585, which first concerns Lyly, they are paid, for twenty days and no night-service, 'xl^{s}.' apiece. In the year November, 1587, to November, 1588, Clerk and Clerk-Controller receive pay for twenty-eight days and fourteen nights during Christmas and Shrove-tide, and for twenty days later in the year. From his remark about 'a thatched cottage' in his first, and about 'tenements' in his second petition, I infer, either that the Clerk-Controller, unlike the others, had no official quarters assigned him in St. John's, or, at least, that none were found for Lyly on his appointment. Had he a tenement, he says, he would be eased of some toils; i.e. living on the spot, he would be relieved from the daily journey to and from the Office. But as his actual residence seems to have been in St. Bartholomew's Hospital, within half a mile of the Priory to the south, the actual hardship of walking was not great; and what he really desired was to be put on a level with the other officers, and get his house rent-free in St. John's.

Besides what he received from the Office—and in estimating the figures given above and all other payments of Elizabeth's time, we must remember that the purchasing power of money was about eight times what it is at present[1]—Lyly would probably receive some fixed salary as vice-master of the Boys, and a share at least in the profits derived from their acting. The fee almost always paid for a performance at Court was £10, two-thirds of which were calculated as expenses and one-third as 'reward.' But the popular receipts from repeated performances would be far beyond the sum to be made by a single Court performance. In 1600 the prospective profits from the acting of the Chapel children were sufficient to

[1] Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, pp. 3, 197.

induce Nathaniel Gyles and his partners to lease the new Blackfriars Theatre from Burbage; and there seems no reason why the Paul's Boys in 1585 should have been less remunerative, especially if, as is probable, the rival company was then under inhibition. Lyly's share of the acting-profits may have been augmented by sums paid by Thomas Giles to him, as author of some of the plays given. Yet another source of income was, no doubt, the publication of *Euphues* and the successive editions of the plays. When we remember that eleven editions of each Part of *Euphues* were issued before Lyly's death in 1606, that there were three editions of *Campaspe* in the year of its first publication, that both it and *Sapho* were reprinted in 1591, and that *Pappe* reached three editions in 1589, we might reasonably suppose Lyly to have received a good deal from this source; but at this date an author's notion of rights in his own brainwork had hardly advanced beyond the point of expecting a certain sum paid down at the outset. Probably Cawood, Cadman and the other publishers reaped all the substantial profits of the greatest success of the Elizabethan period, together with that pleasing sense of public benefaction that generally accompanies large receipts. But putting together his various sources of income, there seems no reason why Lyly in 1585–90 should not have been receiving good reward for his labours, enough perhaps to justify him in venturing on marriage. The first hint of the sort comes from Harvey's reply to *Pappe* in 1589, where he says his wit is 'paunchd like his wiues spindle'[1]; but we have no sound evidence before Sept. 10, 1596, on which day 'John the sonne of John Lillye gent was christened,' as stated in the register of St. Bartholomew the Less, the christening of several other children being recorded in the same register at later dates. In a letter he wrote to Sir Robert Cecil in 1602 there is mention of his wife as having personally presented yet another petition of his to the Queen; from which we might perhaps argue that she held some position at the Court, which gave her readier access than he could claim. Were that the case, he may not have been quite without materials for the lectures of Diana and Ceres to their nymphs, or the talk between Sapho and Sophronia and the ladies of their Courts. But I have been unable to find the record of Lyly's marriage[2], and speculation is idle. What is more to the

[1] Harvey's *Works* (ed. Grosart), ii. 130. Mr. Baker, I believe, first called attention to the passage in his Introduction to *Endymion*, p. cxlix.

[2] I have looked for it in vain in the register of St. Bartholomew the Less over

point is that the entry of baptisms and burials connected with him in the register of St. Bartholomew the Less almost amounts to proof that he was living, from 1596 onwards, in the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, to which that church, standing as now within its precinct, served as a parish church[1]. The most natural occasion for his removal from the Savoy to Smithfield would be his assumption of duties at the Revels Office in 1585; and that would be the natural occasion, too, for the severance of his special connexion with Lord Oxford, Harvey's allusion, in 1589, to 'the minion secretary' being, perhaps, merely retrospective. From Harvey's language, at any rate, it seems clear that Lyly had ceased, in 1589, to reside in the Savoy.

One other function of Lyly's seems hinted at in the passage where Harvey calls him 'a professed iester, a Hick-scorner, a scoff-maister, a playmunger, an Interluder; once the foile of Oxford, now the stale of London, and euer *the Apesclogg of the presse*, *Cum Priuilegio perennitatis*[2].' Preceded as this is by the direct mention of the bishops and archbishops 'entertaining such an odd light-headed fellow for their defence,' it is most natural to connect it with the censorship of the Press exercised by the hierarchy as ecclesiastical judges in their several dioceses[3]; and to suppose that Lyly had, before 1589, secured some work as reader of new books for the Bishop of London before they received the official *imprimatur*. Such work would bear no relation, of course, to his duties in the Revels Office or with the Paul's Boys; but would lead naturally enough to his taking part in the Marprelate controversy.

Returning now to the record of his purely dramatic labours, we may assume that *Gallathea*, withdrawn from the printer's hands about the end of April, 1585, underwent some revision, and was produced at Court on Jan. 1, 1585–6 ('new yeeres day' of the title-

the years 1574–1606; in that of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, from 1574–1603; and for the years 1582–1590 in those of St. James', Clerkenwell, St. Giles', Cripplegate, and St. Mary le Strand, where are preserved the earlier registers of the Savoy Chapel, kept previous to 1680. The register of St. Bartholomew the Great only begins in 1616; that of St. Sepulchre's only in 1662; that of St. John's, Clerkenwell, which occupies the site of the old Priory Church, only in 1723. I have also caused examination to be made of the registers of Maidstone, Boxley, Ashford and Wye in Kent, without result.

[1] See note on p. 67 below.

[2] Grosart's *Harvey's Works*, ii. p. 132 (*Archaica*, i. 86).

[3] *Stationers' Register*, ed. Arber, vol. iii. p. 13 (Introd.). In the same volume, under dates Aug. 22, Sept. 24, 26, 1597, July 22, Dec. 16, 1598, Sept. 18, 1600, books are licensed 'vnder the hand of Master Peter Lyllie.' The name Peter occurs but twice, and the surname is invariably spelt with Ly-: but this is probably one of the Bishop of London's chaplains.

page) or on the same date in the following year. His next effort was either *Endimion* or the pastoral *Loves Metamorphosis*, though the latter play, as it now stands, probably includes additions made in 1599 or early in 1600. There are fairly strong reasons for connecting *Sapho*, *Gallathea*, *Loves Metamorphosis* and *Endimion* as links of a continuous chain. The first three contain allusions which fix their order as here given [1], though *Endimion* may have preceded *Loves Metamorphosis*. All four may perhaps be regarded as reflective of Elizabeth's changing attitude towards love and marriage, or at least of what a courtier might deem to be such. *Sapho* ends with the defeat of Venus, and the assertion of the Queen's independence. Diana in *Gallathea* develops this attitude into one of active hostility, a composition with Venus and her rascally son being with difficulty effected at the close. Ceres in *Loves Metamorphosis* exhibits a new reverence for the power of the god, and an anxiety to save her wilful nymphs from the consequences of contemning it. Cynthia, in *Endimion*, has a similar tenderness for love and lovers, condescends to minister by a kiss to the restoration of the hero, and accepts his faithful devotion. In the last three plays, too, there is a more conspicuous use made of stage-properties, which may possibly reflect Lyly's new connexion with the 'stuffe' of the Revels Office. Again, I am strongly impressed with the euphuistic character of the writing in *Loves Metamorphosis*, which is to my mind far more marked than in *Endimion*, *Midas* or *Mother Bombie*, more even than in *Gallathea*, and contains, too, reminiscences of the sentiments or allusions in *Euphues* that are more salient than in the other plays. I believe this may be due to his having recently revised that work. The edition of 1595–7 reveals a far larger proportion of corrections than do any of the first five editions—corrections which may quite as well have been made in the sixth edition (Part I, 1585, Part II, 1586), which I have not seen. Another argument for the early production of *Loves Metamorphosis* is that it seems to be alluded to in *The Woman in the Moone* [2]; and lastly it is announced on the title-page as 'first playd by the Children

[1] In *Gall.* v. 3, Venus says to Cupid, 'Syr boy where haue you beene? alwaies taken, first by Sapho, nowe by Diana.' In *Loves Met.* ii. 1, Ceres says, 'Diana's Nymphes were as chast as Ceres virgines, as faire, as wise: how Cupid tormented them, I had rather you should heare then feele; but this is truth, they all yeelded to loue': and in v. 1, Cupid says. 'Diana hath felt some motions of loue, Vesta doth, Ceres shall.' *Gall.* v. 3 and *Loves Met.* v. 1 were compared by Mr. Fleay (*Chronicle*, ii. 41).

[2] Act iii. sc. 1: 'Ceres and her sacred Nymphes.'

of Paules.' These boys were permanently inhibited before Oct. 4, 1591[1]; and though it is just possible that the first performance may have been given on the removal of their inhibition, which *may* have been as early as 1599, yet the argument from style makes strongly for a date before it. We can hardly fix more precise limits than to say that the first form of the play was composed between 1584 and 1588, and probably given at Court between 1586 and 1589; while the present form was perhaps revived by the Paul's Boys in 1600, and transferred to the Chapel Children in that or the following year[2].

In *Endimion* we have a third pastoral; if a play may deserve that name, which lacks indoor scenes indeed, but also lacks entirely the pastoral and mythological element, the characters being one and all conceived as members of a terrestrial Court, though its mistress receives the flattery of some divine attributes. The piece constitutes a fuller display of power than Lyly has yet made. It is an elaborate and ingenious allegory of the tender relation between Leicester and Elizabeth, as also of the rivalry between the latter and the Queen of Scots; and the interweaving of these two subjects, if it involves some straining of fact, gives opportunity for introducing other conspicuous figures of the Court, notably the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, and Sir Philip Sidney, Leicester's nephew. The credit of first detecting an allegory belongs to the Rev. N. J. Halpin, who expounded his version of it to the Shakespearè Society in 1843[3]. From that interpretation, and still more from Mr. Baker's suggested emendations of it, I feel compelled to diverge in some important particulars; the question, too large to be discussed here, is treated in an essay attached to the play itself in vol. iii. Suffice it that the commencement of Mary's custody by Sir Amyas Paulet (whom I identify with Corsites) on April 17, 1585, and perhaps the departure of Sidney and of Leicester for the Netherlands on November 16 and December 10 of the same year, suggest as limits for its composition May and November, 1585; a date that would indicate it as Lyly's first complimentary offering after his appointment to a post in the Revels Office in April[4]. The title-page announces it as played on 'Candle-

[1] On that date three of Lyly's plays, part of their *répertoire*, are entered on the *Stationers' Register*, and in the printer's preface to *Endimion*, the first published, we hear that the plays in Paul's are 'dissolued.'

[2] See below, pp. 73-4.

[3] *Oberon's Vision: illustrated by a comparison with Lylie's Endymion.*

[4] My interpretation of the allegory imposes a strict downward limit for its composition and performance, in Sidney's death at Zutphen, September, 1586, and Mary's condemnation at Fotheringay on October 25 of the same year; and an

mas day at night.' I believe the Candlemas in question to be Feb. 2, 1585–6, though both Leicester and Sidney were then absent from Court. It is not, however, essential to suppose Leicester's connivance in the play; it is even doubtful how he would regard it. The probable cessation of Lyly's direct relation with Oxford in 1585 may have made it more possible for him to appear as an adherent of the Leicester faction; but we have no evidence that the flattery, if intended, and if acceptable, procured him the notice or the interest of the favourite, who died on Sept. 4, 1588.

Endimion, or at any rate *Loves Metamorphosis*, was followed by a period in which his invention was allowed to lie fallow, and the resumption of his pen is accompanied by a confession of idleness[1]. He takes it up to celebrate the national triumph over Philip of Spain in a satire on the greed, ambition, and obstinate stupidity of that monarch, for which he professes to find an original in the *pingue ingenium* of Ovid's Midas. England, her sovereign, and people, are complimented under the name of the heroic islanders of Lesbos, while Elizabeth's private personality is perhaps flattered in the discreet and amiable character of Midas' daughter, the Princess Sophronia. The play, which contains an allusion to Drake and Norris' expedition to Portugal, April–July, 1589, and is itself alluded to by Harvey writing under date November 5 of that year, must have been composed between May and September; and was presented at Court perhaps on January 6, 1589–90, 'Twelfe Day at night,' according to the title-page.

Before *Midas* was written, Lyly had assumed a share in duties of a different order, which could not fail to quicken his attention to public affairs. The official lists of returns of members to Parliament record the election of 'John Lyly, gent.,' in company with John Mervin, esq., of the Middle Temple, to represent the borough of Hindon, in

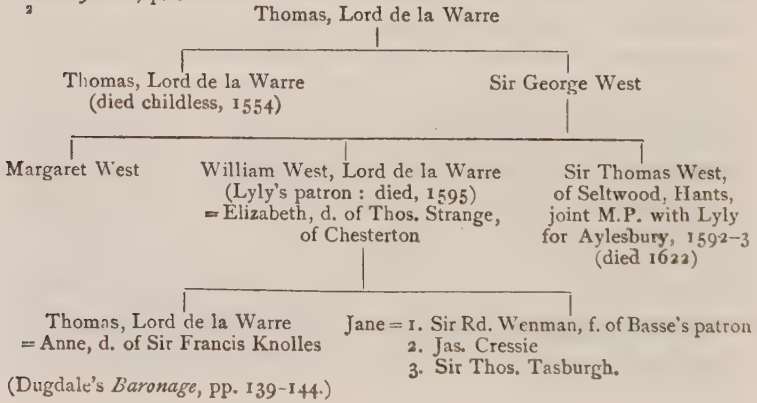
upward in Shrewsbury (Geron)'s return to Court, on Sept. 14, 1584. I am obliged to regard Mr. Baker's theory of a date as early as 1579, to which Prof. A. W. Ward accedes, as quite untenable. It involves an early connexion between Lyly and Leicester, for which Mr. Baker brings not one scrap of real evidence; and also the absurd supposition that a young writer of twenty-five could conceive, compose, and rehearse for proper performance, so elaborate and daring an effort as this, as a first work, in the short space of three weeks. Other considerations make against the notion (see p. 22 above); most of all, perhaps, the difficulty of supposing that Leicester would venture on any dramatic explanation of, or apology for his recent marriage, in 1579 when the wound inflicted on the Queen's feelings, a month or two before, was still fresh.

[1] Prologue to *Midas*: 'We are iealous of your iudgementes, because you are wise; of our owne performance, because we are vnperfect; of our Authors deuice, because he is idle.'

Wiltshire, in February, 1588–9; of 'John Lillye esq.' in company with Sir Thomas Weste kn^t. for Aylesbury, in February, 1592–3; of 'John Lyllye gent.' in company with James Colebronde esq. for Appleby, in September, 1597; and of 'John Lillie esq.' with Alexander Hampden esq. for Aylesbury again in October, 1601. There seems no good reason for supposing that the person so elected could not be our author. The name was pretty common at this date; but with the exception of the famous grammarian and first Head-Master of St. Paul's School, William Lilly, who died in 1522, of his son George Lilly, prebendary of Canterbury and of St. Paul's, who died in 1559, and of Edmund Lilly, Fellow of Magdalen, and afterwards Master of Balliol, its representatives belong almost entirely to the yeoman-class, whether in Kent, Sussex, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Gloucestershire, or Dorset. Richard Lylly, yeoman, of Gloucestershire, leased some lands in Wiltshire from the Crown in 1583 and 1597; but his will, proved May 29, 1599, mentions no son or other relative of the name of John, and Hindon is at the opposite side of the county. The returns for the three boroughs in preceding or succeeding Parliaments contain no such name, and so lend no colour to the idea that the person or persons elected on these four occasions belonged to a family or families of local importance. But Mr. G. F. Baker points out that they were all small boroughs under family influence[1]; and our author's acquaintance in London, his position about the Court and his literary distinction would facilitate his entry into politics. In the second instance, strong confirmation is afforded by the fact that his fellow member for Aylesbury was a brother of his old patron, the dedicatee of *Euphues*[2]; and the

[1] *Endymion*, p. cliii.

[2]


Thomas, Lord de la Warre
Thomas, Lord de la Warre (died childless, 1554)
Sir George West
Margaret West
William West, Lord de la Warre (Lyly's patron : died, 1595) = Elizabeth, d. of Thos. Strange, of Chesterton
Sir Thomas West, of Seltwood, Hants, joint M.P. with Lyly for Aylesbury, 1592–3 (died 1622)
Thomas, Lord de la Warre = Anne, d. of Sir Francis Knolles
Jane = 1. Sir Rd. Wenman, f. of Basse's patron
2. Jas. Cressie
3. Sir Thos. Tasburgh.

(Dugdale's *Baronage*, pp. 139-144.)

reference in Lyly's letter to Sir Robert Cecil of December 22, 1597, to the Parliament which was then sitting, would be all the more natural if the writer were a member of it. His duties would not be particularly arduous. Of the four consecutive Parliaments to which he was elected, the first, second, and fourth sat for less than two months; and the third, summoned on October 24, 1597, was dissolved on February 9 following[1]. But his entry into political life must have brought him into closer contact with the Puritan feeling that was gathering strength in the closing years of Elizabeth, and may have led to his taking part in the famous dispute known, from the *nom de plume* of the original Puritan disputants, as the Martin Marprelate Controversy.

That dispute was only a critical phase of the old-standing quarrel between fixed ritual, authoritative teaching, official dignity and emoluments on the one hand, and independence and simplicity of worship, individual interpretation, and severity of life on the other. In the Marprelate tracts, as later in Milton's pamphlets, it took the form of an agitation against episcopal authority. *The Defence of the Government established in the Churche of England*, issued by John Bridges, dean of Sarum, in 1587, called forth in the autumn of 1588 the *Epistle* and *Epitome* of Martin Marprelate, the earliest tracts wherein the pseudonym makes its appearance. The authorship of these and the others on the same side seems to lie between the lawyer, Henry Barrow, who had since 1586 been a prisoner in the Fleet, the Rev. John Penry, graduate of Cambridge and Oxford, and Job Throckmorton, a wealthy Puritan squire at Haseley in Warwickshire[2]. Both *Epistle* and *Epitome* are libels of a violent character on Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, and Aylmer, bishop of London. The direct censorship of the press, instituted by

[1] *Parliaments of England* (printed by order of the House of Commons, 1878). Vol. i. A.D. 1213–1702, pp. 425, 427, 435, 437.

The first of the four was summoned Nov. 12, 1588, and by Prorogation, Feb. 4, 1588–9. The date of the return for Hindon is Feb. 1. It was dissolved March 29, 1589.

The second was summoned Feb. 19, 1592–3, and dissolved April 10, 1593.

The third was summoned Oct. 24, 1597, and dissolved Feb. 9, 1597–8; the date of Lyly's return for Appleby being Sept. 22, 1597.

The fourth was summoned Oct. 27, 1601, and dissolved Dec. 19 of the same year; the date of Lyly's return for Aylesbury being Oct. 24, 1601.

[2] See for a discussion of the question Professor Arber's *Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy*, 1588–1590 (1879), which is a collection of materials rather than a consecutive history, but includes a chronological summary establishing an order for the pamphlets, and is far the most useful and reliable work extant on the subject. I have found it of great assistance.

Elizabeth's Injunctions of 1559 had, by a decree of the High Commission Court of June 23, 1586, become vested exclusively in these very two prelates[1]; and secret printing was necessary to evade it. In spite of the difficulties caused by the jealousy of the Stationers' Company, and the prohibition of private presses, Penry, the presiding genius of the movement, had contrived to secure one, together with some foreign type. A printer was found in Robert Waldegrave, whose business near Temple Bar had been ruined by the confiscation of his press and type for printing Udall's Puritan dialogue, *Diotrephes*, in 1588[2]. Travelling constantly about to escape the urgent search for it, the secret press appeared at various places where Penry had some connexion; such as East Molesey on the Thames, where he knew a Mistress Crane, and Fawsley near Northampton, where he had married Henry Godly's daughter and formed acquaintance with Sir Richard Knightley[3]. At the house of John Hales in Coventry, early in 1589, were secretly printed the *Mineral Conclusions*, Penry's *Supplication to the Parliament* and *Hay any work for Cooper?* the last a reply to the *Admonition to the people of England*, issued by Thomas Cooper, bishop of Winchester, in January, 1589. Popular feeling in London and elsewhere seems to have been largely with the Martinists[4]. The bishops were being worsted by the very vehemence and scurrility of their opponents, when an opportune suggestion was made. It emanated from Dr. Bancroft, afterwards bishop of London, who on February 9, 1589, had preached a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, asserting the divine right of episcopacy. Strype in his *Life of Whitgift*[5] says it was by Bancroft's advice that 'that course was taken which did principally stop Martin's and his fellows' mouths, viz. to have them answered after their own vain writings'; and other testimony to the step is not wanting[6]. It is clear that the bishops, finding their

[1] Arber's *Introductory Sketch*, p. 49.

[2] Introduction to Arber's ed. of *Diotrephes*, and *Introd. Sketch*, pp. 94–5, &c.

[3] *Introd. Sketch*, pp. 74 sqq.

[4] The spread of Puritanism in the latter years of Elizabeth needs no illustration. The tone of Hooker's Preface to the *Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie*, in 1594, exhibits the fears entertained by one of the Church's best supporters for the stability of the institutions he upheld.

[5] Cap. xxiii. p. 516.

[6] *The Protestatyon of Martin Marprelat*, which appeared in September, contains the following on p. 24: 'Then among al the rimers and stage plaiers, which my Ll. of the cleargy had suborned against me I remember Mar-Martin, John a Cant. his hobbie-horse, was to his reproche, newly put out of the Morris, take it how he will; with a flat discharge for euer shaking his shins about a May-pole againe while he liued.' (A copy of this tract, not in the British Museum, is contained in the

reputation suffering by these unscrupulous pamphleteers, adopted the undignified but effective course of engaging secular wits to meet, and, if possible, beat them at their own weapons. Chief among those whose aid was thus invoked were John Lyly and Thomas Nash. The former bore a name for cleverness, and had perhaps, as agent of the censors, already been instrumental in suppressing Puritan publications. The latter was a young man fresh from Cambridge, who had just given proof of a reflective vein, an observant eye, and an audacious if immature wit, in the epistle prefixed to Greene's *Menaphon*, and in those discursive remarks on books and life which he entitled *The Anatomie of Absurditie*. The plan of campaign, directly concerted, as I believe, between the two 'copesmates,' included lampoons in verse, prose pamphlets in which scurrility was to bear a larger proportion than sober argument, and also caricature of Martin upon the stage. But their collaboration was probably confined to arranging a method of procedure, and deciding on the particular tone and style to be adopted; and did not extend, I believe, to actual partnership in special pamphlets, though *Martin's Months Minde* and *An Almond for a Parrat* in particular suggest some doubts on the subject. Nash's movements from place to place in the collection of scandal about the Martinists would prohibit close collaboration; nor would the nature of the pamphlets require it, though cross-allusions between the earliest show that the two endeavoured to keep in line. The passages quoted below point, I think, to a meeting in Kent between the two confederates, or perhaps to a journey taken together from Dover, by Ashford, to Canterbury, in the first half of 1589, when they may have discussed the matter; and in the 'student of Cambridge,' mentioned in *The Returne*, sig. C ij, we have probably an amusing portrait of Lyly himself[1].

Bodleian.) Harvey, in a passage alluded to above, p. 44, speaks of the ecclesiastics as driven 'to entertain such an odd light-headed fellow [as Lyly] for their defence'; and Bacon, in his temperate essay on the subject, written about 1590, but not printed till 1657, expresses the 'hope that my Lords of the Clergy have none intelligence with this interlibelling, but do altogether disallow that their credit should be thus defended' (p. 150 of Arber's *Introd. Sketch*, where the essay is given in full, pp. 146–168). On p. 149, Bacon thus expresses himself: 'But to leave all reverent and religious compassion towards evils, or indignation towards faults; and to turn Religion into a Comedy or Satire; to search and rip up wounds with a laughing countenance; to intermix Scripture and scurrility, sometimes in one sentence; is a thing far from the devout reverence of a Christian, and scant beseeming the honest regard of a sober man.'

[1] Nash's *Countercuffe*, sig. A j: 'He [Pasquill] came latelie ouer-sea into Kent, frõ thence he cut ouer into Essex at *Grauesende*, and hearing some tidings of

The earliest fruits of the campaign seem to have been the satirical verses printed under the titles *A Whip for an Ape* and *Mar-Martin*, which Arber is probably right in dating about April or May. I believe Nash was responsible for the former, and perhaps for some of the verses included in the latter. Of dramatic attacks on Martin the allusions in *Pappe* and *The Returne of Pasquill*[1]

Hartfordshire . . . made as much haste as hee could to S. Albanes . . . sette forward the Munday following to Northamptonshire . . . To be briefe with your worshipfultie, Pasquill hath posted very dilligently ouer all the Realme, to gather some fruitfull Volume of THE LIVES OF THE SAINTS,' i.e. scandal about the Martinists.

A iij: 'Pasquill is now gone ouer sea to commit it [i.e. the *Lives*] to the Presse.'

A iv: The tract is dated 'From Grauesende Barge the eight of August' [1589].

Nash's *Martin's Months Minde*, 1589, sig. E 3, recounts as successive sufferings of Martin, with notes in the margin as here given in parentheses, that he had been 'drie beaten (T. C.)' [i.e. Thomas Cooper's *Admonition*], 'then whipt that made him winse (A whip for an Ape),' then 'made a Maygame vpon the Stage (The Theater), and at length cleane Marde (Marre-martin).'

Lyly's *Pappe with a Hatchett*, ad init. (vol. iii): 'there was a little wag in Cambridge, that swore by Saint Seaton he would so swinge him with Sillogismes, that all Martins answeres should ake . . . I laught at the boye, and left him drawing all the lines of Martin into sillogismes, euerie conclusion beeing this, Ergo Martin is to bee hangd.' Cf. *Countercuffe*, A j, 'He [i.e. Martin Marprelate] left thee [i.e. Martin Junior] his *Theses* without life or limme, I woulde wishe thee to put them in Moode and Figure for his sake.'

Pappe, ad fin. (vol. iii): 'Pasquil is comming out with the liues of the Saints. Beware my Comment, tis odds the margent shall bee as full as the text.'

Nash's *The Returne of Pasquill*, sig. C ij, professes to have gathered some instances of Martin's 'strang notes' on the Gospels 'in an assemblie of the brotherhood at Ashford in Kent. I went thither with a student of Cambridge to a sollemne exercise, and comming in the habite of Schollers we pressed somewhat boldly into their companie to dine with them.' After dinner a chapter of the Bible was read, and every one present discoursed on it in turn, Nash complying very reluctantly. 'When I came to the ende of my cariere, my companion was requested to pricke it for company with his freendes. I needed no Minstrill to make me merrie, my hart tickled of it selfe, when it came to his turn, because I knew him to be a Gentleman well studied in Philosophie, but he had not yet medled with Diuinitie. He chose the thirteenth verse of the Chapter to discourse vpon. Where the Apostle saith, Euery mans worke shall be tryed by fire. But to see how brauely hee trotted ouer all the Meteors bredde in the highest Region of the ayre [a reminiscence perhaps of *Euphues and Atheos*, p. 293], to see how louingly hee made the sence of the Apostle, and *Ouids* fiction of *Phaetons* firing of the world to kisse before they parted, and then howe souldierlike hee made an ende of his manage with a double rest, was sport enough for vs to beguile the way, as we trauailed backe againe from thence to Canterburie.' Is Nash thinking of the same occasion when he says, in *Countercuffe*, A iij, 'Downe with learning and Vniuersities, I can bring you a Free-mason out of Kent, that gaue ouer his occupation twentie yeeres agoe. He wil make a good Deacon for your purpose, I haue taken some tryall of his gifts, hee preacheth very pretily ouer a Ioynt-stoole.'

[1] *Pappe*, ad med. (vol. iii): 'Would those Comedies might be allowed to be plaied that are pend, and then I am sure he would be decyphered, and so perhaps discouraged.

He shall not bee brought in as whilom he was, and yet verie well, with a cocks combe, an apes face [cf. Nash's *Almond*, p. 22, 'as he was attired like an Ape on y^e^ stage'], a wolfs bellie, cats clawes, &c., but in a cap'de cloake, and all the

enable us to distinguish at least two, both of which, after finding their way on to the stage, were suppressed by the Revels Office, and, being probably never printed, have disappeared. Apparently the first piece utilized the fact that Martin was a common name for a monkey (as *A Whip for an Ape* had already done) to represent Martin as an ape attempting to outrage the lady Divinity, in whom was personified, Moral-wise, the hierarchy. Nash's marginal note in *Marti 's Months Minde* (sig. E 3 verso) says it was given at 'the Theater' in Shoreditch; and, if we cannot press his 'Maygame' for the month of its appearance, we may at least surmise that it had not been suppressed by July 22, the date of the epilogue to *Theses Martinianae or Martin Iunior*, which testifies to its popularity[1]. *Pappe* (just quoted p. 52 n. 1) is evidence that it had been suppressed before the middle or fourth week of September, which must be roughly the date of that pamphlet; as also that other plays, reproducing Martin realistically in Puritan attire, were written, but could not obtain the Master of the Revels' licence. From the correspondence[2], however, between Burleigh, the Lord Mayor, the Archbishop, and Tylney in November, the summoning of the Lord Admiral's and the Lord Strange's men before the Lord Mayor, the imprisonment of two of the latter, and the appointment of two special commissioners to assist Tylney in a thorough censorship of existing plays, it seems

best apparell he ware the highest day in the yeare . . . on some rainie weeke-daie, when the brothers and sisters had appointed a match for particular praiers. . . .

A stage plaier, though he bee but a cobler by occupation, yet his chance may bee to play the Kings part. Martin, of what calling so euer he be, can play nothing but the knaues part. . . .

Would it not bee a fine Tragedie, when Mardocheus shall play a Bishoppe in a Play, and Martin Hamman, and that he that seekes to pull downe those that are set in authoritie aboue him, should be hoysted vpon a tree aboue all other.' Note in margin, 'If it be shewed at Paules, it will cost you foure pence: at the Theater two pence: at Sainct Thomas a Watrings nothing.'

Returne of Pasquill, sig. C iij: 'Methought *Vetus Comoedia* began to pricke him at London in the right vaine, when shee brought forth *Diuinitie* wyth a scratcht face, holding of her hart as if she were sicke, because *Martin* would have forced her; but myssing of his purpose, he left the print of his nayles uppon her cheekes, and poysoned her with a vomit, which he ministred vnto her to make her cast vppe her dignities and promotions'; and on sig. D iij, 'I haue a tale to tell in her eare [Vetus Comoedia's] of the slye practice that was vsed in restraining of her.'

[1] Sig. D ij: 'There bee that affirme the rimers and stage-players to haue cleane putte you out of countenaunce . . . the stage-players, poore rogues, are not so much to be blamed, if being stage-players, that is plaine rogues (saue onely for their liueries) they in the action of dealing against Maister Martin, haue gotten them many thousande eie witnesses, of their wittelesse and pittifull conceites.'

[2] Preserved in the *Lansdowne MS.* No. 60, and printed by Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poet.* i. 271–6.

probable that one at least of these other plays did find its way on to the stage in October or early November, and occasioned these special measures[1]. Lyly may have been concerned both in the earlier and the later attack, as part or sole author[2]; and, but for some such labours, the prose tracts of Nash and himself would doubtless have appeared earlier.

Those tracts were preceded in July by *Theses Martinianae collected by Martin Iunior* and *The iust censure and reproofe of Martin Iunior . . . by his elder brother Martin Senior*, wherein two supposed sons of Marprelate champion the paternal cause, both tracts proceeding from Wolston Priory on the Avon, six miles west of Rugby[3]. At length, in August, the Martinist press was captured at Newton

[1] Possibly Nash is actually describing it in the following passage from *The Returne of Pasquill*, sig. B iij verso—

'Howe whorishlie Scriptures are alleaged by them, I will discouer (by Gods helpe) in another new worke which I haue in hand, and intituled it, *The Maygame of Martinisme*. Verie defflie set out, with Pompes, Pagents, Motions, Maskes, Scutchions, Emblems, Impreases, strange trickes, and deuises, betweene the Ape and the Owle, the like was neuer yet seene in Paris-garden. *Penry* the welchman is the foregallant of the Morrice, with the treble belles, shot through the wit with a Woodcock's bill, I woulde not for the fayrest horne-beast in all his Countrey, that the Church of England were a cup of Metheglin, and came in his way when he is ouer-heated, euery Bishopricke woulde prooue but a draught, when the Mazer is at his nose. *Martin* himselfe is the Mayd-marian, trimlie drest vppe in a cast Gowne, and a Kercher of Dame *Lawsons*, his face handsomelie muffled with a Diaper-napkin to couer his beard, and a great Nosegay in his hande, of the principalest flowers I could gather out of all hys works. *Wiggenton* daunces round about him in a Cotten-coate, to court him with a Leatherne pudding, and a woodden Ladle. *Paget* marshalleth the way, with a couple of great clubbes, one in his foote, another in his head, & he cryes to the people with a loude voice, *Beware of the Man whom God hath markt*. I can not yet find any so fitte to come lagging behind, with a budget on his necke to gather the deuotion of the lookers on, as the stocke-keeper of the Bridewel-house of Canterburie; he must carrie the purse, to defray their charges, and then hee may be sure to serue himselfe.'

[2] Harvey's language seems to show that he had witnessed, or heard of, the earlier Marprelate play, and is angry at its success, though he cannot definitely assign the authorship. 'I am threatened with a Bable, and Martin menaced with a Comedy; a fit motion for a jester, and a player to try what may be done by employment of his faculty. Bables and Comedies are parlous fellows to decypher and discourage men, (that is the point), with their witty flouts and learned jerks, enough to lash any man out of countenance. Nay, if you shake the painted scabbard at me, I have done: and all you, that tender the preservation of your good names, were best to please Pap-hatchet, and fee Euphues betimes, for fear lest he be moved, or some one of his apes hired, to make a play of you [cf. the opening of Bk. iii: 'Nash the ape of Greene, Greene the ape of Euphues, Euphues the ape of Envy, the three famous mammets of the press, and my three notorious feudists, draw all in a yoke']; and then is your credit quite undone for ever and ever. Such is the public reputation of their plays. He must needs be discouraged, whom they decypher. Better anger an hundred other than two such, that have the stage at commandment, and can furnish out vices and devils at their pleasure' (*Advt. to Papp-Hatchett* in *Archaica*, ii. 137, or *Works*, ii. 213).

[3] *Introd. Sketch*, pp. 79, 133.

Lane, near Manchester, by agents of the Earl of Derby, acting under the authority of the Privy Council. The tract whose printing was thus arrested was called *Hay any more work for Cooper?* and the type was the same as that used in the two preceding pamphlets. A special proclamation of the Queen 'against certaine seditious and Schismatical Bookes and Libels' had been issued on February 13, 1589, just after the appearance of the *Epitome*; and the letters between Burleigh and Whitgift[1] on the subject leave no doubt as to the Lord Treasurer's attitude. Whatever his sympathy with Puritan feeling, it was controlled by loyalty and statesmanlike caution; and he could not but perceive that the attitude of the Martinists was quite untempered by respect for the authority of the Queen, as head either of the church or the realm. Penry, however, had anticipated the capture by previously securing a second press; and from Job Throckmorton's house of Haseley in Warwickshire, there issued in September, Martin Marprelate's *Protestatyon*: but before this Nash had commenced retaliation in kind, and *A Countercuffe*, dated August 8, and *Martin's Months Minde*, professing to recount Marprelate's funeral, had appeared; written respectively under the assumed characters of Pasquil (Pasquin) and Marforio, popular names of the two statues no doubt seen by Nash in Rome, to which formerly ecclesiastical bulls, and at this time revolutionary libels and placards, used to be affixed[2]. Neither tract alludes to the capture of the press, to the suppression of the anti-Martinist play, or to the *Protestatyon*—events they probably precede. Lyly's *Pappe with a Hatchett*, however, which appeared probably near the close of September, devotes some pages at the end to answering the latter, which he had just received; and it is further dealt with in Nash's *Returne of Pasquill*, 'dated 20 Octobris[3].' The fourth of the Pasquil pamphlets, *The first Parte of Pasquil's Apologie*, is dated 'the 2 of July, Anno 1590'; and had been preceded earlier in the year by *An Almond for a Parrat*, in which Nash took the new pseudonym of Cuthbert Curryknave. Of all these tracts *Pappe* is the only one that can be assigned to Lyly[4]. He can hardly have been proud of the achievement.

[1] *Introd. Sketch*, pp. 107–113. Whitgift's letter announcing the seizure of the press is dated Aug. 24, 1589.

[2] See the introduction to *Pasquin et Marforio* par Mary Lafon, Paris, 1861.

[3] Sig. D i.j.

[4] I have felt some doubt about *Martin's Months Minde* on account of the style of the long Epistle to the Reader (sigs. B, C, D), its antithesis and alliteration, the musical terms (B recto), the natural history (C 4 verso), the batch of classical allusions (D 2 recto), and the resenting of the abuse of plays in *Theses Mart.*

Probably he disdained, while he undertook, the task: that he spent no trouble on it is obvious, even if it were not implied in the signature, 'yours at an hour's warning,' and the *Almond's* mention of it as an 'extemporall endeuour[1].' Possessing more point than is at first apparent, it is yet on the whole adequately described by Harvey as 'alehouse and tinkerly stuffe . . . so oddly huddled and

(D 3 recto); and it would have been natural for Marforio, Pasquin's friend, to be represented by Lyly: but it was not necessary, and closer consideration convinces me that the likeness of style in some respects is not strong enough to outweigh the likeness to Nash in the length of the sentences, strewn with parentheses; and on B 4 I find some special echoes of Nash's words in the *Countercuffe* and the *Almond*.

The *Almond* has so often been attributed to Lyly that I feel constrained to state here my reasons for assigning it to Nash. The doubt about all these pamphlets is due partly to the fact that Nash, like every other writer of the time, was infected with euphuism, partly no doubt to the agreement between the two men to adopt a swash-buckling style against Martin. But though *Pappe* and *The Almond* are alike in scurrility, there is a more serious attempt at argument in the latter, which keeps much closer to the facts and personages of the controversy; and the special peculiarities of Nash make themselves strongly felt, just as Lyly's crop up in *Pappe* for all he can do to repress them. In Nash's earlier prose there is a note of oddity and freakishness, a crowded character, a lavish and rambling agglomeration of suggestion and idea, not always striking or specially pertinent, which give us the impression of a rich soil badly cultivated, or of an unpruned vine producing great quantities of rather poor fruit and innumerable little curling tendrils. These are quite the marks of the *Almond*, which is full of long ill-regulated sentences, and instances of Nash's trick of using a substantive as an epithet. Compare p. 9 of Petheram's Reprint, where, after an interminable sentence, he says: 'Beare with me good Maister Pistle-monger, if in comparing thy knauery, my full points seeme as tedious to thy puritane perusers, as the Northren mans mile, and a waybitte to the weary passenger, for I tell thee troth, till I see what market commission thou hast to assiste any man's sentences, I will neuer subscribe to thy periode prescisme.' See also the long-winded paragraphs, pp. 29, 41. The euphuism is that of one who had read and retained some influence of *Euphues*, rather than that of the author of *Euphues* himself. There is much alliteration, but not transverse, and scarce any balance of clauses or words. And when did Lyly utter such coin as 'vnuenidall sins' (p. 11) or 'confectionate' as a verb (*ib.*), with which we may compare the following in Nash's *Christes Teares*, 1593, 'assertionate' p. 31, 'Saboth-ceased' p. 61, 'mingle-coloured' p. 62, 'fundamentiue' p. 58, 'propendant' p. 65, 'constraintment' p. 71, 'inward emperishing Famine should too vntimely inage thee' p. 68. In such a phrase as 'the painted poison of snout-holy devotion' (*Almond*, p. 11) we have the very Nash. 'Burlibond' (p. 12) is found again in *Pierce Penilesse*, and Murray quotes no other instance except 2 *Henry VI* (IV. x. 60): 'hodie peeles' p. 13 is 'hoddy peeke' in *The Anatomie of Absurditie*. The slanderous description of Penry is like the trussing of Gabriel Harvey in *Haue with you*; and the grumble in the dedication to Will Kempe against the custom of dedicating to some great nobleman, reminds us of words in Nash's dedication of *Jack Wilton* to Southampton: 'Ingenious honorable Lord, I know not what blinde custome methodicall antiquity hath thruste upon us, to dedicate such books as we publish to one great man or other' &c. Moreover the mention, in the *Almond's* Introduction, of his journey from Venice, and the frequent allusions to Suffolk and the Eastern counties generally, are appropriate to Nash, who had travelled in Italy and was born at Lowestoft; but not, so far as we know, to Lyly.

[1] Petheram's Reprint, p. 12.

bungled together, in so madbrain a sort . . . nothing worthy a scholar or a civil gentleman[1].' That the authenticity of such an emanation from the pen that wrote *Euphues* should have been questioned, is not surprising; but the authorship is not really disputable, and might be urged in support of the notion that the poet of *Cupid and my Campaspe* also wrote *A Whip for an Ape*, a bare possibility which has induced me to include that lampoon in this edition as 'doubtful[2].'

The brief passage in *Pappe*, quoted above, p. 30 note 2, was the signal for the entry into the quarrel of the brothers Harvey. Gabriel, long jealous of Lyly's repute, and also aggrieved by his estrangement, answers his challenge promptly in the *Advertisement to Papp-Hatchett*, to which reference has been so often made. It is dated 'At Trinitie hall: this fift of Nouember: 1589,' but Harvey seems to have cherished some hope of reconciliation with his old friend, for he reserved it until the appearance of *Pierce's Supererogation* in 1593, of which it forms the second book. The greater portion even of that book is devoted to serious argument on the theological question. Harvey has no special leanings; he disclaims at any rate all sympathy with the Martinists, and rails against Brown, Barrow, Kett and others in good set terms. The attitude affected is rather that of umpire in the quarrel, which is approached from the superior standpoint of academical wisdom. Apparently he engaged his brother, the clergyman, Richard, in the same cause; for early in 1590 appeared the latter's *Plaine Percevall, the Peace-Maker of England*, 'swetely indevoring . . . to botch up a Reconciliation between Mar-ton and Mar-tother.' It was dedicated 'To the new upstart Martin . . . to all Whip Iohns and Whip Iacks; not forgetting the Caualiero Pasquill or the Cooke Ruffian that drest a dish for Martin's diet,' i.e. Lyly in *Pappe*; and it was followed by a second tract from the same pen, entitled *The Lamb of God* (dated 1590), prefixed to which was an 'Epistle to the Reader,' written perhaps by Gabriel, perhaps by the brothers in collaboration, vilifying by name Lyly, Nash, and the 'make plaies and make bates' of London generally. The passage is not to be found in any extant copy of *The Lamb of God*, but its existence is sufficiently established by Nash's statements about it in *Pierce Penilesse*, 1592, and *Strange*

[1] *Advt. to Papp-Hatchett* in Brydges' *Archaica*, ii. 144.
[2] In my introductory remarks thereto (vol. iii) I have maintained it to be Nash's work.

Newes, 1593[1]. This attack on the London playwrights roused the ire of Robert Greene, with whom Nash acknowledges some slight acquaintance[2], and he included in his *Qvip for an vpstart Courtier: or a quaint dispute between Veluet-breeches and Cloth-breeches* (1592), a passage reflecting offensively upon the Harvey family—on the father for rope-making, on Gabriel for having been imprisoned in the Fleet, on Richard for freedom with the wives of his parishioners at Saffron Walden, and on John, who was a physician at Lynn, in some manner unknown. Before his death, on September 3, 1592, Greene, persuaded, according to Nash, by his own doctor, had cancelled the passage[3]; which amounted, says Nash, to no more

[1] *Pierce Penilesse* (Nash's *Works*, ed. Grosart, vol. ii. p. 69): 'The Lambe of God make thee [i. e. Richard Harvey] a wiser Bell-weather then thou art . . . and so I leaue thee til a better opportunity, to be tormented world without end, of our Poets and Writers about London, whome thou hast called piperly Make-plaies and Make-bates: not doubting but he also whom thou tearmest the vayn Pap-hatchet, wil have a flurt at thee one day.'

Strange Newes (*Works*, ii. 196): 'Somewhat I am priuie to the cause of Greenes inueighing against the three brothers. Thy [i. e. Gabriel's] hot-spirited brother Richard (a notable ruffian with his pen) hauing first tooke vpon him in his blundring Persiual, to play the Iacke of both sides twixt *Martin* and vs, and snarld priuily at Pap-hatchet, Pasquill, & others, that opposde themselues against the open slaunder of that mightie platformer of Atheisme, presently after dribbed forth another fooles bolt, a booke I shoulde say, which he christened *The Lambe of God*. . . . Not mee alone did hee reuile and dare to the combat, but glickt at Pap-hatchet once more, and mistermed all our other Poets and writers about London, piperly make-plaies and make-bates.

Hence Greene, beeing chiefe agent for the companie (for hee writ more than foure other, how well I will not say: but *Sat citò, si sat bene*) tooke occasion to canuaze him a little in his Cloth-breeches and Veluet-breeches, and because by some probable collections hee gest the elder brothers hand was in it, he coupled them both in one yoake, and, to fulfill the prouerbe *Tria sunt omnia*, thrust in the third brother, who made a perfect parriall of Pamphleteers.

About some seauen or eight lines it was which hath pluckt on an invectiue of so many leaues,' i.e. Harvey's *Four Letters and certaine Sonnets*, 1592, which Nash is here answering.

[2] *Strange Newes* (*Works*, ii. 243): 'Neither was I Greenes companion any more than for a carowse or two'; p. 283 'A thousande there bee that haue more reason to speake in his behalfe than I, who, since I first knew him about town, haue beene two yeares together and not seene him.' When Nash, in the passage quoted in the preceding note, speaks of Greene as 'chiefe agent for the companie,' he does not, I think, mean the group of Anti-Martinists employed by the bishops, but simply the 'Poets and writers about London,' whom Richard Harvey had in general abused.

[3] In *Strange Newes* (*Works*, ii. 209) Nash denies that the cancelling was due to fear of the Harveys: 'Marry this I must say, there was a learned Doctour of Phisicke (to whom Greene in his sicknesse sent for counsaile) that hauing read ouer the booke of *Veluetbreeches* and *Clothbreeches*, and laughed merrilie at the three brothers legend, wild Greene in any case either to mittigate it, or leaue it out: Not for any extraordinarie account hee made of the fraternitie of fooles, but for one of them was proceeded in the same facultie of phisicke hee profest, and willinglie hee would haue none of that excellent calling ill spoken off. This was the cause of the altring of it, the feare of his Phisitions displeasure, and not anie feare else.'

than 'seauen or eight lines,' and does not appear in extant copies of the *Qvip*. But Harvey was not to be baulked of his revenge. Before the end of the year appeared the *Four Letters and certaine Sonnets*, whose rancour against the dead man, and reproduction of details wormed out of his landlady while his body was lying scarce yet cold upstairs, have done more injury to his own reputation than they could possibly inflict on the defenceless object of his attack. However just his indignation, the method taken to gratify it and the previous death of his opponent, are circumstances not to be ignored. Harvey had made some reflections on Nash's *Pierce Penilesse* of the same year; but it was honest disgust more than any personal feeling that prompted Nash to take up the cudgels for the dead poet in *Strange Newes*, which must have appeared in March or April, 1593, and bore 'The foure Letters Confuted' as a running-title. Harvey retaliated in *Pierce's Supererogation*, which is dated at the end, '27 Aprill 1593[1],' and included as its second book the *Advertisement to Papp-Hatchett*, penned in October or November, 1589; and also *A New Letter of Notable Contents*, dated September 16, 1593. Nash allowed three years to elapse before he replied in *Haue with you to Saffron Waldron*, 1596; Harvey's rejoinder, *The Trimming of Thomas Nash* (1597), being the last word in this pamphlet war, whose chief interest for us lies, perhaps, in the scattered hints it gives of Lyly. Nash seems rather anxious to insist on the partnership; though, in fact, after *Pappe* we have nothing more from Lyly, who probably regarded the whole affair with considerable indifference. Just as in *Pierce Penilesse*[2], Nash had threatened Richard Harvey with an attack from Lyly, so in *Strange Newes* he exhorts Gabriel to 'Marke him well: hee is but a little fellow, but hee hath one of the best wits in England. Should he take thee in hand againe (as he flieth from such inferiour concertation) I prophecie that there woulde more gentle Readers die of a merry mortality, ingendred by the eternall iests he would maule thee with, than there haue done of this last infection. I my self, that inioy but a mite of wit in comparison of his talẽt,' &c. From the later passages in *Haue with you* (1596), quoted below[3], it would seem that Lyly did actually contribute

[1] A date so soon after the appearance of *Strange Newes* as to lend colour to Nash's suggestion in *Haue with you*, &c. (*Works*, iii. p. 184), that it was some old Cambridge oratorical exercise vamped up to suit the occasion.

[2] *Works*, vol. ii. p. 69, quoted above, p. 58, beginning of note 1.

[3] *Works*, vol. iii. p. 76: 'As for him whom (so artlesse and against the haire of anie similitude or coherence) he calls *the arte of figges* [Harvey was of course alluding to Lyly's tale-bearing about himself to Lord Oxford in 1580], he shall

something further; but either it never saw the light, or, if it did, is lost. Mr. G. F. Baker suggests that *Lyllies light*, entered on the *Stationers' Register*, June 30, 1596[1], may have been the pamphlet in question. The date at least is in accord with Nash's statement. Long before this the heat of the Martinist attack had died out; quenched partly, as Nash affirms, by their vigorous replies, partly by the more summary refutation of the prison and the gibbet. The strong Puritan feeling—fraught ultimately with such momentous and tragic issue—underlying the paper war which Nash and Lyly approached so light-heartedly, was smothered for the time; and having indicated the transference of the quarrel from the sphere of religious polemics to that of private personalities, we may return to our author.

We have just gleaned from Nash that he was small of stature and a smoker. Two other little points may be noticed: one that Nash acknowledges an early admiration of *Euphues*[2], while he repudiates the charge of imitating its style; the other that Lyly first taught him to admire the sermons of the great preacher, Dr. Lancelot Andrewes[3], afterwards bishop of Ely and other sees,

not need long to call for his figs, for hee will bee choakt soone inough with them; they hauing lyne ripe by him readie gathered (wanting nothing but pressing) anie time this twelue month. For my own proper person,' &c.

Ibid. p. 204: 'For Master *Lillie* (who is halues with me in this indignitie that is offred) I will not take the tale out of his mouth, for he is better able to defend himselfe than I am able to say he is able to defend himselfe, and in so much time as hee spendes in taking *Tobacco* one weeke, he can compile that which would make Gabriell repent himselfe all his life after. With a blacke sant he meanes shortly to bee at his chamber window. for calling him the *Fiddlesticke of Oxford*. In that he [Harvey] twatleth, *it had bin better to haue confuted* Martin *by Reuerend* Cooper than such leuitie; tell mee why was hee [Martin] not then confuted by Reuerend *Cooper*, or made to hold his peace, till Master *Lillie*, and some others, with their pens drew vpon him?'

Ibid. p. 207: 'The Paradoxe of the *Asse*, M. *Lilly* hath wrought vppon; as also to him I turne ouer the Doctors Apothecarie tearmes he hath vsed throughout, & more especially in his last Epistle of notable Contents.'

[1] Arber's *Transcript*, vol. iii. p. 65. The astrologer William Lilly, whom the title may perhaps suggest, was not born till 1602.

[2] *Strange Newes* (*Works*, ii. 267): 'the vaine which I haue . . . is of my own begetting, and cals no man father in England but my selfe, neyther *Euphues*, nor Tarlton, nor *Greene*. Not *Tarlton* nor *Greene* but haue beene contented to let my simple iudgement ouerrule them in some matters of wit. *Euphues* I readd when I was a little ape in Cambridge, and I thought it was *Ipse ille*: it may be excellent good still, for ought I know, for I lookt not on it this ten yeare: but to imitate it I abhorre, otherwise than it imitates *Plutarch*, Ouid, and the choicest Latine Authors.'

[3] *Haue with you* (*Works*, iii. 159): 'by Doctor Androwes own desert, and Master Lillies immoderate commending him, by little and little I was drawne on to bee an auditor of his: since when, whensoeuer I heard him, I thought it was but hard and scant allowance that was giu'n him, in comparison of the incomparable gifts that were in him.'

and at this time vicar of St. Giles', Cripplegate, and prebend residentiary of St. Paul's, in both of which places he used constantly to preach. And here, perhaps, may best be mentioned the satirical sketch of Lyly which Ben Jonson is supposed to have intended in the Fastidious Brisk of his *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599). Brisk certainly corresponds to Lyly in the matters of quoting, fiddling, smoking, literary borrowing and pecuniary embarrassment; in his affectation of being a ladies' man and nothing if not a courtier; in his special attention to similes and wit. He even uses the phrase 'an anatomy of wit' (iii. 1), and Fallace, the citizen's wife, who admires him, quotes *Euphues* to him (v. 7). But the chief point noted is his vanity in dress: he speaks of it perpetually, and wears a new suit at almost every entrance—a foible which, together with his gifts to the Court beauties, lands him ultimately in the Counter. With some necessary deductions for satire, the portrait may, I think, be allowed [1]. Here is Jonson's own summary of the character:—

'A neat, spruce, affecting courtier, one that wears clothes well, and in fashion; practiseth by his glass how to salute; speaks good remnants, notwithstanding the base viol and tobacco; swears tersely, and with variety; cares not what lady's favour he belies, or great man's familiarity: a good property to perfume the boot of a coach. He will borrow another man's horse to praise, and backs him as his own. Or, for a need, on foot can post himself into credit with his merchant, only with the gingle of his spur, and the jerk of his wand.'

Returning to Lyly's dramatic work, we saw that *Midas* was probably given at Court on January 6, 1589–90. In the same year, I believe, he composed and produced at St. Paul's *Mother Bombie*, his only surviving realistic comedy of modern life, to which he had perhaps been led by the success of his suppressed Anti-Martinist play of the previous year. It does not profess to have been given at Court; and, though written in the spirit of classical Terentian comedy, lacks altogether the conventional and courtly tone of Lyly's other plays. Nash, in 1596 [2], testifies to the popularity it once enjoyed; and perhaps it was withheld from the press in 1591 as newer

[1] Compare, in regard to the extravagance in dress, Fidus' (perhaps autobiographical) remark in *Euphues*, vol. ii. p. 49, l. 29: 'I endeauoured to courte it with a grace, (almost past grace,) laying more on my backe then my friendes could wel beare, hauing many times a braue cloke and a thredbare purse.'

[2] *Haue with you* (*Works*, iii. 67): 'We neede neuer wish the Playes at Powles vp againe, but if we were wearie with walking, and loth to goe too farre to seeke sport, into the Arches we might step, and heare him [Gabriel Harvey] plead; which would bee a merrier Comedie than euer was old Mother *Bomby*.'

and more likely than those then printed to win acceptance at some other theatre. It was printed, however, in 1594, and again in 1598.

The year 1591 is the most probable date for the complete suppression of the Paul's Boys, of which our earliest notice is the short address of the printer in *Endimion*, beginning 'Since the Plaies in Paules were dissolued,' and the entry of that play with *Gallathea* and *Midas* in the *Stationers' Register*, under date October 4, 1591[1]. The cause remains obscure; but was probably a repetition of the offence of introducing the religious quarrel upon the stage, which had brought down official wrath on other theatres in 1589. We have the evidence of Nash, just quoted, that the inhibition was still in force in 1596, and no sign of its removal until the printing, in 1600, of *The Maydes Metamorphosis*, as 'acted by the Children of Powles.' The consequences for Lyly must have been most serious, since the acting of the boys would probably be his chief source of income. The consequence for the English stage was an arrest of the output of a dramatist who had only now attained his best powers. I believe, with Malone[2], that it is of Lyly Spenser is speaking when he laments in *The Teares of the Muses*, published among his *Complaints* in 1591, the silence of 'our pleasant Willy.' The lines are put into the mouth of the Muse of Comedy, and are far more appropriate to Lyly, with his reputation for wit and learning and plays free from ribaldry, than to the yet obscure Shakespeare or any other dramatist of this time.

> And he, the man whom Nature selfe had made
> To mock her selfe, and Truth to imitate,
> With kindly counter under Mimick shade,
> Our pleasant Willy, ah! is dead of late:
> With whom all joy and jolly meriment
> Is also deaded, and in dolour drent.
>
> In stead thereof scoffing Scurrilitie,
> And scornfull Follie with contempt is crept,
> Rolling in rymes of shameles ribaudrie
> Without regard or due Decorum kept;
> Each idle wit at will presumes to make,
> And doth the Learned's taske upon him take.

[1] Arber's *Transcript*, vol. ii. p. 596.

[2] Boswell's *Malone's Shakespeare*, vol. ii. (Life) pp. 173–197. 'Willy,' as Malone points out, is a frequent pastoral name for a shepherd, and a shepherd is poetic for a poet.

But that same gentle Spirit, from whose pen
Large streames of honnie and sweete Nectar flowe,
Scorning the boldnes of such base-borne men,
Which dare their follies forth so rashlie throwe,
Doth rather choose to sit in idle Cell,
Than so himselfe to mockerie to sell.

If we are correct in assigning the reference of these lines to Lyly, they serve to show that Spenser, in spite of his old acquaintance with Harvey, and Harvey's continual parade of their friendship [1], was no partisan of the brothers in the paper war now waging between them and the 'rimers and stage-plaiers.' Perhaps they also show that Lyly had no personal share, or acknowledged no share, in the Anti-Martinist plays.

In one case, however, the silence which Spenser laments was broken. Somewhere between 1591 and 1593 Lyly seems to have written *The Woman in the Moone.* It can hardly be later, because the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, which dates about 1594, adopts some suggestions from it. It can hardly be earlier, or it would have been performed by the Paul's Boys; but the title-page, while stating that it was 'presented before her Highnesse,' names no company. The play constitutes for Lyly another new departure, being his first essay in the blank verse which, since the success of *Tamburlaine* in 1587, had come into general use. While poetically his best, it is also certainly among his most dramatic works, and exhibits perhaps, in Gunophilus, the influence of Shakespeare's earliest clowns, Costard, the Dromios and Launce. It was entered on the *Stationers' Register*, September 22, 1595 [2], though not actually published until 1597. Explanation of this delay in printing has been sought in the supposed displeasure of the Queen at a veiled satire on herself in Pandora or Luna. Satirical intention in a play written for presentation before her is to my mind extremely doubtful [3], and that she would interfere to stay the printing still more so. No explanation of the delay is really needed: it was an ordinary occurrence, of which the bibliography of Lyly's own works furnishes at least two other instances, in *Euphues and his England*, delayed for

[1] *Four Letters and certaine Sonnets* (Harvey's *Works*, i. 180): 'Signor Immerito (for that name will be remembred) was then, and is still my affectionate friend'; cf. p. 212. Nash in *Strange Newes*, 1593, speaks of Gabriel's 'vaineglory to haue Spencer known for thy friend' (*Works*, ii. 212).

[2] Arber's *Transcript*, vol. iii. p. 48.

[3] The question is discussed in the essay on 'Lyly as a Playwright,' vol. ii. pp. 256–7.

some nine months, and the *Sixe Court Comedies* entered by Blount, January 9, 1627–8[1], but not published till 1632. And satire is quite inconsistent with Lyly's still active expectations of favour, as revealed by his first petition to which we must now turn.

As already shown (p. 33) a letter preserved among the State Papers in the Record Office, bearing date December 22, 1597, and speaking of his having patiently endured the proroguing of the Queen's promises for twelve years, enables us to date his two undated petitions, which speak of ten and of thirteen years' waiting respectively, in 1595 and 1598. Three copies of them, none in Lyly's autograph, are in the British Museum, and a fourth among Lord Leconfield's MSS. at Petworth[2]. I give them both, *literatim et punctuatim*, from *Harleian MS.* 1323, fols. 249–50, which furnishes the best text, in spite of some errors—corrected in the notes at the foot of the page or by the variants reported there from the other MSS. The first runs as follows :—

'A Petitionarye L're : ffrom : John Lillye To Queene Elizabeth[3].

Tempora si numeris[4], quæ nos numeramus,
Non venit ante suam, nostra querela diem.

Most : Gratious : and dread Soveraigne;
I dare not pester yo^{r} : Highnes, wth many wordes; and want witt, to wrapp : vpp much matter, in ffewe; This Age, Epitomyes[5], the Pater Noster; thrust, into the Compasse of a penny; The world, into the Modell, of a Tennis Ball, All Scyences, melted, into Sentences[6], I would, I were soe compendyous, as to expresse my hopes, my ffortunes, my

[1] *Stat. Reg.*, Arber's *Transcript*, iv. p. 192.

[2] The three are *Harl. MS.* 1877, fol. 71 (from which they have hitherto been given); *Harl. MS.* 1323, fols. 249, 250; and *Hargrave MS.* 225, p. 36. The Petworth MS. I have not been able to see; but it appears in the Sixth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission (p. 306) as the sixty-first in that collection, containing copies of letters *temp.* Henry VIII, Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I, among which are enumerated :—

7. John Lille to the Queen Elizabeth for entertainment in the revels;
8. The same to the same, petitioning for a Protection Royal;

a description which sufficiently identifies them with the petitions here given.

[3] So, too, *Harg. MS.* *Harl. MS.* 1877 has 'A peticõn of John Lilly to the Queenes Ma^{tie}.'

[4] So, too, *Harg. MS.* *Harl. MS.* 1877 gives it rightly 'numeres.' 'Bene' and 'amantes' are of course omitted in all three. Ovid, *Her.* ii. 7, 8 :

Tempora si numeres, bene quae numeramus amantes,
Non venit ante suam nostra querela diem.'

[5] 'Epitome's,' *Harl. MS.* 1877.

[6] 'All science malted into sentence,' *Harl. MS.* 1877.

overthwartes into[1] sillables, as Marchãntes, doe; Riches; into a ffewe[2] Ciphers, Butt, I ffeare to Comitt the Erro^{r}: I. discomend tedyousnes, lyke one; that Roveinge[3]; to searche out, whatt tyme was, spent all his, and knewe it not;

'I was entertayned, yo^{r}: Ma^{ties}: servant; by yo^{r}: owne gratious ffavo^{r}: stranghthened wth Condicõns, that, I should ayme all my Courses, Att the Revells; (I dare not saye, wth a promise, butt a hopeffull Item, of[4] the Reversion) ffor the w^{ch}; theis Tenn yeares, I haue Attended, wth an vnwearyed patience, and[5], I knowe not; whatt Crabb; tooke mee ffor an Oyster, that, in the Middest of the Svnnshine of yo^{r}: gratious[6] aspect; hath thrust a stone; Betwene the shelles, to eate mee alyve; that onely lyve on dead hopes;

'yf, yo^{r}: sacred Ma^{tie}: thincke mee vnworthie, and that after Tenn yeares tempest, must[7] att the Co^{rte}: suffer shippwracke of my tymes, my hopes, and my Wittes[8], vouchesaffe in[9] yo^{r}: never erringe Judgm̃^{t}: some Plancke, or Rafter; to waffe mee; into a Countrye, where, in[10], my, sadd and setled devotion; I maye; in every Corner; of a Tha'tch't Cottage; wryte Prayers; instead of Playes; Prayers; ffor, yo^{r}: longe, and prosperous lyfe, and a Repentañce, that I haue played the foole, soe longe, and yett lyve[11].

'Quod petimus pœna; nec enim miser esse recuso[12]
sed precor vt possem, mitiusesse miser:
Jo: Lillye
'Non ero, qui miser sum, te miserante miser[13]
Jo: Lillye:'

The petition was probably suggested by the completion of ten years from the time of his first engagement. It can hardly be due immediately to the disfavour to which he alludes in his simile of the crab and the oyster; for, if under a cloud, he would not venture

[1] So, too, *Harg. MS.*; *Harl. MS.* 1877 'in two.'
[2] 'in fewe,' *Harl. MS.* 1877.
[3] 'roweing,' *Harg. MS.*; *Harl. MS.* 1877 'vowed.' 'To rove' is found in the sense of guess, aim at, investigate.
[4] 'to,' *Harl. MS.* 1877. [5] 'And nowe,' *Harl. MS.* 1877.
[6] 'yo^{r} sunshine of your most gratious,' *Harl. MS.* 1877.
[7] 'I must,' *Harl. MS.* 1877.
[8] 'my tyme, my wittes, my hopes;' *Harl. MS.* 1877. [9] 'me,' *Harg. MS.*
[10] 'wherein,' *Harg. MS.*; *Harl. MS.* 1877. [11] 'like,' *Harl. MS.* 1877.
[12] *Harl. MS.* 1877 supplies the 'est' after 'poena,' but puts 'etiam' for 'enim.' *Harg. MS.* has 'est' and 'enim.' All three read 'possem.' The lines are from Ovid's *Tristia*, v. 2. 77, 78:
'Quod petimus, poena est: neque enim miser esse recuso;
Sed precor, ut possim tutius esse miser.'
[13] This last line added by Lyly is, with the signatures before and after, omitted altogether in *Harl. MS.* 1877. *Harg. MS.* has the two signatures, but gives the added line as 'non ego qui nunc sum te miserante miser,' which must be what Lyly wrote.

to beg. That allusion may be referable to the inhibition of the Paul's Boys in 1591, which had cut off a chief source of his income. His election to Parliament for Aylesbury in 1592–3 would not lessen his expenses, and his next petition is evidence that he had children and debts. It is also evidence of definite fault found with him on the subject of Tentes and Toyles, which may have been the instance of royal displeasure here spoken of. In the 'thatched cottage,' for which, with somewhat forced pathos, he here begs, he perhaps alludes to his lack of official quarters at St. John's Priory[1]. But his appeal seems to have passed unregarded.

In 1595 or 1596 he wrote the *brochure* against Harvey mentioned by Nash; for the disappearance of which, with the example of *Pappe* before us, we can hardly repress a sense of thankfulness, though it might have added something to our knowledge of the writer. On Sept. 10, 1596 was baptized at the church of St. Bartholomew the Less in Smithfield, the first of his children of whom we have any record, by his father's name[2]. Collier, who first discovered these important entries in the St. Bartholomew's Register, asserts that 'this son died and was buried 22nd Aug., 1597, not at St. Bartholomew's, but at St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate'; but my careful examination of the St. Botolph's Register fails to discover any entry of the kind[3]. The christening, however, of another son by the same name, John, on July 3, 1600, seems to imply the death of the first. I feel the less hesitation in identifying these entries with our author, firstly because, with one possible exception to be noted

[1] See above, pp. 42 and 38, note 5.

[2] For convenience of reference I give here, together, all the entries in the St. Bartholomew's Register, which relate to our author, including two (of 1604 and 1605) which escaped Collier's notice:

'1596 The xth of September John the sonne of John Lillye gent was chrēned.'

'1600 The third of July John the sonne of John Lillye geñ was baptised.'

'1603 The xxjth of May ffrancis the doughter of John Lillye geñ was baptised.'

'1604[–5] The xvijth of Januarie Thomas the sonne of John Lyllye geñ was baptised.'

'1605 The xiiijth of May Elizabeth the doughter of John Lilly geñ was buried.'

'1606 The 30th of Novemb^{r} was buried John Lyllie gent:'

No entry of his marriage occurs among those between 1574 and 1606 inclusive, nor any further entry that concerns him among the christenings or burials between 1584–1607. The Emanuell Lillye, entries about two of whose children are found under the years 1594 and 1595, was probably the person of that name who died in the Counter, son of Richard Lylly, the Gloucestershire yeoman, and no relation of our author. Nor can I trace any certain connexion between him and the 'Thomas Lillye gent,' whose son is buried here, Sept. 25, 1607.

[3] See Collier's *Bibliographical Catalogue*, i. 503-6. There are other churches in the City dedicated to St. Botolph, but the faint prospect of discovering some mere formal entry of uncertain identity has not been sufficient to tempt me to further exploration.

presently (p. 74), my researches at Somerset House, in the Record Office, and among the MSS. in the British Museum, reveal no other John Lyly (or Lilly, &c.) in London, to whom the description 'gent.' would be applicable; and secondly, because these entries of burials and christenings imply residence in the Hospital, to which St. Bartholomew the Less, standing within its precinct, served, and serves still, as a parish church[1], and the near neighbourhood of which to the Revels Office on the north, and to St. Paul's on the south-east, would make it a natural place for Lyly to rent chambers or a house.

In 1597 Henry Lok, a bad poet but a man apparently of strong religious feeling, published his verse-paraphrase of *Ecclesiastes*, with a dedicatory epistle to the Queen. Himself a persistent petitioner to Sir Robert Cecil[2], Burleigh's second surviving son, who had, in 1596, been appointed Secretary of State, he seems to have made acquaintance with Lyly, with whom he was closely contemporary: and, whether by Lok's permission or request, Lyly seized the opportunity to include among the commendatory verse some bad Latin lines flattering the Queen, whose eye they would be likely to meet, and contrived, in a concluding couplet addressed to Lok, to suggest the neglect under which both authors were suffering. The lines, which are given the second place among the commendatory verse, run as follows:—

'*Ad Serenissimam Reginam Elizabetham.*

Regia Virgineæ soboles dicata parenti,
Virgo animo, patriæ mater, Regina quid[3] optas?
Chara domi, metuenda foris, Regina quid optas?
Pulchra, pia es, princeps, fœlix, Regina quid optas?
Cœlum est? Certò at serò sit Regina quod optas.

JOH. LILY.

Ad Lockum eiusdem.

Ingenio & genio locuples, dic Locke quid addam?
Addo, quod ingenium quondam preciosius auro[4].'

On Sept. 22, 1597 he was returned as member for Appleby, in

[1] Stow (*Survey*, ed. Strype, Bk. iii. ch. 12, pp. 231 sqq.), writing in 1598 and dealing with the old Hospital and its church standing, as now, 'on the south side' of West Smithfield, and speaking of its suppression under Henry VIII, says: 'The church remaineth a parish-church to the tenants dwelling in the precinct of the hospital.'

[2] See *Cal. of State Papers, Domestic*, 1598–1603 (July 1598), and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, art. 'Lok or Locke, Henry, 1553?–1608?'

[3] The word is repeated by a misprint in the original edition.

[4] *ingenium*, &c.] from Ovid, *Amor.* iii. 8. 3. Lyly quotes it *Mother Bombie*, iii. 2.

Westmoreland, though the Parliament was not actually summoned till Oct. 24. At the close of the year a letter written by him to Sir Robert Cecil[1] is evidence that his hopes of the Revels Office had been endangered by a half-promise, if not a formal grant, of the reversion to Sir George Buck[2]; though as Tylney held the post till his death in October, 1610, it would have been of little use to Lyly except for what he might have raised upon his prospects. Evidently he still leans upon Burleigh's interest. The letter is written, legibly enough, in Lyly's own handwriting—the same as that of the letter to Burleigh of July, 1582. It is endorsed '1597 22. Decem: Mr. Lyllie to my Mr,' and superscribed 'For ye right ho: Sir Robt: Cecil Knight Principalle Secretary to her Matie'; and runs as follows:—

'Right Ho: I haue not byn importunat, that thes 12 yeres wh vnwearied pacienc, have entertayned the p'roguig of her maties promises . wch if in the 13, may conclud wh the Parlement, I will think the greves of tymes past, but pastymes. I wold have wayted on yor Ho: wer I not trobled wh the Cort cough-thought, thât is to gepe so long for a suit & cough whout it.

'Offices in Reuersion are forestalld, in possession ingrost, & that of ye Reuells countenaunced upon Buck, wherin the Justic of an ogre [or 'oyre'][3] shewes his affection to ye keper, & partialty, to ye sheppard . a french fauor[4], I hope I shall not be vsed worse then an old horse, who after seruic done hath his shoes puld of & turnd to grass, not suffred to sterve in ye stable. I will Cast my wittes in a new mould,

[1] *State Papers* (*Record Office*), *Domestic*: Elizabeth, vol. cclxv. fols. 128–9, No. 61.

[2] The *Cal. of State Papers, Domestic*, 1603–1610, p. 16, records the 'Grant to Buck of the Mastership of the Revels' under date July 21, 1603. The earliest date of his appearance as licenser of plays in the *Stat. Reg.* is April 10, 1607 (Arber's *Transcript*, iii. 346).

[3] 'Justic of an ogre' [or 'oyre']: a difficult passage. I offer three lame explanations. (1) 'ogre' quite general, 'a matter wherein even an ogre would be just enough to favour the keeper (i. e. Lyly himself) rather than the game' (a wholly inapposite pun on *buck*).

(2) The 'ogre' is Tylney, with whom Lyly was then quarrelling (see *Lansd. MS.* 83, No. 63, and below, pp. 69–70) and whom he supposes to have influenced the Queen against his claims. In this case 'justic,' 'affection' and 'partialty' are used ironically.

(3) Reading 'oyre,' for 'oyer': 'the judge (or justice) of a court of *oyer* and *terminer* (hear and determine),' used here quite generally for such an investigation as that ordered by Burleigh shortly after Nov. 5, 1597 into the quarrel between the officers and creditors of the Revels, p. 69.

[4] *a french fauor*] These three words are an insertion written above the line, the mark for their insertion intervening between 'sheppard' and the full stop which follows it; but as this full stop is immediately followed by a comma, it seems clear that the mark of insertion should properly have come between the full stop and the comma, and that the three words belong in sense to what follows, not to what precedes. Their sense seems to be 'a favour which is really none,' like 'French leave': but the characters might possibly be read as 'fienet,' i. e. feigned.

& turne the water Course by a contrary Sluce, for I find it folly that on foot being in the grave, I shuld have the other on the stage. Yf her[1] matie in Comeseration of my estat, in remembraunc of her gracious promises, will vousalf, but any hope of fauer in my declining yeres, I shall thēn w^h the Snake cast of my skynne, & my Byll. w^h the Eagle, renuing my tyme, running it over, & reviving my wittes by spending them. In this I humbly entreat yo^r H : fauor, & Counsell, being destitut both of frends & Conciept, being my self a miserable example of misfortune that have no companion to complayne w^h me, I only being he y^t can be rekoned, to whome her matie hath p'mised much & done nothing. Thus humbly remembring my duty, I comm̄d yo^r ho : to the Almighty, praing for yo^r Long lif w^h encreas of hapines . De : 22 . 1597.

'Yo^r H in all duty

JH : LYLY.'

There is nothing to show that Cecil took any action on this appeal. His attention at this time was fully occupied with foreign affairs, with the consolidation of his own position against the rivalry of Essex, and with his father, Lord Burleigh's, failing health. A matter which came before Burleigh at this time may have tended to delay the satisfaction of Lyly's claims. Some workmen and tradesmen accustomed to supply the Revels Office, had on Nov. 5 petitioned the Lord Treasurer for five years' arrears of payment, detained from them in consequence of a disagreement between the Master and the inferior officers, who seem to have devoted sums, handed to them by Tylney for the liquidation of expenses, to supplying what they deemed a deficiency in the salaries due to themselves. Tylney took his stand on some composition previously arranged by the Lord Treasurer, which the other officers now declined to accept as binding. Burleigh appointed one of the Auditors of the Imprest and one of the Barons of the Exchequer to hear both officers and petitioners and adjudicate between them; and on Jan. 5, 1597–8, they informed him of their decision—

'that out of the xl^li. by yeare allowed for ffees or wage for their attendaunces the M^r of the Revelles shall yearely allowe and paye the severall Somes of mony vnd^rwritten viz.

To the Clarke Comptroller of that Office . . .	viij^li
To the Yeoman of the Revells	viij^li
To the Groome of the Office	xl^s
To the Porter of S^t. Johns	xx^s[2]'

[1] *her*] This word is preceded in the MS. by 'in' erased.

[2] *Lansdowne MS.* 83, No. 63.

From this we learn that the receipts of the officers, which had in earlier years varied with the number of days on which their attendance was given, were now fixed at a definite sum, which forms a rough average equivalent to their previous receipts as shown in the Revels Accounts, though the balance left in the Master's hands seems a good deal larger. But Burleigh, in an autograph note insists on further information as to the satisfaction of the petitioning creditors. If Lyly was Clerk-Controller, he would, I believe, be paymaster, and therefore chiefly responsible for the retention of the tradesmen's money [1].

Failing to obtain satisfaction, Lyly again, in 1598, addressed the Queen in terms of surprising boldness, plainer than Horace ventured to use towards Maecenas, stronger than those of Molière's remonstrance with Louis XIV on the suppression of *Tartuffe*. The temerity of such a tone taken to the imperious and all-flattered Elizabeth shows the petition, in spite of the politic humour of the closing sentence, to be the utterance of despair. Bitterness like this cannot be referred to mere petulant exaggeration, or simply to that pleasure in forcible expression which makes the pen in some men's hands a more unruly instrument even than the tongue. It is evident that beneath his masking and fooling and play-writing Lyly had been suffering the keenest anxiety, and that the iron had entered into his soul. I give the petition, like the former, from *Harleian MS.* 1323, fol. 250.

'ANOTHER ; L'RE : TO, QUEENE, ELIZABETH : FFROM JOHN : LILLYE : [2]

'Most : gratious, and dread Soveraigne ;

'Tyme ; cannott worke my peticōns, nor my peticōns, the tyme ; After many yeares servyce ; It pleased yo^{r} : Mā^{tie} : To except ; against Tentes and Toyles, I wishe ; that ffor Tentes I might putt in Tenem^{tes} : soe should I bee eased wth some Toyles ; some Landes some goodes, ffynes, or fforffeytures, that should ffall, by the iust ffall of the [3] most ffalce Trayto^{rs} : That seeinge nothinge, will come by the Revells, I may praye vppon Rebells ;

'Thirteen yeares, yo^{r} : Highnes Servant ; Butt ; yett nothinge, Twenty ffrindes, that though they say, they wilbee sure, I ffinde them, sure to slowe [4], A thowsand hopes, butt all, noethinge ; A hundred promises, butt

[1] See above, pp. 41–2.

[2] In *Harl. MS.* 1877 'John Lillies second Peticōn to the Queene.'

[3] *Harl. MS.* 1877 'these.' In all cases where not otherwise specified the *Hargrave MS.* 225 agrees with that from which our text is taken, *Harl. MS.* 1323.

[4] i.e. too slow. *Harg. MS.* 'two slowe'; *Harl. MS.* 1877 'to be slowe,' probably right.

yett noethinge, Thus Castinge vpp : an[1] Inventorye of my ffrindes, hopes, promises, and Tymes, the ; Sum̃a, Totāl: Amounteth to Just nothinge My Last Will, is shorter, then myne Invention ; Butt, three Legacyes, I Bequeath[2], Patience to my Credito^{rs}: Mellanchollie, wthout Measure to my ffrindes, And Beggerry, wthout shame, to my ffamilye,

Si placet hoc meruiq. q^{d}: ô tua ffulmina cessant[3]
Virgo Parens Princeps :

In all humillitye, I, intreat, that I may dedicate, to yo^{r}: sacred Ma^{tie}: (Lillye de Tristibus, wherein shalbee seene ; Patience; Labo^{rs}: and Misfortunes,

Quorum si singula nostram ;
ffrangere non poterunt, poterant tamen ōia mentem[4];

'The Last ; and the Least, that yf I bee Borne to haue noethinge, I may haue a Protection to paye noethinge, w^{ch} Suite ; is lyke his, whoe[5] haveinge ffollowed the Co^{rte}: Tenn yeares, ffor Recompence of his servyce ; Com̃itteth[6] a Robberye, and tooke it out ; in a Pardon :

JOHN : LILLYE/[7].'

The Queen's complaint about Tentes and Toyles may have originated in some real or supposed participation by Lyly in the abuse of lending out the Revels costumes on hire to various companies, of which we have an instance in the complaint addressed to Sir William Cecil in 1571 by Thomas Gylles, a costumier, whose business was injured by the practice[8]. But since Lyly here attempts no answer to the complaint, and even ventures to pun upon it, we may fairly suppose he refers to a matter of some time past, from complicity in which he had already practically cleared himself. His hope of 'forfeitures that should fall by the just fall of the most false traitors' is best referred to the rebels in Ireland. On Aug. 14, 1598, ten days after Burleigh's death, Sir Henry Bagnell, the Queen's marshal, attempting with 4,000 men to relieve the fort of Blackwatertown besieged by Tyrone, had been defeated and killed with the loss of more than 700 men and many other officers. The disaster

[1] *Harl. MS.* 1877 'the.' [2] 'I Bequeath,' om. *Harl. MS.* 1877.
[3] *Harl. MS.* 1877 has 'Si placet hoc merui quod ô tua fulmina cessent.'
[4] *Quorum . . . nostram*, &c. : in *Harl. MS.* 1877 an original *a* seems to have been changed into a *u* in 'nostram' and the first 'poterant.' *Harg. MS.* has 'poterant' in both cases. The lines are from Ovid, *Met.* ix. 607–8 :

'Omnia fecissem, quorum si singula duram
Flectere non poterant, potuissent omnia, mentem.'

[5] *Harl. MS.* 1877 'that.' [6] *Harl. MS.* 1877 'comitted.'
[7] The signature is wanting in *Harl. MS.* 1877.
[8] *Lansdowne MS.* 13, No. 3, quoted by Collier, i. 198. Gylles' complaint is directed rather against the Yeoman, who was (as we saw, p. 41 note 2) the proper custodian of the costumes ; but there seems to have been some confusion of function among the junior officers of the Revels, and the investigation of 1597 to which I adverted above is evidence of a solidarity between them.

had produced a profound impression; and active measures, which culminated in Essex's departure in the following year, were soon inaugurated to meet the danger[1]. The occurrence may suggest a date for Lyly's petition in the latter part of the year; and the remark about 'paying nothing' if he is to 'haue nothing,' may derive point from the fact—part of the scanty harvest of my researches at the Record Office—that in an assessment made on persons living in the ward of Farringdon Without, and dated Oct. 1, 1598, 'John Lilly gent' is rated to pay eight shillings on property of the value of three pounds in the parish of Saint Bartholomew the Less, as his share of the first instalment of the heavy subsidy (six Fifteenths and Tenths) granted by Parliament in January, 1597–8, of which Parliament he was a member. He is assessed at a similar sum on a similar amount of property for the second and the third instalments, in documents dated Oct. 1, 1599 and 1600, respectively[2].

It is small wonder, considering its tone, that this second appeal, like the former, passed unheeded. In the following year, however, his distresses were to some extent relieved by the renewal of the Paul's Boys' permission to act. I infer that their inhibition was removed at least as early as 1599 from the fact that on July 24, Sept. 8, and Nov. 25, respectively, of the succeeding year (1600) are entered, in the *Stationers' Register*, *The Maydes Metamorphosis*, *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, and Lyly's own *Loves Metamorphosis*, the first of which is announced on its title-page (dated 1600) as having been 'sundrie times Acted by the Children of Powles,' the second in the entry of Sept. 8 as 'diuerse tymes Acted by the Children of Paules,' while the third is also stated in the entry of Nov. 25 to have been 'playd by the Children of Paules,' to which the title-page of 1601 adds, 'and now by the Children of the Chappell.' Considering that

[1] See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, art. 'Elizabeth, 1533–1603,' and *Cal. of State Papers, Domestic*, 1598–1603.

[2] See the Subsidy Rolls in the Record Office—'Lay Subsidies' $\frac{146}{389}$, $\frac{144}{384}$, $\frac{143}{280}$—the last of which is (or was) wrongly catalogued as referring to a grant of 23 Elizabeth; but the application of some gall to the almost obliterated writing at my request showed the date in the heading of the Indenture to be 'two and *fortith* yere,' i. e. 1600, to my considerable disappointment, as 'two and twenteth' would have located Lyly in St. Bartholomew's in 1580, and settled some doubts. I may add that I have examined *all* the other Subsidy Records relating to the ward of Farringdon Without during the years 1576–1610, without finding his name either in other Assessments or in the lists of defaulters: nor does he appear in the Assessment for the 'Libertyes of the Duchy of Lancaster without Temple Bar' in 31 Eliz. (1589)—No. $\frac{265}{31}$ (additional)—the single surviving document dealing with those liberties (which of course included the Savoy) in the period above named.

plays did not as a rule find their way to the printer's until at least a year or two after their production, it seems likely that the Paul's Boys had in 1600 already been acting again for some time past. The passage quoted by Malone and Collier from *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, though argument that the boys were not yet at home with their task, can hardly have been written later than the beginning of 1600, and so supports my contention of a recommencement at least as early as 1599 [1].

The first of the three pieces just named, *The Maydes Metamorphosis*, has been claimed for Lyly; but incorrectly, I think, though it is just possible that, having to coach the Paul's Boys in the acting of it, he added to the part of the comic pages, Joculo, Mopso and Frisco, the two prose-scenes, ii. 2 (which contains some pretty fairy-songs) and iii. 2, and possibly the duet in Act iv, and the closing song of Act v. Both this play and *Loves Metamorphosis* are probably included among the 'musty fopperies of antiquity' of which Brabant senior complains, i. e. both were probably old in date in 1600, as well as based on classical antiquity. We know *Loves Metamorphosis* to have been transferred to the Chapel Children before its publication in 1601, and it is probably to be reckoned among those recent revivals alluded to by Ben Jonson in the Induction to *Cynthias Revels*, which was produced by those children in 1600 [2]. Originally

[1] The passage, quoted in Malone's *Life of Shakespeare* (Boswell's *Malone*, ii. p. 193) and by Collier, i. 273, is also interesting to us as evidence of the higher class of audience attending the St. Paul's performances, to which the price of admission was double that charged at an ordinary playhouse like 'The Theater' at Newington Butts; see marginal note in *Pappe* quoted above, p. 53, and compare especially Lyly's Prologue to *Midas*. In the Introduction to *J. D. E.* are allusions to 'this generous presence' and 'this choice selected audience': the following passage from Act v is that quoted by Malone and Collier:—

'*Sir Edward Fortune.* I saw the children of Powles last night,
And troth they pleas'd me pretty, pretty well:
The apes in time will do it handsomely.
Planet. I' faith, I like the audience that frequenteth there,
With much applause. A man shall not be choked
With the stench of garlick, nor be pasted
To the barmy jacket of a beer brewer.
Brabant Jun. 'Tis a good gentle audience, and I hope the boys
Will come one day into the Court of Requests.
Brabant Sen. Aye; an they had good plays; but they produce
Such musty fopperies of antiquity,
And do not suit the humorous age's back
With clothes in fashion.'

[2] 'The umbræ or ghosts of some three or four plays departed a dozen years since, have been seen walking on your stage here' (ed. 1838, p. 71). Jonson, the master of a newer and sturdier handicraft, whose plays were displacing Lyly's, had already satirized him in Fastidious Brisk in *Every Man Out of his Humour*, 1599. See above, p. 61, and for date of *Loves Met.* pp. 45–6.

composed and acted, as I believe, between 1585 and 1589, it had been reserved from the press and now reappears first with the Paul's Boys, with the excision perhaps of a former comic element that had caused offence, but with new reminiscences of Book III of the *Faerie Queene*, and an allegorical adaptation of the relations between Ceres and the ungrateful Erisichthon to the recent differences between the Queen and Essex. Essex, whose arrogant pretensions had long been a source of anxiety and disturbance, had been packed off to Ireland in March, 1599, but returned suddenly without leave in September. The Queen received him civilly, but could not pass over the offence, and confined him for six months in his own house. In June, 1600, he was summoned to answer for his conduct before a commission consisting of the chief officers of state. His submission and Cecil's discreet generosity procured him pardon; and his rebellious outbreak did not take place till the following February, before which time of course Lyly's play had been produced[1]. We may trace a reminiscence of the courtly compliment of *Sapho* in the fact that Cupid is made the means of reconciling the goddess to her churlish husbandman.

In 1599, as mentioned above, Lyly is sketched in *Every Man Out of his Humour* as Fastidious Brisk, a character whose fopperies and fashionable ambitions land him in the Counter for debt, from which an intrigue with his creditor's foolish wife, offered by her rather than sought by him, fails to rescue him. There is no hope of disentangling the elements of truth from those of fiction in Jonson's caricature; and if I mention here another John Lilly, who in July of this year (1599) was imprisoned in the Tower on suspicion of assisting Gerard the Jesuit to escape from it, it is only to dissociate that staunch Protestant, our author, from him[2]. On July 3, 1600, another son of his was baptized at St. Bartholomew the Less by the name of John; and from Oct. 27 to Dec. 19, 1601, he sat again in Parliament for Aylesbury. It was possibly at this period that he became known to Fulke Greville, the poet and friend of Sir Philip

[1] See Camden's *Annals of Elizabeth*, vol. ii. pp. 608, 618, 626, &c., and article 'Cecil, Robert, Earl of Salisbury,' in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[2] See *Cal. of State Papers, Domestic*, 1598–1601, pp. 253–4; and for Lyly's Protestantism see *Euphues and his England*, vol. ii. p. 192, his respectful account of the Establishment; p. 206 ll. 9—13, 26 sqq., his sympathy with Edward VI, and with Elizabeth in her sister's reign; ib. l. 36, 'placed in the seate royall, she first of al established religion, banished poperie, aduanced the worde, that before was so much defaced.' Cf. also pp. 24 l. 21, 89 l. 1, 214 l. 22. Cf. *Pappe*, ad med. (vol. iii): 'the Papists haue been making roddes for vs this thirtie yeares.'

Sidney, who represented Warwickshire in the same Parliament; but their acquaintance may quite as well date from old Savoy days, when Greville, Dyer, and Sidney were members of Harvey's 'Areopagus,' and Lyly was probably introduced to them all. Greville, a favourite with the Queen since his first entry into Court life in 1577, had held some important posts in the last years of the century, and took part in the arrest of Essex on Feb. 8, 1600–1[1]. Lyly's attempt to enlist him in support of his claims may have been due to a sense of Cecil's coldness to his interests; but considering the latter's jealousy of Greville, the step was not very judicious, and Lyly's attitude in the letter I am about to quote betrays, perhaps, some sense of awkwardness. That letter is mentioned in the Seventh Report of the Historical MSS. Commission[2] as existing among the MSS. at Hatfield; and by the kindness of Lord Salisbury I have been furnished with a copy. It runs as follows:—

(Cecil Papers 91/103)

'JHON LYLY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

'My duety Humbly remembred

'My fortunes are come to this issue, the Q.^{s} mercy, & M^{r} Grevill's Care, yo^{r} H. good word to both, may work a Conclusion of all my cares. My wiff deliuered my Petition to the Q. who accepted it graciously & as I desyred, referred it, to M^{r}. Grevil, for I durst not presume, to name yo^{r} honnor.

'The Copye I haue sent inclosed, not to troble y^{r} Ho., but only to vousalf a view of the particulers, all wowen [woven] in one, is but to haue Something, And so praing for yo^{r} Ho. Long Lif, w^{t} increas of happines, I humbly end Feb. 4 1602 Yo^{r} H. in all duety

JHON · LYLY /'

The petition to which this letter refers is not mentioned in the Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, nor by Lord Salisbury's private secretary in the letter which accompanied the above copy; so we must suppose it lost, unless indeed the petition mentioned in the Commission's Third Report as existing among the Bute MSS. be identical with it[3]. But the letter itself adds a good deal to our

[1] See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, art. 'Greville, Sir Fulke, first Lord Brooke, 1554–1628.' He was made a knight of the Bath by James I in 1603.

[2] P. 183 a.

[3] Among these MSS. the twenty-fourth article in what is described as 'A volume of Historical Miscellanies, chiefly relating to the reigns of Elizabeth and James I' is said to be 'A Petic'on from John Lilly to y^{e} Queene'; but whether this is a new one, or merely a fifth copy of one or both of those we know already, there is no means of deciding, and Lord Bute's unfortunate death (Oct. 1900) has deprived me of answer to my inquiries.

knowledge of the close of Lyly's life, showing that some four and a half years after his petition of 1598 his claims were still unsatisfied; but that he was still hoping, still possessed friends, and, what was far better, a wife to give him sympathy and active help.

Blount, in his Address to the Reader, 1632, describes Lyly as 'a Rare and Excellent Poet, whom Queene Elizabeth then heard, Graced, *and Rewarded*'; but is he speaking by the book? The Queen died six weeks after the date of the letter just quoted, on the last day of the civil year, March 24, 1602–3. It would be pleasant to think that before her death things were at least put in train for satisfying the modest claims of one who had done, perhaps, more than any to lighten for her the harassing cares of sovereignty; but I can find no direct evidence for it, for we can hardly take the increase of his family as such. On May 21 of this same year 1603 a daughter of his was baptized by the name of Frances, the same that he had given to the sprightly young woman he married twenty-three years before to Philautus; while on Jan. 17, 1604–5 was baptized another son, Thomas, and on May 14, 1605 was buried another daughter, Elizabeth, of whose baptism we have no record. In that year a tenth edition of both Parts of *Euphues* was issued, the first that is traceable since 1597. In the hands of its new publisher, William Leake, the book appears to have taken a fresh lease of vitality; for an eleventh edition of either Part followed in 1606, and in 1607 a twelfth of Part I, the twelfth of Part II being issued in 1609. This twelfth edition was no doubt occasioned by the author's death. The Register of St. Bartholomew the Less records his burial on Nov. 30, 1606, when he would be in his fifty-third year. No monument, tombstone, or inscription bearing his name has survived the restoration of all except the western end of the church. One or two nearly contemporary tablets have been preserved on the walls, but the floor has been entirely relaid with tiles.

The career I have thus endeavoured, by the aid of the inadequate materials available, to sketch, should I think be regarded as an unfortunate rather than an unhappy one; and its misfortunes were, in part, self-caused. In the light of the admission, made in his own person in his earliest work—'I haue euer thought so supersticiously of wit, that I feare I haue committed Idolatry agaynst wisedome[1]'—we may see John Lyly as, more or less, throughout life his own

[1] *Euphues*, p. 196, l. 20.

enemy. His is the old story of the over-high estimate set by a superficial world on powers which ripen early and are most readily at command; and of undue self-confidence induced in the owner of such powers, making him negligent of the more solid and verefiable side of life, and careless of accumulating envy and dislike. The opening of his career exhibits all the marks of 'brilliance'; its close finds him painfully meeting the blank cheques commonly drawn by such a character upon maturity and old age. The showy and superficial was always the first consideration with Lyly; wit before learning, speech before thought, manner before matter, shadow before substance. If his earliest work exhibits an ample grasp and approval of the diametrically opposite principle, that approval was mainly conventional, or merely intellectual, and had little influence upon his own practice. From the first he exhibited an impatience of the beaten path, and a baneful reliance upon the influence of great friends. Social eminence was his ideal. Perfectly capable of estimating Court life at its true worth, he nevertheless entered voluntarily on a long career of chagrin which he might have foreseen. We see him, sent to Oxford by the indulgence of his parents or the liberality of Lord Burleigh, disdaining or ignoring the studies prescribed there, but winning repute as a madcap and a wit; quarrelling with his dons, and yet attempting an impudent aggression upon them which Burleigh refused to sanction. We see him, next, procuring by his social talents and the help of friends a ready admission to Court, and turning indeed to good account the knowledge acquired during ten years of desultory study in a work which deserved all its success; but yet unable to refrain from venting therein his private grudge in sweeping condemnation of the University at large, an indiscretion by which he can hardly have profited. We see him making enemies in the household of Lord Oxford; carelessly estranging his old friend Harvey[1]; hedging injudiciously, perhaps, between Leicester and Burleigh, as later between Greville and Cecil; probably bringing himself and the Paul's Boys into

[1] The following in Harvey's *Advertisement to Papp-Hatchett* is very significant: 'He winneth not most abroad that weeneth most at home: and in my poore fancy, it were not greatly amisse, euen for the pertest, and gayest companions, (notwithstanding whatsoeuer courtly holly-water, or plausible hopes of preferment) to deigne their olde familiars the continuance of their former courtesies, without contempt of the barrainest giftes, or empeachment of the meanest persons. The simplist man in a parish is a shrewd foole; and Humanity an Image of Diuinity; that pulleth downe the howty, and setteth vp the meek. Euphues, it is good to bee merry, and Lyly it is good to be wise, and Papp-Hatchett it is better to lose a new jest than an old friend.' *Works* (ed. Grosart), vol. ii. p. 125.

trouble by too bold a caricature of Marprelate; incurring the Queen's rebuke by inadequate or faulty discharge of his duties in the Revels Office; and, finally, reproaching his irascible mistress with ingratitude in terms as bitter, if not so dignified, as those of Johnson's famous letter to Lord Chesterfield. Envy of his early success and high repute, dislike of his self-assertion and mordant tongue, must needs, I think, have united with his want of adequate funds and the usual difficulties besetting aspirants and petitioners at Court, to keep him for ever expectant and for ever disappointed. Add to this the accident that during the eight years of the Paul's Boys' inhibition there rose into the dramatic heaven a star of such a magnitude as reduced Lyly and his achievements to a remote and insignificant twinkle, and that with it or about it came a number of brilliant satellites; and we need not wonder that Lyly ended his days in poverty and neglect. In 1591, when the boys were suppressed, Lyly had no rival as a Court dramatist, and none whose fame on the public stage could be compared with his, except Marlowe. In 1603, when he wrote to Cecil, the drama boasted works which threw the best that Lyly ever had, or could have, produced, utterly into the shade; though to the genius of him who created them his own had contributed much[1]. It is not surprising, therefore, that between 1595 and 1606 we have practically no new work from Lyly's pen.

But I do not think his life as a whole deserves to be called unhappy. The superficiality of character indicated above, and reflected in his plays, would form his best defensive armour. He had buoyancy enough to survive disappointment, and fits of bitterness or depression such as are revealed by his petitions could have been but temporary. The earnest tone of *Euphues*, in which Morley found evidence of his deep moral seriousness, I should rather attribute to the power of strongly realizing his theme, and to the attraction which the didactic attitude generally presents to youth. It is hard to resist the comedies' suggestion of a real light-heartedness; they contain no touch of bitterness until we reach Stesias in *The Woman*, and I do not think it can at all be said that the wit and gaiety fall off towards the close. To one who worshipped brains as Lyly did, the sense of intellectual achievement must always count as the most important factor in content; and,

[1] Shakespeare's debt is discussed in the essay on 'Euphuism' below, and in that on 'Lyly as a Playwright,' vol. ii.

whatever his pecuniary fortunes, he had at least the consolations of distinction from his first entry of the courtly circle. If his plays were outshone, his novel survived its temporary displacement by the *Arcadia*, and must have earned him an immense reputation, the evidences of which are not wanting in the flattering allusions of William Webbe[1], of John Eliot[2], of Francis Meres[3], and of Ben Jonson in 1623[4], to say nothing of the high compliment paid him by Spenser in the stanzas quoted above, and of the imitation of him by Greene, Nash, Lodge and others. And, if Lyly had enemies, he also had friends—Watson, Harvey, Nash, Lok—cultivated men who shared his tastes and could appreciate his gifts; and, in spite of Harvey's malicious suggestions later on, and some possible youthful excess that occasioned them, one feels that he was much too fastidious and refined to lose self-mastery, to sink into a tavern-roisterer or toss-pot, like Greene, or Marlowe or some of the rest. Nor was his life denied the dearer companionship of marriage. Famous, clever, poor and disappointed, he is among the most distinct of Elizabethans. We can picture him, one of the most familiar figures at Whitehall, Greenwich, Richmond, or Hampton Court, stepping daintily about the ante-chambers, shrewd and humorous; with

[1] *Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586), ed. Arber, p. 46 (speaking of 'the great good grace and sweet vayne which Eloquence hath attained in our speeche'): 'Among whom I thinke there is none that will gainsay, but Master Iohn Lilly hath deserued moste high commendations, as he which hath stept one steppe further therein then any either before or since he first began the wyttie discourse of his *Euphues*. Whose workes, surely in respecte of his singuler eloquence and braue composition of apt words and sentences, let the learned examine and make tryall thereof thorough all the partes of Rethoricke, in fitte phrases, in pithy sentences, in gallant tropes, in flowing speeche, in plaine sence, and surely in my iudgment, I thinke he wyll yeelde him that verdict, which *Quintilian* giueth of bothe the best Orators *Demosthenes* and *Tully*, that from the one, nothing may be taken away, to the other, nothing may be added.'

[2] Verses prefixed to Greene's *Perimedes. The Blacke Smith*, 1588: 'Greene et Lylli tous deux raffineurs de l'Anglois.' Among the commendatory verse to Greene's *Alcida* (lic. Dec. 9, 1588) occurs the following:—

'Floruit Ascamus, Chekus, Gascoynus, et alter
Tullius Anglorum nunc viuens Lillius, illum
Consequitur Grenus, praeclarus uterque Poeta.'

[3] *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, fol. 284, 'The best for Comedy amongst vs bee, *Edward* Earle of Oxforde, Doctor *Gager* of Oxforde, Maister *Rowley* once a rare Scholler of learned Pembrooke Hall in Cambridge, Maister *Edwardes* one of her Maiesties Chappell, eloquent and wittie *Iohn Lilly*, *Lodge*, *Gascoyne*, *Greene*, *Shakespeare*, *Thomas Nash*, *Thomas Heywood*, *Anthony Mundye* our best plotter, *Chapman*, *Porter*, *Wilson*, *Hathway*, and *Henry Chettle*.'

[4] Verses prefixed to the First Folio Shakespeare:—

'For if I thought my iudgement were of yeeres,
I should commit thee surely with thy peeres,
And tell, how farre thou didst our *Lily* out-shine,
Or sporting *Kid*, or *Marlowes* mighty line.'

a keen eye for the follies, the fashions, the swagger and pretension of the courtiers[1]; now enjoying a brisk passage of arms with some sprightly maid of honour, now chuckling over the last impertinence of the Court pages—with an insuperable affection for the motley show, the buzz of the great bazaar, surviving the clearest perception of its hollowness and inability to satisfy.

It is well that he enjoyed due meed of fame and importance in his lifetime. The reaction against his excessive mannerism, which first finds expression in Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, 1591[2], left him all but forgotten within forty years after his death. Blount's attempt, in

[1] Cp. *Pappe* 'To the Reader': 'He saith he is a Courtier . . . I knowe all the fooles there, and yet cannot gesse at him.'

[2] Sonnet III. 'Let dainty wits cry on the sisters nine,
That, bravely mask'd, their fancies may be told:
Or, Pindar's apes, flaunt they in phrases fine,
Enam'ling, with py'd flowers, their thoughts of gold.
Or else, let them in statelier glory shine,
Ennobling new-found tropes, with problems old:
Or, with strange similes enrich each line,
Of herbs, or beasts, which Ind' or Afric hold.'
(*Miscell. Works*, Gibbings, 1893.)

This is not specially condemnatory; but there is no doubt that Sidney was regarded as, and in his *Arcadia* actually was, representative of a reaction against Lyly's excessive antithesis, and use of 'mechanical devices' and natural history, though Arcadianism itself was an affectation of a worse kind. The passage most often quoted as proof of this reaction is from Michael Drayton's poem *Of Poets and Poesie*, near the end of his first folio volume of poems, 1627:—

'The noble *Sidney* . . . did first reduce
Our tongue from *Lillies* writing then in vse;
Talking of Stones, Stars, Plants, of fishes, Flyes,
Playing with words, and idle Similies.'

Nash in his *Epistle* prefixed to *Menaphon* had somewhat depreciated Lyly with other writers in order to exalt Greene (see Essay on *Euphues*, p. 146), and the absolutely earliest instance of direct disapproval of Euphuism is found in the reflections of Harvey scattered through the *Advertisement to Papp-Hatchett*, written in the autumn of 1589, though not printed till 1593: e.g.

'I cannot stand nosing of candlesticks, or Euphuing of similies, alla Savoica: it might happily be done with a trice: but every man hath not the gift of Albertus Magnus: rare birds are dainty, and they are queint creatures that are privileged to create new creatures. When I have a mint of precious stones, and strange fowls, beasts, and fishes, of mine own coining (I could name the party, that, in comparison of his own natural inventions, termed Pliny a barren womb), I may, peradventure, bless you with your own crosses, and pay you with the usury of your own coin . . .'

'I long since found by experience, how Dranting of verses, and Euphuing of sentences, did edify . . .'

'Gentlemen, I haue given you a taste of his sugar-loaf, that weeneth Sidney's dainties, Ascham's comfits, nothing comparable to his Pap. Some of you dreamed of electuaries, of gems, and other precious restoratiues; of the quintessence of amber and pearl dissolved, of I wot not what incredible delicacies: but his gem-mint is not always current; and as busy men, so painted boxes and gallipots must have a vacation. . . . The finest wits prefer the loosest period in M. Ascham, or Sir Philip Sidney, before the tricksiest page in Euphues or Pap-hatchet.' (Brydges' *Archaica*, ii. 85 sqq., 139, 140.)

1632[1], to revive an interest in his plays can hardly be said to have succeeded; and though the demand for *Euphues* was not exhausted until a seventeenth edition had been printed in 1636, he is treated thenceforward as hopelessly antiquated. Edward Phillips, in 1665, says that his plays 'might perhaps, when time was, be in very good request[2].' William Winstanley, in 1687, speaks of them as 'being in great esteem in his time and acted then with great applause of the Vulgar, as such things which they understood, and composed chiefly to make them merry[3].' In 1691 we have Wood's memoir of Lyly in the *Athenae Oxonienses*; and in the same year Gerard Langbaine evidently regards his plays as meritorious attempts, though he doesn't know the *Euphues*[4]; and Oldys adds in his MS. notes a judicious condemnation of Lyly's style. In 1716 a slightly abbreviated version of the First Part of *Euphues* appeared, with modernized phraseology, under the title of *Euphues and Lucilla: or the False Friend and Inconstant Mistress*; and it was re-issued in 1718: but shortly afterwards, in 1742, Richardson's *Pamela* and Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* are published, and *Euphues* disappears from the stream of English printing for exactly 150 years, until Professor Arber's reprint from original editions in 1868. In 1756 and 1758 Lyly is remotely known to Peter Whalley[5] and another writer[6] as 'one Lilly'; and receives contemptuous mention in Berkenhout's *Biographia Literaria*, 1777[7]. He owed his revival in the first instance to the increasing interest and thoroughness of the study of Shakespeare. Malone's favourable notice in his *Life* of the latter poet (1790)[8] heralded that recovery of him which the scholarship of the nineteenth century has accomplished; and Arber cites opinions on him, which I have not space to quote, from Gifford's edition of *Jonson* (1816), from Nathan Drake's *Shakespeare and his Times* (1817), from Scott's *Monastery* (Introduction to ed. 1831), where Lyly's style had been absurdly caricatured in Sir Piercie Shafton, whose talk is far more Arcadian than Euphuistic,

[1] *Sixe Covrt Comedies . . . By the only Rare Poet of that Time, The wittie . . . Iohn Lilly . . .* 1632, 12mo. See introductory matter to the Plays in vol. ii.

[2] *Theatrum Poetarum . . .* London . . . M.DC.LXV. 12mo: p. 112.

[3] *The Lives of the most famous English Poets . . .* London . . . 1687. 8vo: p. 97.

[4] *English Dramatick Poets* (Oxford, 1691)—under name 'Lilly.'

[5] Note on Fallace's speech (*Every Man Out of His Humour*, v. 7) in his edition of Ben Jonson, vol. i. p. 286. I am indebted for this, and several other references, to the history of opinion on Lyly given in Arber's Introduction to *Euphues*, pp. 13–27.

[6] *Literary Magazine*, May, 1758, p. 197.

[7] Vol. i. p. 377, note (*a*).

[8] Boswell's *Malone*, vol. ii. pp. 173–97.

from Hallam's *Literature of Europe* (1839), from Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* (1855), from Marsh's lectures at Boston (1860), and from Morley's *Quarterly* article on 'Euphuism' (April, 1861). England and Germany have vied of late in discussion of the style; but the modern approval of his romance was hardly discriminate until the appearance of M. Jusserand's brilliant work *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, while the immense chronological importance, and the absolute merits of his plays, appear to me still strangely overlooked. Partly, no doubt, this is due to the grossly imperfect text of Fairholt's edition, by which alone they have been known to the modern world. Until now his works have never been collected; and the present is actually the first attempt at a thorough critical and explanatory edition of the earliest novel in the language and the most famous of Elizabethan books. To this we must now turn, leaving the dramatic works for discussion in the second volume.

EUPHUES

THE TEXT AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

The difficulty of determining the text and bibliography of *Euphues* is much enhanced by the distribution of the earliest copies between the three great libraries, those of Oxford, Cambridge, and the British Museum; and the task must have been much longer, and its results less certain, but for the courtesy of the committee of the Hampstead Public Library, who have allowed me free use, for the purposes of this edition, of the copy of the late Professor Morley, which I was able to carry about and collate with all others, in addition to my transcript of the text of A. The question is further complicated by the loss, in some of the surviving copies, of title-page or colophon which might have afforded direct evidence of their date, and also by the contradictory reports of previous bibliographers. My own hope that I have placed it at last upon a stable basis is grounded on a thorough collation of the text of almost every accessible undated copy, and on so close and full an examination of the one or two early copies not so collated as leaves me in no doubt to which edition they belong: and I have some trust that those who follow me through the ensuing pages will feel able to accept my decision.

Perhaps the most decisive method of determining the number of editions is the difference in the precise position of the signatures under the words of the text above, a test suggested by Mr. F. Madan of the Bodleian Library when my work was already far advanced, but one which thoroughly confirms the results previously attained. For the order of the editions, where dates are either lacking or identical, there is no test like the presence or absence of unquestionable emendations, whether of wording or of punctuation, which persist through all later editions of known date; supplemented by the presence or absence of similarly persistent corruptions. Spelling is of little use. In the age of Elizabeth, even more than in that of Mr. Weller, it depended upon the taste and fancy of the speller; and the collation of the *Euphues* texts over and over again suggests that the compositor was sometimes setting up his type from dictation

rather than following a previous edition with his eye, though doubtless the two methods would constantly alternate [1].

Five lists have been made within the past century: (1) that of Malone, a rough memorandum in manuscript, bound in his copy of *Euphues* (M[1]) in the Bodleian Library (Malone 713). (2) That in Lowndes' *Bibliographical Manual*. (3) That in Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's *Handbook*, 1867, supplemented by additions made in the four volumes of his *Collections*, published in 1876, 1882, 1887, and 1889. (4) That of Professor Arber, on pp. 28–29 of his reprint of *Euphues*, 1868. (5) That of Dr. Landmann, on pp. ix–x of his edition of (most of) Part I, 1887. All five have, of course, been carefully considered in compiling my own. Malone's list is given in a note below [2]. All the editions enumerated by Hazlitt find a place in my list except his (*a*) of Part I, and his (*a*) and undated (*c*) of Part II. These three are mentioned in his *Handbook*; but in view of the large number of quite early editions of either Part which my collation enables me clearly to establish, I am unwilling to admit, without seeing them, another edition of each Part, of the dates 1579 and 1580 respectively. I give their titles, however, as reported by Mr. Hazlitt, in a note below [3], together with a statement of the differences they

[1] Instances of such aural errors are:—205 l. 34 (C), 'brake' for 'breake'; 207 l. 11 (1623), 'sonne by the fire' for 'sire' (the compositor mistaking 'sonne' for 'sunne'); vol. ii. p. 44 l. 17, 'indution' for 'induction'; p. 76 l. 10 (H), 'cruelly' for 'truely'; p. 93 l. 25, 'liketh' for 'lyteth'; p. 129 l. 23, 'restoritie' for 'restoratiue'; p. 165 l. 30, 'thing' for 'ring'; vol. i. 314 l. 22, 'Straconicus' for 'Stratonicus'; and a large number of other classical names, 198 l. 24, 'Pyrothus' for 'Pirithous'; 262 l. 18, 'Archidamius'; vol. ii. p. 97 l. 30, 'Procustes'; p. 197 ll. 31–2, 'Atchates' and 'Nausicla.'

[2] Malone's list:—'Lillys Euphues or Anatomy of Wit, etc.:

1579, 2 edit[s]	
1580, both parts—3[d] ed. of Euph. and first of Eup. and his Eng.	
1581–1588	
1595	1623
1605, both pts.	1626 [I know nothing of this ed.—Ed.]
1606 ———	(1630–1631)
1617	1636, both pts.

10 ed[s] at least beside that of 1[st] p[t] in 79—probably more.'

[3] Titles of editions given by Hazlitt which I do not accept:—

Pt. I. (*a*) Evphves. The Anatomy of Wit. Verie pleasaunt for all Gentlemen to read. and most necessarie to remember: wherein are contained the delights that Wit followeth in his youth by the pleasantnesse of loue, and the happinesse that he reapeth in age by the perfectnesse of Wisedome. By Iohn Lyly Master of Arte. Oxon.

[Colophon] Imprinted at London by Thomas East, for Gabriell Cawood dwelling in Paules Churchyard. 1579. [4to, black letter. First Edition, of which no copy having the title-page has come under notice. Unseen by all bibliographers.] (*Handbook*, 1867.)

A glance at the title of my A [1578, Xmas] (below, p. 106) will show that it is not identical with this edition given by Hazlitt, from which it differs in the spelling of eleven words in the title, in the omission of the word 'that' before 'he

present from the titles of those which I recognize. I cannot but think that a closer examination of them, if they were traceable, would reveal their identity with one or other of the latter. In regard to (*c*) his report of it is merely as follows:—'Imprinted at London by Thomas East for Gabriell Cawood, n. d. 4to, black letter.' This looks like a hasty jotting taken in some sale-room, perhaps from an imperfect copy; and is not, in any case, definite or full enough to warrant its admission to a separate place on my list.

The true *editio princeps* seems to have been first recognized by Dr. Sinker, librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, among the books belonging to that foundation. In article 547 of his catalogue of those books, 1885, he clearly shows that this undated copy lacks certain passages which appear in all other editions, and rightly infers that it precedes them. But he did not collate it with the early copies in the British Museum; and so in 1887 Dr. Landmann, ignorant apparently of Dr. Sinker's catalogue, made the same discovery of the absence of certain passages from the undated copy (C. 40, d. 38) in the Museum, and adduced additional reasons for referring it to the *editio princeps*, to which it undoubtedly belongs. To compensate me for the loss of a discovery which awaited the first collator, I am able to prove, in regard to the First Part, that the second undated copy in the Trinity Library, perhaps unique, is of the second edition; that the Morley copy of 1579, from which Professor Arber printed under the impression that it was of the first, is in reality of the third edition; that the Malone copy in the

reapeth,' and in having no colophon and no date. Hazlitt's title again, so far as it goes, differs from that of T in the spelling of nine words, and in the insertion of 'that' before 'he reapeth,' and of 'Oxon'; and it differs in just the same respects from that of M.

Pt. II. (*a*) EUPHUES AND HIS ENGLAND. Containing his voyage and aduentures myxed with sundry pretie Discourses of honest Loue, the Discription of the Countrey, the Court, and the manners of that Isle. Delightfull to be read, and nothing hurtfull to be regarded: wher-in there is small offence by lightnesse giuen to the wise and lesse occasion of loosenes proferred to the wanton. By John Lyly, Maister of Arte. Imprinted at London for Gabriell Cawood dwelling in Paules Church-yard. 1580. [4to, black letter. An Edition unknown to bibliographers.] (*Handbook*, 1867.)

This title differs from those of my MAB (given pp. 115–6, and identical save that MA spell 'wher-in' and B 'wherein') (1) in having no ¶ before 'Euphues' and 'By,' no ornament before 'Imprinted,' no comma after 'aduentures,' 'wise' and 'Cawood'; (2) in having a capital instead of a small d in 'Discourses' and 'Discription,' and a capital instead of a small c in 'Countrey'; (3) in having two l's at the end of 'Delightfull,' and only one f in 'proferred,' and in spelling 'John' instead of 'Iohn'; (4) in not having 'Commend it, or amend it.'

I cannot but think that these differences are mere slips of Mr. Hazlitt or his printer; and that his Part I (*a*) is identical with my M (the third edition), and his Part II (*a*) with my M or A (the first or the second edition).

Bodleian, supposed by Arber and Landmann to be of a different edition to the Morley copy, is in reality of this same third edition; that the two undated copies of Part I, bound both at the Bodleian and the British Museum with Part II of 1597, are of distinct though neighbouring editions, the Bodleian copy being of 1595(?), the Museum copy of 1597(?); and that the modernized octavo edition of 1718 is merely a re-issue, with a fresh title-page, of the *Euphues and Lucilla* of 1716.

In regard to the Second Part, I am able to confirm Professor Arber's belief that the Morley copy is of the *editio princeps*, 1580; but I find that two other copies of the same date in the Bodleian represent a second and third edition respectively. Further, the copy of 1613, asserted by Arber to exist in the Bodleian, is in reality of 1609, agreeing exactly in the position of signatures and in other test-points with the 1609 edition in the British Museum (see 'Titles and Colophons,' p. 118)[1]. The Bodleian catalogue described it as of [1613?]: as a matter of fact the date on the title-page has been cut away by the binder. Indeed, the existence at all of an edition of Part II of 1613 seems to me somewhat doubtful. It rests on the simple entry in Lowndes' *Manual* of '1613 Both Parts,' and on that in Hazlitt's *Collections*, ii. 372, of '*Evphves, and his England* . . . At London. Printed for William Leake, dwelling in Pauls church-yard, at the signe of the Holy-ghost. 1613. 4°, black letter, A–Ee in fours,' a title which may be merely copied from the Bodleian copy with the mutilated date. Lowndes, however, is accurate in his mention of 'Both Parts' in other editions; and Leake, who had published both Parts separately in 1605, and both again separately in 1606, may well enough have done so yet again in 1613; so I accord it a place in my list.

Before giving my list it will be best to bring forward evidence for the statements just made.

I. *That* A *is the* '*editio princeps*' is shown—

(1) By the absence from the title-page of the words 'Corrected and Augmented,' which appear on that of every other edition.

(2) By the absence of the apologetic address 'To the Gentlemen Schollers,' which appears in all other editions, and evidently has reference to the reception the book has already met with.

[1] It is a somewhat singular coincidence that a copy of Part II in the British Museum (G. 10438, 1–2), professing to be of 1631, also proves on examination to be of 1609, with mounted title only from the ed. of 1631.

(3) By the absence from the text of the passages enumerated under T (Titles, Colophons, &c., pp. 107–8), passages which appear in every other edition, amounting to about five pages, and bearing distinctly the character of author's improvements.

(4) By the wording of the fourth sentence in the address 'To the Gentlemen Readers'—as to which see below under T (pp. 90–1).

(5) By the existence in A of a few misprints, and a great many errors of punctuation, corrected in all other editions. The misprints are given, as they occur, in the textual footnotes.

II. *That the Malone and Morley copies are of the same edition.*

Professor Arber, from whose fruitful toil in the field of our older literature there can be few students who have not reaped a benefit, made in his reprint of *Euphues* (1868) a mistake which becomes obvious to one with opportunities of more leisurely collation. Misled by the loss of the title-page, by the date 1579 of the colophon, and by the absence of the address to the Gentlemen Scholars, he regarded the Morley copy as of the first edition; and asserted (p. 30 of his reprint) that the Malone copy in the Bodleian is of the second (1) because its title-page bears 'Corrected and Augmented.' (2) Because it has affixed to it at the end the address to the Gentlemen Scholars, alluding to effects produced by the book. (3) Because 'the type on the reverse of folio 90 is somewhat differently set up.' I have to point out that while (1) and (2) are arguments against the Malone copy being of the first edition, they are of no force to prove it of the second; though the position of the Address at the end rather than the beginning of the book seems at first to support a supposition I have felt bound on other grounds to reject. [See below, p. 90, under the discussion of T, of whose existence Professor Arber seems not to have been aware.] To the third argument I must oppose a simple negative. Folio 90 is the last (remaining) leaf of the Morley copy, its verso containing the conclusion of the tale, the printer East's device of a horse, and the colophon dated 1579. The closest examination of this page in the two copies placed side by side reveals to my younger eyes not the minutest point of difference in any respect; and this is confirmed by the results of my comparison of them throughout the book. I find the two copies to agree exactly in every smallest detail in which I have compared them—e. g. (1) in the exact position of fifteen observed signatures (given under Titles, Colophons, &c., p. 109: see also p. 89,

where the position of several can be contrasted with that of the same signatures in T). (2) In the single mistake of pagination by which fol. 79 is numbered '97.' (3) In the following eleven instances of the mis-spelling 'Epuhues' in the running-title, a mis-spelling which occurs nowhere else in either copy—fols. 45v, 53v, 54v, 61v, 62v, 70v, 77r, 78r, 85r, 86r, 89r (note especially on 45v the double mis-spelling 'Epuhues to Philuatus'). (4) In fifty-eight instances of the substitution of ℰ for E in the running-title, a substitution occurring nowhere else in either copy. (5) In the following six misprints confined to these two copies (and, of course, any others extant of the same edition)—p. 184 l. 14 'indicent' for 'incident'; p. 216 l. 9 'ducourse' for 'discourse'; p. 216 l. 27 'seanoned' for 'seasoned'; p. 222 l. 3 'staunger' for 'straunger'; p. 259 l. 17 'appoinment' for 'appointment'; p. 292 l. 27 the 'it' has the *t* turned in both. (6) In the exact correspondence in every detail of spelling, punctuation, and arrangement of type of four pages taken at random, viz. fols. 18r, 40v, 49v, and 79v. (7) In the exact correspondence of the two copies in every point which has been made the subject of a footnote in this edition. The following readings peculiar to them may serve as examples: p. 184 l. 11 'al his honest' for 'al in honest'; p. 209 l. 2 'faire' for 'fairer'; p. 209 l. 20 'hard' for 'heard'; p. 211 l. 12 'countenuaunce' for 'continuaunce'; p. 216 l. 34 'a woemen' for 'a woman'; p. 235 l. 11 'affectually' for 'effectually'; p. 239 l. 23 'y^{t}' for 'y^{e}'; p. 247 l. 2 'as clocke' for 'as a clock'; p. 310 l. 1 'Euphues *and* Eubulus'; p. 286 l. 4 'was this' for 'is this'; besides the following shared by these two copies with T only, pp. 184 ll. 14–5, 188 l. 14, 203 l. 33, 209 ll. 12–3, 212 l. 9, 216 l. 35, 270 l. 36, 271 l. 13, 285 l. 22, 298 l. 5.

In no single point, in fact, can I discern the smallest difference between the two copies. I am convinced that they are of the same —the third—edition; and that the Morley copy has lost the two leaves at the end (the first signed ¶) which in the Malone copy contain the address to the Gentlemen Scholars, and also the four (not five) leaves at the beginning containing title, Epistle Dedicatory, and address 'To the Gentlemen Readers.' The signature of the first remaining leaf, on which the tale commences, is B; and there seems no reason to suppose that the introductory matter occupied either more or less space than the four leaves of sig. A, as in the other early editions. I have, therefore, collated the perfect copy, the

Malone, and not the Morley (for Part I), except in regard to every footnote.

III. *That* T *is of the Second Edition, and* M (*both copies*) *of the Third.*

For the place of Second Edition two candidates were indicated by the examination first made: M on the one hand, T on the other. M is dated in the colophon as 1579; T is undated, or rather the last two leaves containing the colophon, which probably was dated, are missing from this copy in Trinity College.

The close connexion of M and T is shown (1) by the similarity of collation. Signature and pagination alike agree, down to the single error of paging fol. 79 as '97'; and the number of lines and words on any given page is the same. (2) Both emend many misprints or errors of A, while both lack many further corrections found in all other editions.

The distinction between them is shown (1) by the difference in the precise position of the signatures under the words in the text above, e. g. :—

E	*lies* (*in* T)	*under*	ld t	(*in* M)	*under*	ta	*in*	would take
G	„	„	„	hi	„	„	iue	„	giue him
H	„	„	„	hy	„	„	n t	„	in thy
M	„	„	„	eak	„	„	rea	„	creake
N	„	„	„	ith	„	„	nde	„	minde with
Q	„	„	„	nsi	„	„	con	„	consideration

(2) By occasional slight differences in the spacing of the words, and rarely by the commencement of a new paragraph in M and not in T, e. g. the first three letters of 'Cornelia' (p. 239 l. 22) come, in T, at the end of l. 21 of fol. 36 recto, while in M the complete word commences l. 22; and in l. 23 M commences a new paragraph with 'As for changing,' while T runs these words on with the preceding.

(3) By a great variety in the type used for E in the running-title. Both freely substitute Ɛ for E, but not always on the same leaves. And further, the mis-spelling 'Epuhues,' found eleven times in M, only occurs once in T, on fol. 53 verso.

(4) By the absence from T of the six misprints of M enumerated in discussing it above (p. 88 (5)): by the presence in T of the following four misprints absent from M—'Garpes' for 'grapes,' p. 192 l. 1, 'conclusiion,' p. 216 l. 12, 'pleople,' p. 271 l. 2, 'remembrsunce,' p. 280 l. 6: and by the other differences given in a comparative table below (pp. 91–3).

T and M are therefore of distinct, but closely connected editions.

Which is the earlier? I have decided for T. From isolated misprints no inference as to priority can be drawn; nor do the eleven instances of 'Epuhues' in M, as against one such instance in T, argue T the later copy, for by such reasoning, A, which presents no instance, would be later than either. Such a mistake is as likely to be multiplied as decreased in succeeding editions, as is the case with the capital ℰ of the running-title, of which A presents only four cases, against sixty-three in T and fifty-eight in M. Two points are of importance as bearing on the question. The first is the position of the address to the Gentlemen Scholars. In both it is printed in roman type, and occupies the whole of one leaf, signed ¶, and a portion of the recto of a second, being followed by a tail-piece. But while M places it at the end, T inserts it just before the tale, immediately after the address to the Gentlemen Readers; and in all the other editions it occupies the same position. This agreement of T with C and the rest inclined me at first to believe it later than M; yet the position of the Address in T might be due to a mistake in stitching the sheets; and, even if rightly placed in T, it might be transferred to the end in M by an afterthought of Lyly, who recognized its intermediate character between the two Parts—the Second of which was just about to appear—and also feared to prejudice the reader by excuses made in the forefront of the tale. I acknowledge, however, that its reappearance at the beginning in C and all later editions, makes rather for the priority of M. (See footnote on it in loco, p. 324).

The second point that bears upon it is the wording of the fourth sentence in the address to the Gentlemen Readers, lost from the Morley copy (M^2), but to be seen in the Malone (M^1).

'We commonly see the booke that at { Christmas (AM^1) / Midsomer (T) / Easter (C rest) } lyeth bound on the Stacioners stall, at { Easter (AM^1) / Christmasse (T) / Christmasse (C rest) } to be broken in the Haberdasshers shop, which Sith it is the order of proceeding, I am content this { winter (AM^1) / Summer (T) / Summer (C rest) } to haue my doings read for a toye, that in { sommer (AM^1) / Winter (T) / Winter (C rest) } they may be ready for trash.'

It will be seen that M[1] agrees with A, that T alters the word in all four places, and that C (abundantly proved later than T by the collation) alters the word once more in the first place only. The alterations were made, of course, to suit the altered date of issue in successive editions. The natural inference may seem to be that M is prior to T; yet we may equally well suppose that M represents a *second* change of all four words, a return, in fact, to the wording of A to suit the return of Christmas, and that the real order of the editions is :—

A 'Christmas,' 1578 (undated).
T 'Midsomer,' 1579 (no date surviving).
M 'Christmas,' 1579 (colophon dated 1579).
C 'Easter,' 1580 (colophon dated 1580).

My later belief in the priority of T to M is the result of collating the T text throughout, a collation made after that of all the rest. The differences between them are not numerous, but significant. In almost every case where they differ T is found agreeing with A, and M agreeing with the later C; and if it be urged that this may merely indicate that T was printed from A rather than from M, I answer that the immense number of corrections which T shares with M proves, either that M was printed from T (as I believe), or that a copy of M lay before the printer of T, in which latter case T would surely *always* have followed M with its autorial authority as (*ex hypothesi*) the first 'corrected and augmented' edition, rather than hark back to A as it so often does. I will, then, ask the reader's attention to the following comparative tables, reminding him that revision may be indicated quite as much by an amended punctuation as by words :—

(1) **AT.**	**M** rest[1].
P. 181 l. 5 (*insertion of comma at* 'wisedome'):	
'a greater show of a pregnant wit, then perfect wisedome in a thing of sufficient excellencie, to vse superfluous eloquence.'	'a greater shew of a pregnant wit, then perfect wisedome, in a thing of sufficient excellẽcie, to vse superfluous eloquẽce.' (G *drops comma at* 'excellẽcie.')
P. 189 l. 32: 'Colliquintida.'	'Colloquintida'(M); 'Coloquintida' (C rest).

[1] Where the emendation does not persist till 1636, its exact limits are stated at the side.

AT.	M rest[1].
P. 194 l. 1:	
'neuer *Stoycke* so strict, nor *Iesuite* so supersticious, neyther *Votarie* so deuout, but would' &c.	'neuer *Stoicke* in preceptes so strict, neither any in lyfe so precise, but woulde' &c.
P. 205 l. 10 (*stop and cap.*):	
'for thy sweete sake. Whose witte hath bewitched me,' &c.	'for thy sweete sake: Whose wyt hath' &c. (M). 'for thy sweete sake: whose wit hath' &c. (C). 'for thy sweete sake, whose wyt hath' &c. (GE rest).
P. 206 l. 34:	
'lost with an Apple: If he fynde' &c.	'lost with an Apple, if he finde' &c. (G 'apple, if').
P. 209 l. 6: 'wert'	'wer' (MCG).
P. 211 l. 12:	
'continuaunce' (T—in one of the augmentations)	'countenuaunce' (M); 'coũtenaunce' (CGE[1]); 'countenance' (E[2] rest).
P. 218 l. 31: 'sterue'	'starue' (M–1613).
P. 220 l. 21: 'in an agony'	'in agony' (MC).
P. 230 l. 26: 'partner'	'partaker' (M); 'pertener' (C); 'partener' (G).
P. 239 l. 33: 'as for angling'	'as' omitted (MC).
P. 240 l. 13: 'serueth'	'serued'
P. 250 l. 29: 'shooteth into'	'shooteth in'
P. 275 l. 19: 'Panathænea'	'Panthænea' (M–1613), 'Panthenæa' (1617–36).
P. 264 l. 27: 'shoulde conceiue'	'coulde conceiue' (M–1613).
P. 270 l. 22: 'cycle'	'Cicle' (M); 'sickle' (C rest).
P. 271 l. 35: 'brought to Apelles the'	'brought Apelles the' (MCG); 'brought Apelles to the' (E rest).
P. 276 l. 17:	
'is in continuall meditation'	'in' omitted.
P. 276 l. 30: 'Epiminides'	'Epaminides' (MC) — all for 'Epaminondas.'
P. 286 l. 4: 'is this'	'was this' (M); 'was thus' (C rest).
P. 286 l. 24: 'the instructing of youthe'	'the instruction of youth.'
P. 302 l. 6: 'thy transgressions'	'his transgressions' (M–E[1]).

[1] Where the emendation or corruption does not persist till 1636, its exact limits are stated at the side.

(2)	A.	T.	MCG.
P. 193 l. 22:	'Fiochilus'	'Throchilus'	'Trochilus' (M rest).
P. 194 l. 26 (*stops*):			
	'The Birde *Fauras*, hath a great voyce but a small body, the' &c.	'The Birde *Taurus*, hath a great voyce but a small body, the' &c.	'The Birde Taurus hath a great voyce, but a smal body: the' &c.
P. 205 l. 30:	'Mylke'	'Milke'	'milke'
P. 210 l. 7:	'decerneth'	'descerneth'	'discerneth' (M rest).
P. 222 ll. 8–10:			
	'he a stranger, . . . he a starter,'	'he a straunger: . . . he a starter,'	'he a straunger: . . . he a starter:'
P. 315 l. 10:	'Arbiter'	'Arbiterer'	'arbiterer' (M); 'arbitrer' (C–1613).
P. 286 l. 32:	'Notomie'	'Anotomie'	'Anatomie'

Against these instances, from which an intermediate position for T between A and M would be inferred, I can only find two which seem to make for M's priority, viz. p. 300 l. 26 'tourne mee' (AM), while TC rest omit 'mee'; and p. 310, where the heading of the letter appears as 'Euphues to Ferardo' in A, a mistake corrected to 'Euphues and Eubulus' in M, and 'Euphues to Eubulus' in TC rest: yet in this latter the 'and' of M is quite as likely to be a slip made in printing from T, as an original correction of A.

If my decision is correct, it is to T rather than to M that all that large body of additions and corrections, common to both, must be assigned as original.

IV. *That* C *is the Fourth Edition.*

The place of C as the fourth is established by the date 1580 at the end of the colophon, by the number of its corrections of TM, and the number of errors it repeats which find correction later. I have satisfied myself of the exact correspondence of the 1580 copy in the University Library at Cambridge with the copy of the same date at Oxford. In the position of the signatures, in the headpieces and tailpieces, in the tailing-off of the text at certain breaks in the novel, and in many other test-points the two copies exactly resemble each other; the single point of difference which I note being the correction by the Cambridge copy of the error 'that but' (p. 290 l. 15) of the Oxford copy. Occurring at a place where the text is tailed off it must have caught the printer's eye and

been corrected, when some copies (including the Oxford one) had already passed the press.

V. *That the undated copies of Part I bound with Part II* 1597 *in the Bodleian* (E^1) *and British Museum* (E^2) *respectively, are of different editions* (1595? *and* 1597?).

The distinction is most clearly shown by the numerous differences of reading recorded in the footnotes: but the following more external marks will serve to establish it:—

(1) On the title-page E^1 spells 'contained' and 'Churchyarde,' E^2 'contayned' and 'Churchyard.'

(2) The headpiece to the Epistle Dedicatory in E^1 represents two snails looking at a woman's face; the corresponding headpiece in E^2 has a jar with leaves and flowers.

(3) E^1 prints the address to the Gentlemen Scholars in black letter; E^2 in ordinary romans.

(4) The position of the signatures, e.g.:—

	E^1	E^2
C.	*lies under* eu *in* euidently	*under* den *in* euidently
D.	„ „ ashf „ bashfulnesse	„ hful „ bashfulnesse
E.	„ „ st t „ thinkest thou	„ thou „ thinkest thou
G.	„ „ a st „ a starter	„ t he „ yet he
L.	„ „ no „ no	„ ns „ canst
S.	„ „ uere „ conquered	„ he d „ the deuill

In the number of words in a page, and in the type and form of the title-page, the two copies present an exact resemblance; while, further, both resemble Part II, of 1597 in the type and form of the title-page, in the compression of the text of the whole work, and in being printed by 'I. Roberts' ('I. R.' in Part II, 1597) 'for Gabriell Cawood.' The adoption of a smaller type than hitherto for the running-title—a type used for the same in all later editions—and the disappearance there of ℰ as alternative to E and of other irregularities, also the uniform employment of Arabic notation for the signatures, are points in which both these undated editions of Part I, might seem to be later than Part II, 1597, which exhibits the old irregularities; but at this date the two Parts were still printed separately—one system of signature continued through both is not found before 1617—and Part II might continue to copy the irregularities of its earlier editions, even after uniformity had been introduced in Part I. Both Parts are transferred in the *Stationers'*

Register from 'Master Cawood Deceased' to 'Master Leake' under date July 2, 1602; and bibliographers make no mention of any edition of either Part between 1597 and that date. Supposing, then, the later of these two undated editions to be issued in 1597 as a companion volume to Part II of that date, the complete collation clearly indicates the British Museum copy (E^2) as of that later one. It contains all the corrections of E^1, and adds many of its own. In regard to the date of E^1, it may possibly have been issued as a companion volume to the edition of Part II, 1592, mentioned by Hazlitt (*Colls.* i. 270): but Malone mentions an edition of Part I, 1595; and partly to avoid swelling the list on uncertain grounds, I assign it, hypothetically, to that year. If the copy Malone saw was dated, such date may perhaps have been added in the course of the impression.

For the practical identity of the editions of 1716 and 1718 see 'Titles and Colophons,' pp. 113–4.

Turning now to Part II we have four surviving accessible copies bearing on their title-page the date 1580: the Morley copy (M), two in the Bodleian (A and B), and one in the University Library at Cambridge. In spite of their extraordinary similarity close examination shows these to represent three different editions, and not merely separate issues, the Cambridge copy being of the same edition as the later copy (B) in the Bodleian. The collation of M, the earliest, differs altogether from that of A and B, which is the same (both end on sig. Ll 4, fol. 132 recto). The title-page of B differs from that of M and A in spelling 'wherein' for 'wherin'; and there is a further trifling difference in the setting of the border of the title-page, the little horns at the inner and upper extremities of the border at the bottom pointing in different directions in the case of all three editions. These, and the like minute discrepancies, find abundant confirmation in the position of the signatures, and the varying readings of the text.

(1) Signatures:—

Position of Sigs. in **M.**					Position of Sigs. in **A.**					Position of Sigs. in **B.**				
B.	*comes under*	ero	*in*	venterous	B.	*comes under*	the	*in*	they	B.	*comes under*	, th	*in*	pleasure, they
C.	,,	by	,,	by	C.	,,	re	,,	neere	C.	,,	eer	,,	neere
D.	,,	the	,,	the	D.	,,	whi	,,	which	D.	,,	rest	,,	desirest
E.	,,	de	,,	towardes	E.	,,	bu	,,	but	E.	,,	e,	,,	wisdome,
F.	,,	ust	,,	must	F.	,,	Lio	,,	Lion	F.	,,	Lio	,,	Lion,
G.	,,	t by	,,	wit by	G. j.	,,	esta	,,	estate	G. (*sic*)	,,	ean	,,	meane
H.	,,	exp	,,	expedient	H. i.	,,	e en	,,	be enuyed	H. (*sic*)	,,	u s	,,	thou shalt
I.	,,	I m	,,	I must	I.	,,	oth	,,	nothing	I.	,,	be	,,	be
K.	,,	are	,,	are	K.	,,	kn	,,	knowe	K.	,,	we	,,	knowe
L.	,,	bow	,,	bowels	L.	,,	rua	,,	seruantes	L.	,,	ant	,,	seruantes

(2) The following comparative table will, I hope, serve to justify the order I assign to the three editions:—

Fol. and line of M.	*Page and l. of* vol. ii.	**M.**	**A.**	**B.**
¶ v. l. 9	8 l. 29	'I am content that your Dogges lye in your laps: so Euphues may be in your hands, that when' &c.	(the colon at 'laps' changed to a comma in A rest)	
¶ ii v. l. 10	10 l. 17	'If you be *wronge* (which cannot be done without *wrong*)'	'... wronge ..... wrong)'	'... wrunge ..... wrong)' (BH rest)
¶ iii v. l. 15	12 l. 6	'de-defende'	'de-defende'	'defende' (B rest)
1 r. l. 8	13 l. 6	'use this perswasion *to* his friend'		'perswasion *with*' &c. (A rest)
2 r. l. 17	14 l. 36	'*lowd* vsurer'		'lewd vsurer' (A–F)
9 v. l. 6	26 l. 2	'But he that leaueth his own home, is worthy no home'		(the whole line is omitted AB)
9 v. l. 26	26 l. 18	'there wil .... no grasse hang *on heeles* of Mercury'		'..... on the heeles ..' (A rest)
13 r. l. 11	31 l. 23	'one simple, *and* other wilie,'		'one simple, an other wily,' (A rest)

811472.1	14 r. l. 34	33 l. 28	'y^{u} dost me great wrong, ... thĩking to stop a vain wher none opened'	'thou . . . . . where none *is* opened' (A rest)
	17 v. l. 4	38 l. 19	'so *furre* hath nature ouercome arte'	'so farre' &c. (A rest)
	17 v. l. 22	38 l. 24	'good wil *towars* you'	'good wil *towards* you' (A rest)
	28 r. l. 12	54 l. 26	'I must craue pardon, if either this draught chaunge you, vnlesse it be to the better or grieue you, except it be for greater gaine'	(the necessary comma at 'better' is supplied in A–E, H rest)
	28 v. l. 34	56 l. 1	'Wine, which alwayes drew with it . . a desire of women how hurtfull both haue bene . . you are old enough to beleeue'	(the necessary colon at 'women' is supplied in A rest)
H	30 v. l. 4	58 l. 11	'must nowe begynne'	'must now begin' 'must begin' (B rest)
	32 r. l. 27	61 l. 6	'the Poets fained the Muses to be women, the Nimphes the *Goddesse*,'	'the Poets . . . the *Goddesses*,' (A rest)
	54 r. l. 32	94 l. 33	'I had thought that a wounde healing so faire could neuer haue bred to a Fistula'	'. . . . . could neuer bred' &c. '. . . . . could neuer breed' &c. (B rest)
	58 v. l. 4	101 l. 12	'if I should not prayse them, *thou wouldest* saye' &c.	'. . . . . them, *then wouldest* saye' &c. '. . . . . thẽ, *thẽ wouldst thou* say' &c. (B rest)
	62 r. l. 12	106 l. 31	'colde'	'codle' 'coale' (B rest)
	63 v. l. 11	109 l. 3	'lustinesse: He'	'lustinesse: He' 'lustinesse. He'
	66 r. l. 4	112 l. 23	'Thesalay, Aegipt,'	'Thessalia, Aegypt,' (AB)
	66 r. l. 20	112 l. 37	'*Hyphus*'	'Iphis' (A rest)
	66 r. l. 28	113 l. 7	'desease'	'desease' 'disease' (B rest)
	85 r. l. 32	142 l. 8	'salfe'	'safe' (A rest)
	86 r. l. 33	143 l. 30	'rages'	'rages' 'iarres' (B rest)
	115 r. l. 24	187 l. 21	'to either desires'	'to either desires' 'to their desires' (B rest)

TEXT FOLLOWED.

In the present edition the reader has the text as given in the *editio princeps* of each Part, i.e. A of Part I (December, 1578), and M of Part II (spring, 1580: cf. vol. ii. p. 5 l. 24 'not daring to bud till the colde were past,' though, no doubt, Lyly is thinking chiefly of the opposition at first excited by Part I).

In the case of the First Part, objections to A as a model exist, no doubt, in its lack of the augmentations, in its misprints and errors, and its great vagaries of punctuation. But not only has Professor Arber already given us a most faithful reprint of the third edition, which differs only very slightly from the second, but there attaches, as it seems to me, such supreme interest to the first edition of a work so famous as *Euphues* as overrides all other considerations. T, too, though it has the augmentations, introduces as many errors as it corrects (see 'Titles, Colophons,' &c., p. 107). I have therefore followed A, correcting in a very few cases by M while giving A's reading below, and reproducing A's spelling (except the long 's'), and A's punctuation save in cases where it was such as to mislead the reader and injure the effect of the work. In such cases I have adopted the punctuation of the earliest edition which corrected the error; but of all the thousands of stops in Part I. A only 161 are here corrected, ninety-two of them from M (i.e. practically from T where, so far as I have examined, they were first made), sixteen from C, thirteen from G, sixteen from E^1, and the small remainder from later editions, with the exception of six made on my own authority. For the added passages and the address to the Gentlemen Scholars I have followed M, collating T in which they first appeared and which only differs in a single case. But I have further collated every word of the first five editions, i.e. A [1578], T [1579], M 1579, C 1580, G 1581; and also of E^1 1595?, E^2 1597?, and F 1607, i.e. of all the other accessible editions issued in the lifetime of the author, reporting every variant in the footnotes, even of orthography where it might affect the sense or seemed philologically important. The two intervening editions, those of 1585 and 1587, were not accessible to me (nor those of 1605 and 1606); and it is possible, therefore, that a large proportion of the very large number of changes which appear in E^1 were first made in 1585[1] or 1587; but in any

[1] The character of the echoes of *Euphues* found in *Loves Metamorphosis*, the first form of which I place c. 1585 or 1586, suggests that Lyly had recently been revising his novel.

case the reader has in the footnotes practically every change the text underwent in the lifetime of the author, who died in 1606. And, further, wherever an emendation, corruption, or omission occurs, i.e. for every footnote, I have collated all the five remaining accessible editions, down to that of 1636, and report in the notes of its persistence or abandonment. The results of all this collation are summed up under 'Titles, Colophons,' &c., pp. 106 sqq.

In regard to Part II, the intrinsic merits of M amply entitle it to the choice, apart from its position as the *editio princeps*. It is far more carefully printed than the A of Part I, and I have only found it necessary to make in this much longer work sixty-seven alterations of the punctuation—twenty-seven from A, one from B, twenty-six from E, two from F, eight from H, and only one of the remaining three on my own authority. In following M I have embodied a very few verbal corrections from A, and collated for every word A and B 1580, E 1597, F 1606, and H 1609; so that in this case, too, the reader has, in the footnotes, the record of every change the text underwent in the author's lifetime, with the further record of its persistence or abandonment as far as the latest quarto edition, 1636. In the very rare case where the text seemed imperatively to require the insertion of a word, I have enclosed such word in conical brackets ⟨ ⟩; I doubt if there are half a dozen such in the whole two Parts.

The labour of all this collation in the case of so long a work has, of course, been very great; I trust that this assurance of its performance—which can be tested in part by the footnotes—may be held sufficient to excuse any later editor from undertaking so heavy a task.

LIST OF EDITIONS

(*All editions down to* 1636 *are in* 4to *and black letter; those not personally seen are marked with a dagger. Fuller details of those seen will be found under* '*Titles, Colophons,*' *&c.*, pp. 106 sqq.)

EUPHUES. THE ANATOMY OF WIT.

'Secundo die Decembris [1578] Gabriell Cawood Licenced vnto him the Anotamie of witt Compiled by John Lyllie vnder the hande of the bishopp of London . . . xij[d].' *Stationers' Register*, ii. 342 (Arb. *Transcript*).

1. **A.** [1578, Christmas.] '*London for Gabriell Cawood*'—n. d. No col. A-T 4 in fours, except B-E 8 in eights. (Br. Mus., press mark C. 40. d. 38; Trin. Coll. Camb.)

2. **T.** [1579, Mids.] '*London for Gabriell Cawood*'—n. d. wanting two last leaves. A–Z 4 (last remaining leaf) in fours, with two fols. signed ¶ inserted before B. (Trin. Coll. Camb.)

3. **M. 1579** [Christmas].
   - M[1]. '*London by Thomas East, for Gabriel Cawood*'—tit. undat.: col. dat. 1579. A-Aa ij in fours, followed by two fols. signed ¶. (Bodleian—the Malone copy.)
   - M[2]. Wanting the four leaves of sig. A, and the two last leaves signed ¶, but agreeing in every other respect with M[1]. (Hampstead Publ. Libr.—the Morley copy.)

4. **C. 1580** [Easter].
   - C[1]. '*London by Thomas East, for Gabriell Cawood*'—col. dat. 1580. Wanting first five leaves. B ij–Z 4 in fours. (Bodleian.)
   - C[2]. Perfect copy. Tit. undat. Agrees in every respect with C[1], except that it corrects 'doubt not, that but' (p. 290 l. 15) (fol. 67 verso) to 'doubt not, but that.' (Univ. Library, Camb.)

5. **G. 1581.** '*London by Thomas East, for Gabriel Cawood*'—tit. undat. Col. dat. 1581. A–Z 4 in fours. (Brit. Mus.—the Grenville copy.)

LIST OF EDITIONS

(*All editions down to* 1636 *are in* 4to *and black letter; those not personally seen are marked with a dagger. Fuller details of those seen will be found under* '*Titles, Colophons,*' *&c.*, pp. 106 sqq.)

EUPHUES AND HIS ENGLAND.

'xxiv^to Jul [1579] Gabriel cawood . Lycenced vnto him vnder ye handes of ye wardens ye second part of Euphues ..... vj^d.' *Stationers' Register*, ii. 357 (Arb. *Transcript*).

1. **M. 1580.** '*London for Gabriell Cawood* . . . 1580.' Wanting two last leaves. A–Nn 4 (last remaining leaf) in fours, four leaves sig. ¶ being inserted between sigs. A and B. (Hampstead Publ. Libr.—the Morley copy.)

2. **A. 1580.** '*London for Gabriell Cawood* . . . 1580.' Col. dat. 1580. Wants fol. 32. A–Ll 4 in fours, sig. ¶ inserted between sigs. A and B as in preceding: last page blank. (Bodleian.)

3. **B. 1580.** '*London for Gabriell Cawood* . . . 1580.' A–Ll 4 in fours, sig. ¶ inserted between sigs. A and B as in preceding: last page blank. (Bodleian; Univ. Libr. Camb.)

†4. **C. 1581.** '*London for Gabriel Cawood* . . . 1581.' "Bl. lett. 4to. 140 leaves" (Hazlitt, *Hdbk.*). "Ll in fours, but should be only Gg, Kk follg. sig. Ee by mistake" (Lowndes). Probably the mistake lay in signing Aa–Dd in eights; while at Ee a return was made to fours, and then the last eight leaves were signed with the letters Kk, Ll, which would have been reached had no irregularity occurred. Continuous signature by fours, omitting as usual J, V, W, and inserting ¶, brings Ll 4 on the 140th leaf.

†5. **G. 1582.** '*London for Gabriel Cawood* . . . 1582'; "wanting eight leaves [nine?] corresponding to pp. 362–363, 463–478" (Arber, pp. 29, 209: this copy lately belonged to Mr. H. Pyne). "A 4 leaves, ¶ 4 leaves, B–Ii in fours" (Hazlitt, *Hdbk.* Adds.) i.e. presumably Hazlitt saw the Pyne copy lacking the 8 concluding leaves (sigs. Kk, Ll).

†6. **D. 1585.** '*London . . by Thomas East for Gabriel Cawood*'—tit. undat. Col. dat. 1585. "4to, black letter, z in fours" (Hazlitt, *Hdbk.* Adds.). Also ment. by Arber as belonging to Mr. H. Pyne.

†7. **1587.** '*London . . by Thomas East for Gabriel Cawood*'—tit. undat. Col. dat. 1587. "4to, black letter, z in fours" (Hazlitt, *Hdbk.* (d)—also mentioned by Lowndes).

8. **E**[1]. [1595?] '*London . . . by I. Roberts for Gabriell Cawood*'—n. d. No col. A–U 4 in fours, last page blank. (Bodleian.)

9. **E**[2]. [1597?] '*London, . . by I. Roberts for Gabriell Cawood*'—n. d. No col. A–U 4 in fours, last page blank. (Br. Mus.)

"2 Julij [1602] Master Leake Entred for his copies these 13 copies or bookes folowinge which Did apperteine to master Cawood Deceased ..... vj^{s} vj^{d} [fourth and fifth among them being] 4 The Anatomie of witt compiled by John Lyllie. 5 The second parte of Euphues." *Stationers' Register*, iii. 210 (Arb. *Transcript*).

†10. **1605.** "Horne Tooke, 444, date 1605, with *Golden Legacy*, 1605" [i. e. bound with Lodge's *Rosalynd*, &c.] (Lowndes). Also mentioned in Malone's list.

†11. **1606.** '*London . . for William Leake . . .* 1606.' "4to bl. lett., U in fours, last page blank" (Hazlitt, *Hdbk.* (f)). Also mentioned Cat. of books added to Library of Congress, Washington, "80 l (a–u)." Also Lowndes '1606, 4to. Both parts.'

12. **F. 1607.** '*London, . for William Leake . . .* 1607.' Unpaged, no col. A–U 4 in fours, last page blank. (Br. Mus.)

13. **1613.** '*London, . for William Leake . . .* 1613.' Unpaged, no col. A–U 4 in fours, last page blank. (Br. Mus. and Bodleian.)

"16° ffebruarii 1616[–17] Master [William] Barrett Assigned ouer vnto him by master Leake and by order of a full Courte all theis Copies followinge . . . xiiij^{s}. viz^{t}. [the twelfth item being] Ephewes his England, and Anatomy of Witt." *Stationers' Register*, iii. 603 (Arb. *Transcript*).

14[1]. **1617.** '*London by G. Eld, for W. B. . . .* 1617.' Unpaged, no col. A–K 8 in eights. (Br. Mus.; Bodl. (2 copies); Univ. Lib. Camb.)

"8° Martii 1619[–20] John Parker. Assigned ouer vnto him with the consent of Master Barrett, and order of a full Court holden this Day all his right in theis Copies following . . . viij^{s} vj^{d} viz^{t}. [the tenth item being] Euphues his England, and Anatomy of witt." *Stationers' Register*, iii. 666 (Arb. *Transcript*).

[1] 14–17. Editions of the two Parts printed together and signed continuously.

†6. **D. 1586.** '*London for Gabriel Cawood* . . . 1586.' No col. "A 4 leaves, ¶ 4 leaves; B–Ii in fours, Kk in eights" (Hazlitt, *Hdbk.* Adds.; also ment. by Arber as belonging to Mr. H. Pyne).

†7. **1588.** '*London for Gabriel Cawood* . . . 1588.' Col. undat. "Ll in fours" (Hazlitt, *Hdbk.*; also ment. by Malone; and Lowndes —3 copies).

†8. **1592.** '*London . for Gabriel Cawood* . . . 1592.' "Ee in fours" (Hazlitt, *Colls.* i. 270).

9. **E. 1597.** '*London, . . . by I. R. for Gabriell Cawood* . . . 1597.' No col. A–Ff 2 in fours, 114 leaves. (Br. Mus.; Bodl.; Lib. of Congress, Washington.)

For transfer to W. Leake, see opposite.

†10. **1605.** '*London, . . for William Leake* . . . 1605'—"4° Ee in fours" (Hazlitt, *Colls.* i. 270; also mentioned by Malone).

11. **F. 1606.** '*London, . for William Leake* . . . 1606.' No col.; unpaged. A–Ee 4 in fours. (Br. Mus.)

12. **H. 1609.** '*London, . for William Leake* . . . 1609.' No. col.; unpaged. A–Ee 4 in fours. (Br. Mus. two copies, one (G. 10438–1) with mounted title of 1631. Bodl., but date has been cut away.)

†13. **1613.** '*London, . for William Leake* . . . 1613.' "A–E e in fours" (Hazlitt, *Colls.* ii. 372; also ment. Lowndes).

For transfer to W. Barrett, see opposite.

14[1]. **1617.** '*London by G. Eld, for W. B.* . . . 1617.' No. col.; unpaged. L–Aa 8 in eights. R 2 is mis-signed S 2 in Brit. Mus. copy, but not in the two Bodl. copies. The second of the latter (Douce L. 178) is not accompanied by Pt. I. (Br. Mus.; Bodl. (2 copies); Univ. Lib. Camb.)

For transfer to John Parker, see opposite.

[1] **14–17.** Editions of the two Parts printed together and signed continuously.

15. [1623.] '*London by Iohn Beale, for Iohn Parker*'—tit. undated. Unpaged, no col. A–K 8 in eights. (Br. Mus.; Bodl.; Univ. Libr. Camb.; Magd. Coll. Oxf.; Dulwich Coll.)

†16. **1630.** "*London, Printed by I. H. and are to be sold by Iames Boler.* 1630. 4to K, in eights" (Hazlitt, *Hdbk.*; ment. also by Malone[1], and inferable from sigs. L–Aa 8 of Part II, 1630).

Another issue of the 16th ed. 1631. '*London, Printed by I. H. and are to be sold by Iames Boler.* 1631.' No col., unpaged. A–K 8 in eights. (Br. Mus.; Bodl.; Trin. Coll. Camb.)

17. **1636.** '*London, Printed by Iohn Haviland.* 1636.' No col., unpaged. A–K 8 in eights. (Br. Mus.; Bodl.)

"4° Septembris predicto 1638. Master Haviland and John Wright Assigned ouer vnto them by vertue of a Noate vnder the hand and seale of Master Parker and subscribed by Master Mead warden All the Estate Right Title and Interest which the said Master Parker hath in these Copies and partes of Copies following (viz^{t}.) Saluo Jure cujuscunque . . . xxxv^{s} [the 16th item being] Ephues his England and Anotamy of Witt." *Stationers' Register*, iv. 432 (Arb. *Transcript*).

18. **1716.** '*Euphues and Lucilla: or the False Friend and Inconstant Mistress . . . . . London . . . . MDCCXVI.*' 8vo (slightly modernized from the original). (Bodl.; Magd. Coll. Oxf.)

Another issue of No. 18 with fresh title-page. 1718. '*The False Friend and Inconstant Mistress . . . London . . .* 1718.' 8vo. (Br. Mus.)

19. **1868.** '*English Reprints . . . . Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit . . . Edited by Edward Arber F.S.A. . . London, N., 1 October,* 1868.' (Br. Mus.; Bodl., &c.)

20. **1887.** *Englische Sprach- und Literaturdenkmale . . . . Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit . . . edited with introduction and notes by Dr. Friedrich Landmann . . . . Heilbronn . .* 1887.' [This edition is not complete, omitting the larger portion of 'Euphues and his Ephoebus,' and the whole of the discourse 'Euphues and Atheos.'] (Brit. Mus.; Bodl., &c.)

21. **1902.** The present edition.

[1] Malone's rough list also mentions an edition of '1626,' though whether of Part I, or Part II, or both, he does not say.

15. **1623.** '*London by Iohn Beale for Iohn Parker . . .* 1623.' No col.; unpaged. L–Aa 8 in eights. (Br. Mus., 2 copies; Bodl.; Univ. Lib. Camb.; Advoc. Lib. Edinb.; Dulwich Coll.)—the second Br. Mus. copy (12403. a. 27 (2)) is severed from Pt. I and bound with a copy of Lodge's *Euphues Golden Legacy*; also it lacks the six last leaves.)

16. **1630.** '*Printed at London by I. H. and are to be sold by Iames Boler.* 1630.' No col.; unpaged. L–Aa 8 in eights[1]. (Bodleian.)

Another issue of the 16th ed. 1631. '*Printed at London by I. H. and are to be sold by Iames Boler.* 1631.' No col.; unpaged. L–Aa 8 in eights, the sigs. occupying precisely the same positions as in 1630. (Br. Mus.; Trin. Coll. Camb.)

17. **1636.** '*Printed at London by Iohn Haviland.* 1636.' No col.; unpaged. L–A a 8 in eights. (Br. Mus.; Bodl.)

18. **1868.** '*English Reprints . . . . Euphues and his England . . . Ed. by Edward Arber F.S.A.*'—(issued as one work with No. 19 on opposite page). (Br. Mus.; Bodl., &c.)

19. **1902.** The present edition.

[1] Hazlitt (*Handbook*) in regard to this edition of the two Parts of 1630 says the signatures are 'separate,' though he reports those of Part II as extending 'to Aa in eights.' But Aa could never be reached in eights unless Part II had commenced (like the other editions, from 1617–1636) with L.

TITLES, COLOPHONS, AND RESULTS OF COLLATION OF THE QUARTO EDITIONS

EUPHUES. THE ANATOMY OF WIT.

1. A. [1578, Xmas.]

Title—¶ *EUPHVES.* | THE ANATOMY | OF WYT. | Very pleasant for all Gentle-|*men to reade, and most neces*-|sary to remember: | *wherin are contained the delights* | that Wyt followeth in his youth by the | pleasauntnesse of Loue, and the | happynesse he reapeth in | age, by | the perfectnesse of | Wisedome. | ¶ By John Lylly Master of | Arte. Oxon. | ¶ Imprinted at London for | *Gabriell Cawood, dwel*-|ling in Paules Church-|yarde.

No *colophon.* FINIS is followed by the printer East's device of a horse, as in MCG. The two introductory addresses are in roman type.

Folios numbered 1–88, commencing with tale on sig. B. Fols. 46, 48, and 81 misnumbered 39, 41, and 1 respectively.

Signatures—A–T 4, i. e. A (four leaves), B–E in eights, F–T in fours.

B.	*is under*	ce o	*in*	vice ouercast	K. *is under*	hat	*in* hath
C.	„ „	ger	„	vinaiger	L. „ „	ro	„ growe
E.	„ „	cilla	„	Lucilla	O. „ „	s s	„ as sufficient
F.	„ „	I th	„	I thinck	Q. „ „	wa	„ perswasion
H.	„ „	ge	„	courage.	R. „ „	oce	„ proceedeth.

The two known copies (in excellent condition) are well printed, but extremely careless of punctuation. Most of these errors were corrected in the second edition, and most of the remainder in C, G or E^1. There are 38 bad mis-spellings; 5 omissions ('it,' 'is' or 'can'); and 21 errors, mostly orthographical, slightly affecting sense, e.g. 310 l. 16 'Ferardo' for 'Eubulus'; 312 l. 21 'with' for 'which'; 313 l. 6 'of vertues' for 'of y^e vertuous'; 265 l. 32 'force' for 'face'; 267 l. 8 'Phocides' for 'Phocilides'; 278 l. 25 'choler' for 'colour'; 288 l. 11 'more' for 'meere.' The *editio princeps* also contains the following, eliminated in T and succeeding eds., the first as replaced by a longer passage, the rest as unnecessary: 185 l. 8 'and leauing the rule of reason, rashly ranne vnto destruction'; 186 l. 7 'and mancion house'; 196 l. 10 'or hammer'; ib. l. 11 'and occupyed'; 206 l. 5 'yet'; 301 l. 7 'the.'

2. T. [1579, Mids.]

Title—¶ *EUPHVES.* | THE ANATOMY | OF WIT. | Very pleasant for all Gentle-|*men to reade, and most neces*-|sary to remember. | *wherin are conteined the delights* | that Wit followeth in his youth, by the |

pleasantnesse of loue, and the hap-|pinesse he reapeth in | age, by | the perfectnesse of | Wisedome. | ¶ By John Lylly Master | of Art. | Corrected and augmented. | ❧ Imprinted at London for | *Gabriell Cawood*, *dwel*-| ling in Paules Church-|yard.

Colophon? (last two leaves wanting). *N.B.*—The three introductory addresses are in roman type.

Pagination—by leaves, 2–88, commencing on the second leaf of the tale, B ij, with the single error of '97' on fol. 79.

Signatures—A–Z 4, i. e. A four leaves, ¶ two leaves (containing only the Address to the Gent. Scholars), B–Z in fours. The last of the two missing leaves would have been paged 90 and signed Aa ij.

¶	*is under*	in	*in*	into	M	*is under*	eak	*in*	creake
E	„	ld t	„	would take	N	„	ith	„	with
G	„	hi	„	him	Q	„	nsi	„	consideration
H	„	hy	„	thy	T	„	an u	„	an unsufficient
J	„	: t	„	: then	Y	„	th	„	thou

The only known copy is well printed, except on the last few pages. It corrects 38 mis-spellings, errors, or omissions of A; makes some 20 verbal changes; and exhibits 10 bad mis-spellings, 11 omissions, and 20 corruptions of its own (7 of the last persist till 1636). But these details are insignificant beside its extensive reform of A's punctuation, and the making of the following substantial additions to the text, referred to in the words 'Corrected and augmented' on the title-page of this and all subsequent quartos, and inserted in my text within square brackets.

Pp. 324–6 the Address to the Gentlemen Scholars of Oxford (62 lines)
„ 185 'who preferring . . . owne will. But' (11 lines)
„ 186 'singled his game . . . & other like.' (13 lines)
„ 191 'unlesse you . . . toucheth nature' (1 line)
„ 195 'Ah *Euphues* . . . in thy self.' (8 lines)
„ 199 'Either *Euphues* . . . ridiculous. But' (4 lines)
„ 200 'Yet least . . . *Lucilla.* Yet' (14 lines)
„ 207 'Time hath weaned . . . loue hath done.' (10 lines)
„ 210–1 'If *Lucilla* . . . or frowarde words.' (28 lines)
„ 213–4 'Now if thy cunning . . . into thy handes.' (10 lines)
„ 214 'for perswade . . . in thy necessitie.' (2 lines)
„ 215 'for my books . . . cure, let vs goe :' (5 lines)
„ 216–7 '*Euphues* takynge . . . no no *Lucilla.*' (57 lines)
„ 242 '*Euphues* hauing . . . olde follyes. But' (3 lines)

making a total of 228 lines or about 6 pages. These passages, which bear distinctly the character of later additions, all (with the exception of the Address) occur in the first half of the work, i. e. in the tale itself, and are intended to remove inconsistencies or round off an abruptness due to Lyly's absorption in style rather than matter. Thus that on p. 185 is probably meant to give the treatise *Euphues and his Ephœbus* a more

intimate connexion with the narrative, and that on p. 207 enforces the same moral against parental indulgence, while it accentuates Lucilla's want of filial feeling and of self-restraint. Those on pp. 186 and 195 are meant to confirm the assertion of Euphues' great talents, while the latter also removes an abruptness in the narrative inconsistent with the strong feeling attributed to Eubulus. The brief addition on p. 199, and the second on p. 214, are to foreshadow the ultimate confirmation of the friendship between Euphues and Philautus, the dissolution of which the reader would, from the reflections on p. 197, more naturally expect. That on p. 200 serves to introduce Livia, of whom in the first edition not a word is said before the speech, on p. 212, in which Euphues feigns that she, and not Lucilla, is his flame. That on pp. 210–1 supplies the reaction from despondency necessary to explain Euphues' persistence in his suit. That on pp. 213–4 and the few lines on p. 215 are perhaps added merely for the sake of the variety of the medical metaphor; but the first has a further appropriateness to the relation of the two friends in the Second Part, where Philautus is continually reproached for his susceptibility. The long insertion on pp. 216–7 was necessary to remove the abruptness caused by introducing Ferardo immediately after the arrival of Philautus and Euphues, while it also fills in a little the attractive picture of the suppressed passion between the lovers. The three lines on p. 242 simply round off an abruptness. The Address to the Gentlemen Scholars is (as stated in the *Life*, p. 21) an attempt to palliate, or conciliate any ill-will caused by, his remarks on Athens in *Euphues and his Ephœbus*. Among the score of verbal changes made in T, as distinct from additions, corrections or corruptions, are those recorded in the footnotes on pages 179 ll. 10, 18, 19, 180 l. 20, 182 ll. 6–9, 184 l. 15, 185 l. 4, 186 l. 1, 199 l. 29, 209 l. 13, 242 l. 7. That on p. 180 probably reflects the favourable reception of the first edition: those on p. 182 help to fix T as the second: all bear the stamp of the author's hand. They are almost confined to the beginning of the work, but probably the whole underwent Lyly's personal revision.

3. **M. 1579** [Xmas].

Title—¶ *EUPHVES.* | THE ANATOMY | OF WIT. | Very pleasant for all Gentle-|*men to reade, and most neces-*|sary to remember, | *wherin are conteined the delights* | that Wit followeth in his youth, by the | pleasantnesse of loue, and the hap-|pinesse he reapeth in | age, by | the perfectnesse of | Wisedome. | ¶ By John Lylly Master | of Art. | Corrected and augmented. | ¶ Imprinted at London for | *Gabriell Cawood, dwel-*| ling in Paules Church-yard.

Colophon—¶ Imprinted at London by Thomas East, for | Gabriel Cawood, dwelling in Paules Church-yard. ¶ 1579.—*N.B.* The closing paragraph of the tale 'I haue finished . . . comming,' printed in black letter in AGE rest, is given in small romans in M. The three addresses are in roman type, that to the Gent. Schol. being transferred to the end.

Pagination—by leaves, 2–90, exactly as T.

Signatures—A–¶ 2, i. e. A–Z in fours, Aa two leaves, ¶ two leaves (containing only the Address to the Gent. Scholars). The second leaf of Aa is signed by mistake 'A ij.' Position of sigs. is as follows:—

B.	*is under*	ich	*in*	which	I.	*is under*	:t	*in*	earnest : then
C.	„	urn	„	returneth	K.	„	sh,	„	wish,
D.	„	o cõ	„	so cõmon	L.	„	ad	„	had
E.	„	ta	„	take	M.	„	rea	„	creake,
F.	„	eas	„	reason	N.	„	de	„	minde
G.	„	iue	„	giue	O.	„	or	„	or
H.	„	n th	„	in thy	P.	„	unt	„	counterfaite

Q. *is under* cons *in* consideration.

M is perhaps the most perfect edition, well printed, and embodying the additions and reformations of T, but clearly having A as well as T before it in its preparation. Its changes from T are few. It corrects 15 of T's 20 corruptions, while it makes 6 of its own—see footnotes, pp. 184 l. 11, 209 l. 2, 211 ll. 3, 12, 247 l. 2, 302 l. 6, besides 8 bad mis-spellings, and 3 changes of text, 194 l. 1, 240 l. 13, 286 l. 24, the first of which, affecting a whole line, is clearly the author's, as is probably the transference of the Address *To the Gentlemen Schollers* to the end. The Bodleian copy (M^1) is perfect and in excellent condition. The Morley copy (M^2) lacks the four first and two last leaves, but is otherwise in good condition, and having escaped binding until it came into Prof. Morley's possession, is distinguished among the other quartos by the ample width of its margins, in which the frequency of inscription in a contemporary hand testifies to its study, or perhaps neglect.

4. C. 1580 [Easter].

Title—¶ *EUPHVƐS.* | THE ANATOMY | OF WIT. | Verie pleasant for all Gentle-|*men to read, and most neces*-|sarie to remember. | *wherein are conteined the de*-|lyghts that Wit followeth in his youth, by | the pleasantnesse of loue, and the | happinesse he reapeth in | age, by | the perfectnesse of | Wisedome. | ¶ By Ihon Lyly Master | of Art. | Corrected and augmented. | Imprinted at *London* for | Gabriel Cawood *dwel*-|ling in Paules Church-|yard.

Colophon—¶ Imprinted at London by Thomas | East, for Gabriell Cawood, dwelling | in Paules Church-yard. | 1580.—*N.B.* The closing paragraph of the tale 'I haue finished . . . comming,' is printed in ordinary romans, larger than those of the same paragraph in M. The three introductory addresses are in romans.

Pagination—by leaves, 2–88, commencing with the tale on fol. 2 signed B ij, with the two errors of '57' and '59' for fols. 58 and 60 respectively.

Signatures—A–Z 4 in fours.

D	*is under*	h	*in*	his
F	„	L	„	Lucilla
G	„	o ex	„	to excell
I	„	ofi	„	profite
L.iij	„	d by c	„	allienated by chaunge
N	„	n t	„	in their
P	„	n	„	onely
P.iij	„	n him	„	vppon him
U.ij	„	ing m	„	bring my
Z.iij	„	elen a	„	Helen all

The two surviving copies of C are well printed and in good condition, though that in the Bodleian lacks the first five leaves. This edition, based on M, and corrected by A, without necessary reference to T, has considerable claims to have enjoyed Lyly's personal revision. It carries forward the reform of the punctuation initiated by T: it restores the reading of A in 12 cases where T or M had corrupted it—see footnotes, pp. 184 l. 11, 188 l. 14, 196 l. 33, 205 l. 12, 209 ll. 2, 12, 216 l. 35, 230 l. 26, 247 l. 2, 270 l. 36, 285 l. 22, 298 l. 5—and it introduces some 20 changes of its own (as distinct from corruptions), all of which persist to the end, and of which 14 must be considered improvements—see footnotes, pp. 182 l. 6, 184 ll. 14–5, 196 l. 30, 210 l. 15, 214 l. 26, 238 l. 3, 247 l. 30, 264 l. 35, 272 l. 12, 284 l. 32, 288 l. 11, 302 l. 6, 304 l. 31, 308 l. 23—while 6 are indifferent. On the other hand it introduces a large number of trifling and quite otiose changes, such as the substitution of the singular for the plural of a substantive or vice versa, or of one preposition or auxiliary verb for another, or of the past for the present tense, or the needless transposition of verb and subject—this feature of trifling and otiose change being shared with G and E^1; it exhibits a general tendency to omit unimportant little words, in one or two cases with injury to the grammar; and it introduces 24 fresh corruptions, of which 10 persist to the last quarto, 1636.

5. G. 1581.

Title—*EVPHVES.* | THE ANATOMY | OF WIT. | Verie pleasaunt for all | *Gentlemen to read, and* | most necessarie to remember, | *wherein are contained the* | delightes that Wit followeth in his youth | by the pleasantnesse of loue, & the hap-|pinesse he reapeth in age, by | the perfectnesse of | Wisedome. | ¶ By Iohn Lyly Master | of Art. | Corrected and augmented. | ¶ Imprinted at London | *for Gabriel Cawood dwel-*| ling in Paules Church-yard.

Colophon—¶ Imprinted at London by | Thomas East, for Gabriel Cawood, | dwelling in Paules Church-|yard. 1581.—*N.B.* The Ep. Ded. is in romans, the two addresses to the Gent. Readers and Gent. Scholars are in black letter. This, and the Bodleian ed. of [1595?] E^1, are the only ones in which the black letter invades the introductory matter.

Pagination—by leaves, 1–88, commencing on the leaf signed B containing the address to the Gent. Scholars. Fols. 58, 69, 77–80 are misnumbered 56, 95, and 95–98 respectively.

Signatures—A–Z 4 in fours.

D.	*is under*	his	*in*	his
F.	„	cill	„	Lucilla
G.	„	ork	„	works
I.	„	t sl	„	what slender
L. iii.	„	y chau	„	by chaunge
N.	„	Loo	„	Looke
P.	„	ille	„	Achilles
P. iii.	„	on h	„	vppon him
U. ii.	„	bring	„	bring
Z. iii.	„	elope	„	Penelope

The Grenville is a clean copy, printed fairly well on thicker paper than usual; but the edition it represents is distinctly inferior to the preceding. The careless printer introduces some 50 corruptions (often excessively inept) and omissions, e.g. p. 309 l. 25 (9 words); though on the other hand there are nearly 30 changes, persisting till 1636, which may be counted as slight improvements, e.g. pp. 188 l. 32, 225 l. 6, 278 ll. 7, 29, 297 l. 20, 301 l. 34, 304 l. 4 (G–F), 314 l. 33, 320 l. 12. The wholesale alteration of unimportant trifles is continued, as is also the reform of the punctuation. Probably Lyly revised a copy of C and sent that to the printer, but did not correct any proof. The direct connexion of G with any earlier edition than C is not clearly made out.

8. E^1. [1595?]

Title—EVPHVES. | THE ANATOMY | *OF WIT.* | Very pleasant for all Gentlemen to | reade, and most necessarie to | remember. | Wherein are contained the delights | that Wit followeth in his youth, by the plea-|santnesse of loue: and the happinesse he rea-|*peth in age, by the perfectnesse of* | wisedome. | ❧ By John Lylie, Maister | of Art.| Corrected and augmented. | *AT LONDON.* | Printed by I. Roberts for Gabriell | Cawood, dwelling in Paules | Churchyarde. (No d.: no col.)

Printed in a slightly more compressed form, unpaged, and on inferior paper, this edition is on the whole the greatest innovator and the greatest offender. It presents 66 corruptions of some importance, besides 30 others retained from G, and 20 from preceding editions; also 20 omissions, two of them (pp. 253 l. 37 and 265 l. 35) of almost a line: and the great majority of these corruptions and omissions are handed down to 1636. I have made a further list of nearly 60 changes equally persistent: 30 of these are either indifferent, or modernizations, or sacrifices of original vigour to smoothness; 20 are perhaps improvements due to Lyly, e.g. pp. 193 l. 11, 209 l. 6, 212 ll. 2, 17, 253 ll. 2, 21, 280 l. 18, 312 l. 4, and

about 10 are corrections of original errors, as pp. 184 l. 17, 315 l. 33, 316 l. 24, or of corruptions, as pp. 211 l. 3, 235 l. 30. These changes and corrections, together with some further mending of the punctuation, are sufficient to suggest that E^1 may have been printed from a copy of G revised by Lyly with A and T before him: but the large number of errors in this, as in C and G, excludes the idea of any proof correction by the author; and E^1 remains on the whole the chief corruptor of the text of *Euphues*, always remembering, however, that the blame may be in part assignable to the two preceding editions (1585 and 1587) which I have been unable to inspect.

9. E^2. [1597?]

Title—Exactly as E^1 in every detail of type, punctuation and spelling, except that E^2 spells 'contayned' and 'Churchyard.' The agreement extends to the collation, and to the absence of colophon and pagination. For some differences, see p. 94.

This, the last edition published by Gabriel Cawood, has comparatively few changes of text, though sufficient to mark it as a separate edition. It has 7 fresh corruptions which persist till 1636, and 5 others repeated in F. It presents but 3 corrections, pp. 214 l. 25, 249 l. 16, and 302 l. 6, the two latter a return to AT; and 10 changes, two of which, 196 l. 13 and 217 l. 31, may be considered improvements, as may some half-dozen others quite unimportant. There are also a few punctual emendations; but I see no sufficient reason to suppose that Lyly had a hand in this edition.

12. F. 1607.

Title—EVPHVES. | THE ANATOMIE | *OF WIT.* | Verie pleasant for all Gentlemen to reade | and most necessarie to remember | Wherein are contained the delights that Wit follow-|eth in his youth, by the pleasantnesse of loue: | and the happinesse he reapeth in age, by the | perfectnesse of wisedome. | By *Iohn Lylie*, Maister of Art. | *Corrected and augmented.* | [Printer's device—a winged and laurelled skull; above, an hour-glass and an open book inscribed 'I liue to dy I dy to liue'; below, a globe] *AT LONDON.* | Printed for *William Leake*, dwelling in | Paules Church-yard, at the Signe of the | Holy Ghost. 1607.

F, the third edition issued by William Leake, is printed on wretchedly thin paper, which shows the type through, and the copy is much stained by damp. As it contains the latest possible corrections of the author, who died in November, 1606, I have thought it worth while to collate it throughout; but the results afford no ground for supposing Lyly's hand in it, though it may represent some rough revision made on the transfer of the work to Leake, and subject to the corruption of his two preceding editions which I have not seen. It appears to be based on E^2, with a rare reference to A or exercise of an independent intelligence. Its original corrections are 6—pp. 191 ll. 1, 32, 211 l. 31, 222 l. 22, 272 l. 24, 308 l. 15 (the

last 3 merely orthographical)—while in 3 others it reverts to the reading of A—197 l. 2, 243 l. 38, 281 l. 3. It reproduces the vast majority of E's corruptions, and introduces 20 of its own (only 6 of which persist), while 6 others are attempts to emend a corruption introduced by E.

13. 1613.

Title as F, but with new device—an open book with flames issuing; above, a dove amid clouds with large wreath; surrounded by scroll 'Veritas tua et usque ad nubes.'

This, the last edition printed for William Leake, makes a laudable effort to stem the tide of corruption. Though I have only collated it where the earlier editions claimed a footnote, I note its correction, by earlier editions, of 36 errors (mostly due to E or F, but four of them found as early as C). In pp. 242 l. 21 and 265 l. 36 we have cases of emendation without such reference; while in the following 8 cases it corrects the original text—197 ll. 17, 36, 211 ll. 5, 7, 284 l. 2, 303 l. 21, 321 l. 11, 323 l. 11. It retains, however, a vast number of the corruptions already introduced; among them 6 from F, on which edition it must be based, while correcting its errors by A, T or M.

14–17. 1617–1636.

In the four remaining quartos the two Parts are published together and signed continuously, but with fresh title-page for Part II. In neither Part do the titles show any verbal change save in the names of printer, publisher, or vendor; and of course the device changes with the printer—Eld's (1617) being for Part I a mere geometrical pattern in a circle, for Part II a medallion showing a man kneeling in a landscape and an angel hovering above with arm outstretched in blessing; Beale's (1623) being an escutcheon with griffin's head to left, and two shields above; and Haviland's (1630, Part II) being a flaming heart surrounded by a wreath. The edition of 1623 is distinguishable from those of 1617, and 1630–31, and the latter from that of 1636, by differences of spelling, e.g. pp. 245 l. 35, 315 l. 10, vol. ii. 143 l. 12, 151 l. 26: vol. i. 241 l. 29, vol. ii. 157 l. 24, 176 l. 20, 177 l. 14.

18. 1716. 8vo.

Title—*Euphues* and *Lucilla*: | or the | False Friend and Inconstant Mistress. | To which is added, *Ephœbus*; | or | Instructions for the Edu-| cation of Youth. | With | *Letters* | upon | Death, Banishment, and the Vices | of Courtiers and Students. | Written Originally by John Lyly, M.A. in | the Reign of Queen Elizabeth; and now revis'd, | and render'd into Modern English, to make it of | more general Use to the Publick. |

> I present you a Lilly growing in a Grove of Lawrels: For this Poet | sate at the *Sun's* Table: *Apollo* gave him a wreath of his own | Bays, without snatching. The Lyre he play'd on, had no bor-| row'd Strings. Blount's *Dedication to* Lyly's *Plays*.

London; | Printed; and Sold by J. Noon, and T. Sharpey, | at the White-Hart in Cheapside. MDCCXVI.|

This version is preceded (1) by a brief Epistle Dedicatory (signed simply 'your Lordship's most Obedient Humble Servant,' with no name) addressed to the Lord de la Warre of 1716, and alluding to his descent from Lyly's patron of that title. (2) By an address 'To the Reader' signed 'Yours, &c.,' which recommends Lyly as 'then accounted the most Witty and Facetious Poet of his time: He was a great Refiner of the English Tongue in those Days, as appears by the Character given him in the Second Part of this Book, and will be much more evinc'd by this *New Translation* of it,' &c., gives a brief summary of the contents, and then continues—'As to some railing Expressions in *Love's Diversion* against the Fair Sex; I must needs tell the virtuous *English Ladies*, they have no reason to be offended, since the Scene of the story is in Naples; and therefore can have no relation to them, but only to the Guilty. . . . And therefore, if you desire, Ladies, to have your own Worth truly blazon'd, and your Praises brightly set forth, the Encouragement of the First Part will call forth the Second,' &c.—a promise so far as I know never fulfilled. The three Introductory addresses are then given without alteration, save that the one 'To the Gentlemen Readers' appears third and not second. The tale itself follows *Euphues* closely, but with continued slight modification of the language, and abbreviation or elimination of the similes. 'Love's Diversion' turns out to be merely a new title substituted for 'A cooling Carde for Philautus,' &c., p. 246. The short address of 'Euphues to the Gentlemen Schollers in Athens' at the end of 'Euphues and his Ephœbus' is omitted, as well as the whole of the dialogue 'Euphues and Atheos': but all the Letters are given.

Another issue of No. 18 with fresh title-page. 1718. 8vo.

Title—The | FALSE FRIEND | and | *Inconstant Mistress*: | An Instructive | NOVEL. | To which is added | Love's Diversion; | displaying | The Artifices of the Female Sex in | their Amours, Dress, &c. With Di-|rections for the Education of Both | Sexes; and a Collection of Moral Let-|ters on Curious Subjects. | By John Lyly, M.A. One of the Refi-|ners of the *English* Tongue in the Reign of | Queen *Elizabeth*. | *London:* Printed for *John Hooke*, at the *Flower-de-|luce*, over against S^t^. *Dunstan's* Church in *Fleet-|street*. 1718. Price 2s.

It agrees in all respects except the title-page with the revision (No. 18) just described.

19. **Arber's Reprint, 1868**, is a faithful reproduction of Prof. Morley's copy (M^2^), i. e. of the 3^rd^ edition, collated with G. 1581, i. e. with the 5^th^, from which also the missing four first and two last leaves are supplied. He has a good chronological summary of facts in Lyly's life, reproducing several documents, &c.—a chronicle which, though it now stands in need of correction, I have found of great service: and though he is occasionally wrong in the bibliography, yet there too he has been very useful; while his review of opinion on *Euphues* from Lyly's time to our own is valuable and, for the nine-

teenth century, fuller than I have been able to include in my own already overfull pages (see my *Life*, pp. 79–82; and *Euphues and Euphuism*, pp. 146–53).

20. **Landmann's** incomplete edition (1887) is printed from A, which he rightly recognized as of the *editio princeps*, and collates Arber's text (printed from M^2) and G. He gives us an Introduction, biographical, bibliographical and critical, which is careful and thorough, though sometimes mistaken. Dr. Landmann was the first to explore thoroughly the connexion of Lyly's work with that of Guevara, see below, pp. 154–6. Also he adds some ten pages of illustrative notes, not very full nor always reliable, but the only ones that have hitherto appeared.

EUPHUES AND HIS ENGLAND.

1. M. 1580.

Title—¶ Euphues and his England. | CONTAINING | his voyage and aduentures, myxed with | sundry pretie discourses of honest | Loue, the discription of the | countrey, the Court, and | the manners of that | Isle. | *DELIGHTFUL TO* | be read, and nothing hurtfull to be regar-|ded: wher-in there is small offence | by lightnesse giuen to the wise, | and lesse occasion of loose-|nes proffered to the | wanton. | ¶ By Iohn Lyly, Maister | of Arte. | Commend it, or amend it. | ❧ Imprinted at London for | Gabriell Cawood, dwelling in | Paules Church-yard. | 1580.

Pagination—by leaves, 1–140, commencing with the tale on sig. B. If perfect, the last leaf would be 142.

For the position of the signatures in this and the two following editions see p. 96.

M, the *editio princeps* of Part II, is distinguished from that of Part I by the far greater care taken with the punctuation, and the attention bestowed on its arrangement into paragraphs. It is partly due to the latter cause that a work nearly two-fifths as long again as *The Anatomy of Wit* is much less tedious to read; while I have only found 67 changes of the punctuation necessary (27 being adopted from A, 26 from E, 8 from H, and only 1 without authority) as against 161 in the former work. The unique Morley copy, though sometimes unevenly inked and showing the print through the leaf, is in very good condition, save for the lack of the last two leaves.

Four of the footnotes are of some few words omitted in all subsequent editions: vol. ii. pp. 26 l. 2, a whole line, 78 l. 36, 89 ll. 23–4, 135 l. 28. I count 62 errors of orthography without effect on the sense; 32 other errors, mostly orthographical, such as might cause misapprehension, while others are bad mistakes, e. g. pp. 74 l. 30, 176 l. 27, 177 l. 3, 184 l. 2, 194 l. 18, 217 l. 8; and some 12 omissions of little words, mostly of no importance. The great majority of these errors of all kinds are corrected in A, a few more in B, and some in E.

2. **A. 1580.**

Title—exactly as M in type, punctuation, and orthography.

Colophon—¶ Imprinted at London, by Thomas East, for Gabriel Cawood dwelling in Paules Churchyard. 1580.

Pagination—by leaves, a–132, commencing with the tale on sig. B.

The only known copy of the second edition is in the Bodleian Library, bound with the Malone copy (3rd ed.) of Part I. It is in excellent condition, but wants fol. 32. It corrects most of the errors of M; makes some 15 other changes, of which only the following seem of any importance—vol. ii. pp. 32 l. 5, 33 l. 29, 36 l. 33, 53 l. 23, 57 l. 27, 66 l. 19, 96 l. 29, 162 l. 15; and is guilty of about 55 distinct corruptions, 24 of which are corrected by B, 16 by G or E, while 13 persist down to 1636. Its few changes, its four omissions (noted under M), and its reform of the punctuation, are such as imply Lyly's revision; but, as usual, the author can have seen no proof.

3. **B. 1580.**

Title—exactly as MA, except in spelling 'wherein' for 'wher-in' of the two preceding.

Colophon—appears in Camb. copy exactly as in A. In the Oxford copy the last leaf is mutilated, so that 'Gabriel' and '1580' are torn away.

Pagination—by leaves, 2–132, commencing with the second leaf of the tale sig. B ii. For position of sigs. of M, A and B, see p. 96 above.

Two copies exist of this, the third edition, one in the Bodleian, the other in the Cambridge University Library, both bound with the fourth edition (C) of Part I, which must however have been printed several months earlier in the year. Of B's few corrections, vol. ii. pp. 16 l. 17, 87 l. 1, 94 l. 34, 131 l. 5, 187 l. 21, are the most important. It has about 25 corruptions (a few merely orthographical), about 20 of which are peculiar to itself, while 20 persist till 1636. One or two of its departures, e.g. 94 l. 34, suggest that it was printed from A, and corrected its errors, without reference to M.

5. **G. 1582.**

The titles of this, the preceding C, and the three next editions (1586, 1588, 1592), so far as reproduced by Arber and Hazlitt, show no verbal change. Arber's text embodies in parenthesis G's variants from M, and indicates by an asterisk its words omitted. Its corruptions seem less numerous than those of B, its corrections more important. I have made a list of 22 chief ones among the former, of which 18 persist: while the chief corrections are vol. ii. pp. 26 l. 36, 80 l. 10, 161 l. 36, 177 l. 3, 199 l. 10, 214 l. 10, 215 l. 2. There seems more probability of Lyly's revising hand in this edition than in B; but one edition (C) intervened, in which the corrections may have been rather made.

9. **E. 1597.**

Title—EVPHVES AND HIS | ENGLAND, | Containing his voyage and | aduentures: Mixed with sundry | prettie discourses of honest loue,

the de-|scription of the Countrie, the Court, and | the manners of the | Isle. | Delightfull to be read, and nothing | hurtfull to be regarded: wherein there | is small offence by lightnesse giuen to the | wise, and lesse occasion of loosenesse | proffered to the vvan-|ton. | ☙ By Iohn Lyly Maister | of Art. | *Commend it or amend it.* | At London, | Printed by I. R. for Gabriell Ca-|wood, and are to be sold at his Shop | in Paules Churchyarde. | 1597.

Like the E^1 of Part I, the E of Part II presents a far larger number of changes than any other I have seen. The great majority of them are stupid and inept corruptions, many of which later editions decline to follow, though they perpetuate most of them. I have made no attempt to count them: they swell the footnotes on every page. Among them may be mentioned the following considerable omissions, none of them however exceeding one line in length:—vol. ii. pp. 88 l. 25, 89 l. 32, 91 l. 24, 113 l. 17, 123 l. 9, 199 ll. 5–6, 210 l. 34, 212 ll. 22–3—of which 113 l. 17 is perhaps an improvement, 199 ll. 5–6 (feathers at girdle) is to suit a change in fashion, and 212 ll. 22–3 (omission of '& the Prince they haue without any other chaunge'), which might be thought born of his dissatisfaction with the Queen in 1597, is probably simply due to the likeness of the last word 'chaunge' to 'chaunce,' which immediately precedes the omission—but cf. the change of 'feareth ill' to 'fareth ill,' p. 212 l. 16. Among original corrections I have noted the following, all persistent—pp. 3 ll. 9, 22, 6 l. 6, 7 l. 1, 8 ll. 23, 24, 27, 11 l. 29, 22 l. 8, 26 ll. 11, 13, 28 l. 25, 93 l. 29 (E–H), 94 l. 6, 99 l. 24, 173 l. 24, 187 l. 31; while pp. 22 l. 30, 191 l. 7, 210 l. 9, are instances of reversion to the reading of M. Another feature of this edition is that in one part it exhibits some slight additions or expansions, the only ones that appear to have been made in the whole course of the work's publication. These are pp. 144 ll. 24–5 (one line), 28, 29, 30–2 (two lines), 173 l. 33, 175 l. 8 (one line), 178 l. 8: they can scarcely be considered as great improvements, or indeed as other than mere verbal expansions, so that I have kept them in the footnotes without disturbing the text of A; but taken in connexion with the reform of the punctuation found in this edition, and with the original corrections noted above, they seem to show that Lyly spent some pains in revising either this, or more probably one of those preceding it, but later than that of 1582. It is possible that he made a revision of both Parts in 1592, and that E^1 of Part I should date in that year rather than [1595 ?].

11. F. 1606.

Title exactly resembles No. 12, except that it spells 'voyage,' does not italicize 'of the Ile,' and concludes 'occasion' with the line. The British Museum copy of this edition is bound with Part I of 1607, and shares its misfortunes or original defects. It shows revision, but not, I think, the author's. If it corrects many of the corruptions introduced by E, it leaves still more uncorrected; and of its 21 original corrections, some

are merely orthographical, or the substitution of a more modern or a less emphatic word, and only one or two are striking, e.g. vol. ii. pp. 73 l. 23, 143 l. 30, 176 l. 26, 188 l. 7; while it presents about an equal number (18) of original corruptions which are perpetuated. I do not think that Lyly's hand is seen in this edition, the last where his revision is possible.

12. H. 1609.

Title—EVPHVES | *AND HIS ENG*|LAND. | *Containing his voiage and aduentures:* | Mixed with sundry pretty discourses of | honest loue, the description of the Coun-|try, the Court, and the manners | *of the Ile.* | Delightfull to be read, and nothing hurt-|full to be regarded: wherein there is small | offence by lightnesse giuen to the wise, and lesse occasi-|*on of loosenes proffered to the wanton.* | ¶ By *Iohn Lily*, Master of Art. | *Commend it, or amend it.* | [Printer's device of the winged skull, &c., as given under Part I, 1607] | AT LONDON. | Printed for *William Leake*, dwelling in Pauls church-|yard, at the signe of the Holy-ghost. | 1609.

No colophon. Unpaged. Sigs. A–E 4 in fours. Position of sigs.:—

C	*is under*	e th	*in* become the	H	*is under*	eft *in* left	*just missing the*.
D	„	ot l	„ cannot liue	K	„	me	*in* comelinesse
E	„	hom	„ whom	N	„	or m	„ or my
F	„	er	„ under	O	„	hila	„ Philautus
G	„	tru	„ trust	Q	„	e, or	„ life, or

Another mark of identification will be found in the uneven printing of E 4 recto, the centre portion of the lines being lower than the two extremities. It is most marked in the running-title, but extends to the whole page.

H adds 15 to the long list of permanent corruptions, balanced by only one or two emendations of equal importance. 'Queene' becomes 'King,' p. 194 l. 34.

The titles of editions 1605 and 1613, so far as reported by Hazlitt (*Colls.* i. 270, ii. 372), exhibit no change of wording: nor do those of eds. 1617 onwards, collated by myself. These later editions have only been textually collated where the earlier called for a footnote, to ascertain the persistence or disappearance of a corruption or emendation. Perhaps that of 1623 exhibits most independence. It restores a reading of M or of AB in vol. ii. pp. 59 l. 14, 84 l. 2, 138 l. 32, 182 l. 6. Similar restorations made in Part II of 1630 are found in pp. 57 l. 27, 60 l. 6, 91 l. 25, 98 l. 21, 119 l. 29; and in Part II of 1636 in pp. 93 l. 1, 166 l. 14, 179 l. 2, 214 l. 37.

18. Arber's Reprint (1868) follows with admirable fidelity Professor Morley's copy (M), which in the case of the Second Part represents the *editio princeps*, and is the only known copy of it. He supplies the two missing leaves at the end from the copy of the 2nd edition (A 1580) in the Bodleian; and collates the whole with the 5th edition (G 1582), and, where that lacks a few leaves (= his pp. 362–3, 463–78), with the 6th (D 1586).

EUPHUES AND EUPHUISM

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

No edition of this famous work could be considered complete without some account of the style in which it is written, and to which it has given a name[1]; but so full and frequent has been the discussion of Euphuism, since Professor Morley published his article upon it in the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1861 (No. 218, vol. 109), that addition is difficult, and full reproduction, within the limits of this work, impossible. The most complete account of the style, and of all that had previously appeared on this subject, is to be found in the *John Lyly and Euphuism* of Mr. C. G. Child, published in *Münchener Beiträge* at Erlangen and Leipzig, 1894; a careful and valuable essay, yet one wherein elaboration reaches a point almost inimical to literary study. His chief predecessors are Dr. R. F. Weymouth, who read a paper 'On Euphuism' before the Philological Society in 1871; and Dr. Landmann with a treatise entitled *Der Euphuismus: sein Wesen, seine Quelle, seine Geschichte*, &c. (Giessen, 1881). The latter's results were summarized and clarified in a paper read before the New Shakspere Society, and published in its *Transactions*, 1880–5, Part II; and were reproduced in his English edition of the First Part of *Euphues*, 1887: while further criticism of the style is to be found in articles by Dr. Breymann and Dr. Schwan in *Englische Studien*, vols. 5 and 6 (1882–3). Professor Morley's final view, incorporating later results, appeared in *English Writers* (1892), viii. 316–22. To these names we should add, whether as interpreters of style or matter, those of Bodenstedt (*Shakespeare's Zeitgenossen*, vol. iii, Berlin, 1860), Mézières (*Prédécesseurs et Contemporains de Shakespeare*, 1863, ch. iii), Hense (two valuable essays, chiefly on Lyly's relation to the classics, and that of Shakespeare to Lyly in this department, published in the *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, vols. vii, viii, 1872–3), Symonds (*Shakspere's Predecessors*, 1883, ch. xiii, an early recognition of Lyly's immense importance), Mrs. Humphry Ward (article in the *Encyclopaedia*

[1] 'The term "Euphuism" is first found in Harvey's *Four Letters and certaine Sonnets touching Robert Greene* (Brydges, *Archaica*, vol. ii. p. 29),' says Mr. Child in *John Lyly and Euphuism*, p. 10. The date of Harvey's publication was 1592.

Britannica, ninth edition), Professor A. W. Ward (*History of English Dramatic Literature*, second edition, 1899, vol. i. ch. 3), M. Jusserand (*The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, trans. by Eliz. Lee, 1894), Mr. Fleay (*Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, 1891, vol. ii. pp. 36–43), Mr. Sidney Lee (article 'Lyly, John,' in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1893), and others. Perhaps I should also mention an essay of my own, written in the spring of 1894, before I had acquainted myself with the work of Mézières, Hense, Landmann or Child: it appeared in the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1896; and its chief results and even many passages are, by the kind permission of Mr. John Murray, incorporated below.

EUPHUISM. Lyly's famous euphuism aims at writing prose, firstly with great fineness and precision of phrase, secondly with great display of classical learning and remote knowledge of all kinds. To these two desiderata correspond the two classes of its characteristics; firstly, those concerned with the structure of his sentences, and secondly, those methods of ornament and illustration which, though properly considered a part of style, are yet more akin to the material than to the architecture of thought, and demand of the architect the quarryman's, as well as the sculptor's, toil.

I. STRUCTURAL DEVICES. (*a*) *Antithesis*, *Rhet. Quest.*, *Repetition*. I. In structure[1] he seeks emphasis (*a*) by the following general means:—

(i) By continual Parallelism or Antithesis; (ii) by the use of a string of rhetorical questions, which sometimes answer each other, or of a series of arguments *pro* and *con* introduced by 'Ay, but'; (iii) (as Mr. Child adds) by Repetition.

(i) *Antithesis*, which as regards form might usually be called Parallelism, is shown in the opposition of words and of ideas in sentences balanced against each other; where very often two, three, or all the words are parallel in position and grammatical function, substantive answering to substantive, adjective to adjective, verb to verb, adverb to adverb, &c. To this structural balance of parts of speech Dr. Landmann and Mr. Child give the name 'parison' or 'parisonity.' Of course not every sentence in a period exhibits it; and further, where it occurs, it varies in the extent to which it is carried in any sentence or clause, and in the number of sentences or

[1] In dealing with this part of my subject I have made full use of Mr. Child's essay, adopting his arrangement with some modifications, and also some of his examples.

clauses through which it is kept up—sometimes there are two, sometimes three or more, sometimes several pairs. Sense may be parallel or antithetic: generally a sentence or clause composed of two members of antithetic sense will be paralleled by a second, perhaps also a third sentence or clause composed of two members of similarly antithetic sense.

At the risk of tediousness I give four examples:

Page 189 'Alas, Euphues, by how much the more I loue the highe climbinge of thy capacitie, by so muche the more I feare thy fall. The fine christall is sooner crazed then the harde marble, the greenest Beeche burneth faster then the dryest Oke, the fairest silke is soonest soyled, and the sweetest wine tourneth to the sharpest vineger, the pestilence doth most ryfest infect the cleerest complection, and the Caterpiller cleaueth vnto the ripest fruite, the most delicate wyt is allured with small entice-ment vnto vice, and moste subiecte to yelde vnto vanitie, if therefore thou doe but harken to the Syrens, thou wilte bee enamoured, if thou haunte their houses and places, thou shalt be enchaunted.'

P. 222 'Though thou haue eaten the seedes of Rockatte which breede incontinencie, yet haue I chewed the leafe Cresse which mainteineth modestie. Though thou beare in thy bosome the hearbe Araxa most noisome to virginitie, yet haue I y^e^ stone y^t^ groweth in the mounte Tmolus, the vpholder of chastitie.'

Vol. ii. p. 52 'To loue and to lyue well is wished of many, but incident to fewe. To liue and to loue well is incident to fewe, but indifferent to all. To loue without reason is an argument of lust, to lyue without loue, a token of folly. The measure of loue is to haue no meane, the end to be euerlasting.'

P. 85 'Ah thrice vnfortunate is he that is once faithful, and better it is to be a mercilesse souldiour, then a true louer: the one liueth by an others death, y^e^ other dyeth by his owne life.'

The perpetual strain after antithesis often leads Lyly into difficulties. Sometimes it is transparently artificial, unsupported by any opposition of sense: e.g.

P. 189 'Heere, yea, heere, Euphues, maiste thou see not the carued visarde of a *lewde woman*, but the incarnate visage of a *lasciuious wanton*.'

P. 193 l. 3 'you testie without cause, we hastie for no quarrel'—where the antithesis of sense, hitherto maintained, quite fails.

P. 194 l. 26 'your reasons . . . be shadowes without substaunce, and *weake without force*.'

P. 205 ll. 25–7 'Weenest thou that he will haue no *mistrust of thy faithfulnesse*, when he hath had *tryall of thy fycklenesse*? Will he haue no doubt of *thyne honour*, when thou thy selfe callest *thyne honestie* in question?' (but cf. pp. 200 ll. 3–4, 255 l. 35).

P. 239 l. 18 'deeme him vnworthy to enioye that which earst you accompted no wight worthy to embrace.'

Sometimes it is pursued with positive injury to the sense, or to language: e.g.

P. 322 l. 22 'I would haue him (Philautus) ende as Lucilla began without vyce, and not *beginne* as she ended without honestie'—here 'beginne' is inconsistent with the previous facts, which represent Philautus as 'be-' ginning' at least as early as Lucilla.

Vol. ii. p. 181 l. 10 'Thou hast caryed to thy graue more graye haires then yeares, and yet more yeares then vertues'—this favourite form with Lyly is here quite inappropriate to the words with which it is used: both complaints, taken literally, are unreasonable.

P. 86 l. 5 'Thou a woman, y^e^ last thing God made, & therefore y^e^ best. I a man y^t^ could not liue without thee, *& therefore y^e^ worst*'—a complete *non sequitur*.

P. 102 ll. 12–27 The elaborate parallel of the ivory Vulcan and jet Venus is very forced in its application.

Vol. i. p. 246 l. 28 'if the wasting of our money might not *dehort* vs, yet the wounding of our mindes should deterre vs'—the inkhorn 'dehort' (rare but classical Latin) is pressed into the service to match 'deterre.'

Vol. ii. p. 19 l. 4 'among the Aegyptians . . . a beast full of spots, so amongst vs . . . a purse full of golde'—'a beast full of spots' is an odd locution.

(ii) *Rhetorical questions* abound through the book. The following is an example of them and of the opposing arguments with 'Ay, but.'

P. 205 ll. 15–22 'And canst thou, Lucilla, be so light of loue in forsaking Philautus to flye to Euphues? canst thou prefer a straunger before thy countryman? A starter before thy companion? Why, Euphues doth perhappes desyre my loue, but Philautus hath deserued it. Why, Euphues feature is worthy as good as I, but Philautus his fayth is worthy a better. I, but the latter loue is moste feruent. I, but the firste ought to be most faythfull. I, but Euphues hath greater perfection. I, but Philautus hath deeper affection.' Cf. the soliloquies of Philautus, pp. 232–3, vol. ii. 85–90, and that of Camilla, p. 183, &c.

(iii) *Repetition* needs no illustration other than the passages already given. Sense and form are perpetually repeated, and sentiments driven home by reiterated if varied assertion, or by a string of illustrations. Repetition extends even to the subject-matter: severally, or compared, the two Parts exhibit a considerable amount of parallelism (see below, p. 162). To this repetition is chiefly due the tedium the reader can hardly avoid feeling.

(*b*) Assistant to these general means for giving emphasis are detailed means, consisting of various forms of Sound-likeness; which may be divided into (i) likeness of letter, or Alliteration. (ii) Partial or complete likeness of word or syllable. *(b) Alliteration, Word-likeness.*

(i) *Alliteration:*

1. Simple, where the same letter or sound is used as the initial of several words in succession or near neighbourhood, and sometimes as the initial of an interior syllable in such word:

e.g. P. 241 l. 21 'least *tr*usting their outwarde *t*alke, he be be*tr*aied with their inwarde *tr*echery.' P. 269 l. 23 '*c*urious in their attyre, *c*ostly in their dyet, *c*arelesse in their behauiour.' Vol. ii. p. 48 l. 21 'yet doth he vse *m*e as the *m*eane to *m*oue the *m*atter, and as the *m*an to *m*ake his *m*yrrour.'

Often in one passage two or three letters are taken up in succession. P. 202 'that in *p*aynted *p*ottes is hidden the deadlyest *p*oyson? that in the *gr*eenest *gr*asse is the *gr*eatest Serpent?' P. 204 ll. 22–6 'When they see the folly ... lyues,' &c. P. 208 'ordayned for euery *m*aladye a *m*edicine, for euery *s*ore a *s*alue, for euery *p*ayne a *p*laister, *l*euing on*l*y *l*oue remedi*l*esse.' P. 229 top 'So *c*anne there be no *c*ontract ... no *m*atch was *m*ent.'

2. Transverse or alternate, where two, three, or four letters are used in corresponding clauses:

e.g. P. 252 l. 17 'to *strai*ght a *dy*et for thy *strai*ninge *di*sease.' P. 251 l. 19 'so *w*eaken the *s*ences, and be*w*itch the *s*oule.' P. 233 'Although hetherto, Euphues, I haue *sh*rined thee in my *h*eart for a *tr*ustie *fr*iende, I will *sh*unne thee *h*eereafter as a *tr*othles *f*oe' (Landmann's *Euphues*, Intr. p. xvi). Vol. ii. p. 36 l. 33 'let my *r*ude *b*irth excuse my *b*olde *r*equest.' P. 89 l. 1 'thy *s*acred *S*enate of *three* hundred *gr*aue *C*ounsellors, to a *s*hamelesse *S*inod of *three* thousand *gr*eedy *c*aterpillers.'

Both kinds, simple and transverse, are used either simply for ornament or euphony, or to accentuate parallelism or antithesis. The simple kind is naturally the most spontaneous; the transverse, far more rarely used, is generally conscious and deliberate, as seems clear from the fact that in several cases where it does occur it is used several times in succession[1].

As with Antithesis, so the pursuit of Alliteration leads him sometimes to use an ungainly or inappropriate word: e.g.

[1] Mr. Child, whom I am following closely here, notes that on p. 64 Arb. there are three cases in 6 lines, on p. 65 three, p. 67 three, p. 106 nine, pp. 204–5 eight (*John Lyly and Euphuism*, p. 61).

P. 188 l. 34 'that whiche I cannot wythoute *bl*ushinge beholde, nor wythoute *blubbering* vtter.'

P. 210 l. 7 'Who so is *blinded with the caule* (=net) of beautie, decerneth no *c*oulour of honestie'—here the desire of alliterating with 'coulour' betrays him into a mixed metaphor.

P. 218 l. 18 'I can neither *q*uench them wyth the *water* of free *w*ill, neither *c*oole them wyth *wi*sedome'—'free will' as an extinguisher is singularly infelicitous.

P. 314 l. 32 '*cu*stome will make it [i. e. the most quiet place] thy *cou*ntry, and an honest life will *cause* it a pleasaunte liuinge'—this awkward use of 'cause' is perhaps rather to secure verbal change than alliteration.

Vol. ii. p. 41 l. 27 'old men which should be at their *beads*, be too *b*usie with the court, & young men which should follow their *b*ookes,' &c.—'beads' is sad from so fervent a Protestant.

(ii) *Syllabic or word-likeness:*

1. Complete: (1) of syllables, i.e. *Consonance*, where both vowel and consonant sounds are similar:

e.g. P. 205 l. 21 'per*fection* . . . af*fection*.' P. 213 l. 28 'en*forced* per*force*.' P. 251 l. 18 '*immode*rate sleepe . . . *immode*st play.'

(2) Of words, i.e. *Repetition*, which reads at first like carelessness, but occurs too often to be other than intentional—

e. g. Vol. ii. p. 27 l. 27 'a *warning* to make you wise, not a *warning* to proue others vnfortunate'; ib. l. 33 'to rest at their own *home* till they come to their long *home*.' P. 41 ll. 25–9 'Kings or *Princes* . . . in y^e^ affaires of *princes*.' P. 185 l. 24 'so sweete a violet to his *nose*, that he could hardly suffer it to be an houre from his *nose*.'

It is noticeable in regard to this habit of Repetition that in the editions of 1595? and 1597 (E^1 E^2 for Part I, E for Part II) it is carried still further, a repetition of a word used in the preceding clause being substituted for an antithetic or parallel word found in earlier editions:

e.g. P. 243 l. 8 'neither the *nature* of a child nor the *nurture* (nature *E*) of a mayden.' Vol. ii. p. 209 ll. 6–7 'As this noble Prince is *endued* with mercie, pacience and moderation, so is she *adourned* (indued *E*) with singuler beautie,' &c.

Other instances are vol. ii. pp. 105 l. 14, 142 l. 29, 210 l. 4, &c. As I trace Lyly's revising hand in this edition of either Part, I fancy this reaction from overmuch variety is due to himself. To our ears, however, the change of the word, when not forced, is just the strongest and soundest feature of his style, and the last he should have dropped.

2. Partial: (1) *Assonance*, or like vowel-sound only:

e. g. P. 206 l. 19 'by so much the lesse I am to be *condemned*, by how

much the more Euphues is to be *commended*.' Vol. ii. p. 5 l. 29 'there to *lap* vp that he doth *cast* vp.'

(2) *Annomination*, or like consonant-sound only:

e.g. P. 190 l. 16 'sophistrye . . . superioritie.' P. 186 l. 28 'Nurture . . . Nature' (also on pp. 191, 192, 243). P. 235 l. 10 'to see thee as *hopelesse* as my selfe is *haplesse*.' P. 250 l. 29 'hot liuer . . . heedlesse louer' (also pp. 321 l. 22, vol. ii. 56 l. 24). Pp. 199 l. 22, vol. ii. 4 l. 35 'continuance . . . countenaunce.' P. 321 l. 7 'commaundement . . . amendement.'

(3) *Rhyme:*

P. 214 l. 6 'forged *gloase* . . . friendly *cloase*.' P. 241 l. 23 'I will to Athens ther to tosse my *bookes*, no more in Naples to lyue with faire *lookes*.' Vol. ii. p. 107 l. 5 '*wounded* with grief . . . *sounded* with weakenesse,' and many others.

(4) *Puns and play on words:*

e.g. P. 190 'Stoickes . . . stocks.' P. 213 'yet would I willingly take euery minute x *mates* (at chess) to enioy Liuia for my louing *mate*.' P. 225 l. 35 'mannors . . . manners' (also pp. 267 l. 32, 317 l. 12). P. 316 l. 26 '*want of* learning . . . *wanton* lyuinge,' cf. vol. ii. p. 62 l. 32 'I should hardly chuse a *wanton*: for . . . if alwayes she *want one* when she hath me, I had as liefe she should want me too.' P. 325 l. 27 'as wel Helen a *light* huswife in earth, as Castor a *light* Starre in Heauen.' Vol. ii. p. 155 l. 23 'birds are trayned with a sweet *call*, but caught with a broad *nette*' (pun on '*caule*' = net); p. 161 l. 12 'a Violette is better then *a Rose*, and so shee *arose*.'

Among his most ingenious uses of *word-play* is the way in which, having used a word in one sense in the first member of a clause, he makes it do duty without verbal change in another sense, or as another part of speech, or with a different construction, in the second member:

e.g. P. 217 'I feare mee I am lyke to infect women with pride, *whiche yet* they haue not, and men with spyte, *whyche yet* I woulde not.' P. 219 l. 35 'that he shoulde neyther *take holde* of hir promise, neyther *unkindnesse* of hir preciseneśse.' P. 247 'as well the Rose to distill, as the Nettle to sting.' P. 275 l. 15 'the one careth not howe lyttle paine hee *taketh* for his moneye, the other howe little learning' ('taketh' = (1) spends, (2) acquires). P. 314 l. 17 '*out of* farre countreys to liue as well as *in* thine owne' ('out of' in sense of getting a living out of). P. 318 l. 17 'thou arte borne not to lyue *after* thine owne luste, but to learne to dye, whereby thou mayste lyue *after* thy death.' Vol. ii. p. 101 l. 37 'enuied for virtue and belyed for malice'; p. 150 l. 21 'thee who alwayes *madest them* (i.e. women) no worse then sancts in heauen, and

shrines in no worse place then thy heart' ('them,' used as direct object in the first member, is understood as indirect object in the second).

I will close this notice of Lyly's structural devices by reproducing Mr. Child's instructive table:

	Simple Allit^{n}.		*Transverse Allit^{n}.*	*Consonance.*	*Annomin^{n}.*	*Repetit^{n}.*	*Rime.*	*No. of (Arber's) Pages.*
	Ornam^{t}.	*Balance.*						
Euphues.	935	668	241	114	44	24	20	117
E. and his Eng.	1196	795	112	48	24	38	9	268

The vast excess of simple over transverse alliteration is obvious; and also, remembering that the Second Part is nearly twice the length of the first, the decrease in the use of these devices.

Logical connexion. On the larger structure of Lyly's periods Mr. Child (pp. 43–8) has some very just remarks, noting that Lyly aims rather at an ostentatious symmetry of form than at logical continuity of thought. It is, indeed, in the detailed, rather than the general, presentment of thought that he achieves precision. 'Each thought with its suggestions is so long dwelt upon, and the similes, metaphors and illustrations which accompany it are so varied, and attract so much attention in themselves, that except one read with close attention, the effect is that of a rambling and disconnected discourse[1].' Mr. Child (pp. 46–8) analyses the long speech of Eubulus (pp. 187–90) and shows it to be more logical and continuous than one would at first suppose. That Lyly did not neglect logic is clear, as well from his abundant use of terms like 'argument,' 'reasons,' 'prove,' 'infer,' &c., as from the systematic correspondence he sometimes observes between a written or oral reply and the letter or speech which it answers, e. g. Lucilla and Euphues, pp. 239–40, Philautus and Camilla, vol. ii. pp. 104–6, Philautus and Euphues, pp. 143–6, &c. Nevertheless he is occasionally careless in this respect, and careless, too, in the matter

Syntax. of *syntax*. The omission of the pronoun as subject, as on p. 186, (mid.) 'Hauinge therefore gotten opportunitie . . . (he) encountred him,' &c., is a common Elizabethan idiom, under which we must class three cases of similar omission in the nominative absolute:

P. 191 l. 24 '(I) hauing shewed sufficient.' Vol. ii. p. 45 l. 16 'and (he) ouerthrowne.' P. 194 l. 12 'In their meales there is great silence and grauitie, (they) vsing wine rather to . . . than to,' &c.

Common, too, is the omission of the verb 'to be,' as on p. 317 l. 9 'nor (art) thou a gentleman' &c. (cf. vol. ii. pp. 41 l. 34, 175 l. 36);

[1] *John Lyly and Euphuism*, p. 47.

and the substitution of a finite verb for a participle in a participial clause may pass under the same head:

e. g. P. 303 l. 4 'Themistocles which hauing offended Philip y^e^ king of Macedonia, & *could* no way apease his anger [for 'being in no way able to appease'], meeting his young sonne tooke him in his armes,' &c. Vol. ii. p. 33 l. 19 'those that hauing y^e^ greene sicknes & are brought [for 'being brought'] to deaths dore, follow their own humour,' &c.

Far less excusable are—his loose use of the relative:

e. g. Vol. ii. p. 28 l. 2 'with that knife *y^t^* (= wherewith) another hath cut his finger.' P. 61 l. 34 'as the Trogloditae *which* (superfluous) digged in the filthy ground for rootes, and found the inestimable stone Topason, which inriched them euer after: so he that seeketh after my daughter . . . shall finde,' &c. P. 96 l. 5 'which varietie of chaunging, being oftentimes noted of a graue Gentleman in Naples, who hauing bought a Hat of the newest fashion & best block in all Italy, and wearing it but one daye, it was tolde him y^t^ was stale, he hung it vp in his studie,' &c. P. 109 l. 13 'Psellus, of whome in Italy I haue hearde (that) in such cases (he) canne doe much,' &c. P. 137 l. 30 'Camilla . . . went to hir Italian booke where shee founde the letter of *Philautus*, *who* (i. e. Camilla) without any further aduise . . . sent him this bone to gnawe vppon.' P. 160 l. 16 'inuited them both that night to supper, *which* they with humble thankes giuen promised to doe *so*' &c.

his hasty mingling of two forms:

e. g. P. 223 l. 23 'no meruaile it is *that if* the fierce Bull be tamed with the Figge tree, *if that* women beeing as weake as sheepe, be ouercome with a Figge,' &c. Vol. ii. p. 192 l. 32 'Visitations are holden . . . whereby abuses and disorders . . . there are punyshements' (either 'for' should be supplied before 'abuses,' or he should have written 'are punished'). Cf. p. 105 ll. 14–5 'thinking it *lawfull*, if one suffer you to treade awry, *no shame* to goe slipshad.'

and occasional carelessnesses like these:

Vol. ii. p. 42 l. 6 'content your selues w^t^ this, y^t^ to be curious (= as for your curiosity) in things you should not enquire off, if you knew them, they appertein not vnto you'—but perhaps 'y^t^' is a misprint for 'not.'

P. 203 ll. 11–6 'Actiue they are . . . worthye of such Ladies, *and none but they, and Ladies willing* to haue such Lordes, and none but such.'

P. 210 ll. 14–5 'Their fields (i. e. those of the English) haue beene sowne with corne, straungers [have had] theirs pytched with Camps.'

Ambiguity, too, rests on

P. 239 l. 8 'it nothing toucheth me,' which is really constructed with what follows, but more naturally taken with what precedes; and vol. ii. p. 156 l. 2

'(thou) art rewarded with nothing lesse then loue' i. e. with anything but love, 'lesse' being adverb qualifying 'rewarded,' not adjective qualifying 'thing.'

I have quoted these instances of careless grammar because, amid the praise universally given to Lyly for precision, his fairly numerous slips in this direction have been overlooked. They are one of the penalties he paid for his preoccupation with the far more difficult matter of varied and ingenious phraseology.

Vocabulary.—Finally, to round off this subject of Lyly's structural use of his instrument, we find his English comparatively pure. Considering the large infusion of foreign terms, the free coinage of Latinisms, which the language was undergoing at this period, Lyly deserves the praise of conservatism. He has placed to his credit the acknowledgement that 'English men desire to heare finer speach then the language will allow,' p. 181 l. 17; and while himself striving to gratify this taste for fineness, does so without debasing the currency. It is remarkable how few of his words have passed out of use, how much more modern his diction seems than that of most of his contemporaries. The explanation is, no doubt, partly that suggested by Mr. Child[1], that works so famous as *Euphues*, *Arcadia*, and the *Bible*, exercise a very important influence on the destiny of the words which they contain. A very few Latinisms, not confined to him, have passed out of use:

Pp. 236 l. 22 'arguest of' = accusest of; 246 l. 28 'dehort' = dissuade; 265 l. 16 'argent' = money; 300 l. 30 'abiect' = outcast; 303 l. 31, vol. ii. 25 l. 14, 35 l. 19 'record' = remember. Vol. ii. 6 l. 32 'table' = picture; 19 l. 12 'reduce' = bring back; 31 l. 28, 66 l. 11, 91 l. 26, 162 l. 7 'conferre' = compare; 39 l. 19 'preferring' = urging, pleading; 51 l. 3 'contemplature' (also in Greene); 90 l. 8 'resiluation' = resilience; 94 l. 5, 170 l. 31 'sentence' = apophthegm, opinion; 109 l. 28, 133 l. 15, 173 l. 13 'refell' = rebut; 147 l. 23 'intention' = tightening[2].

A few words, Latin or other, are no longer used in the sense in which he employed them:

Pp. 180 l. 22 'tollerable' = excusable; 186 'trayneth' intr. = 'is drawn' (no other instance quoted); 189 l. 22 'crazed'; 192 l. 4 'impe'; 196 l. 3, 32 l. 2 'occupied'; 200 l. 31 'nippe'; 202 l. 13 'rancke'; 204 l. 25 (190 l. 23, 321 l. 26) 'peeuishnesse'; 204 l. 35 'alteration' (in medical sense); 206

[1] *John Lyly and Euphuism*, p. 41.

[2] Of this literal sense no instance is quoted, nor any of just this absolute use of 'preferring.' 'Reduce' is used by Shakespeare; 'refell' by him and Chapman. Of all the rest except 'contemplature' examples are quoted before *Euphues*.

l. 31 'vnkynde'; (249 l. 7 'kinde'); 225 l. 12 'successe' = sequel; 228 l. 29 'assuring' = affiancing; 241 'tosse'; 256 l. 23 'dissolute' (of attire); 262 l. 15 'soothe'; 325 l. 10 'tyre' = pull. Vol. ii. pp. 3 l. 17 'dissembling'; 15 l. 5 'fauour'; 28 l. 12 'bodkin'; 59 l. 8 'amiable' (of personal beauty); 57 l. 34 (70 l. 23, 119 l. 8) 'personage' = personal appearance; 228 l. 8 (cf. *Sapho*, i. 1. 41 and *Pappe*) 'yerke' or 'jerke' = strike smartly.

A few phrases or constructions have become obsolete (see notes):

Pp. 191 l. 13 (209 l. 32, 321 l. 7) 'haue no shew'; 193 l. 11 'eyther . . . eyther' = either . . . or; 194 l. 32 'looke it' = look for it; 195 l. 2 'good cheape'; 200 l. 11 'want gestures'; 202 l. 22 'make course accompt of'; l. 24 'high in the insteppe'; 207 l. 29 (219 l. 22) 'til time'; 224 l. 31 'chaunge your coppie'; 214 l. 25 (233 l. 5) 'any' = either (of two); 251 l. 24 'at an ynche'; 253 l. 13 'water thy plantes.' Vol. ii. pp. 7 l. 11 '*olde* Helena'; 21 l. 14 'beare a white mouth'; 35 l. 12 'shake his ears'; 55 l. 6 (172 l. 24) 'speak in your cast'; 58 l. 2 'sleepe compasse' (96 l. 11 'lyued compasse'); 92 l. 26 'in a string'; 110 l. 2 'seeke to you'; 194 l. 34 'striketh the stroke.'

As also have the following words (see notes):

Pp. 180 'Fletcher'; 184 l. 30 (vol. ii. p. 34 l. 3) 'teenest'; 187 l. 13 'cockering'; l. 30 'knottes'; 190 l. 28 'carterly'; 191 l. 12 'haggardnes'; 192 l. 22 (194, 250) 'youthly'; 194 l. 7 'quatted'; l. 9 'huddles'; 195 l. 19 'geason'; 196 (vol. ii. p. 23 l. 21) 'cammock'; l. 24 'pantuffles' or 'pantables'; 197 l. 25 'pheere'; 201 l. 17 (vol. ii. pp. 44 l. 3, 103 l. 12) 'lyste' (subst.); 203 l. 23 'ouerthwartnesse' (cf. 'overthwarthes,' *Life*, p. 65); 205 l. 17 'starter'; 208 l. 2 (278 l. 22, 280 l. 1) 'cockmate'; 209 l. 5 (246 l. 9, 309 l. 20) 'ouerlashing'; 210 l. 7 'caule'; 212 l. 11 'tainted' = tented, kept open; l. 16 'cullis'; 213 l. 36 'recured'; 217 l. 23 'round' = whisper; 218 l. 31 'sterue' = die; 219 l. 6 (220) 'sleekestone'; 224 l. 3 'owches'; 226 l. 20 'stale' = pretence; 232 l. 4 'flange' = flung; 237 'glyeke,' 'frumpe'; 239 l. 20 'make' = mate; l. 22 'powlt foot'; 249 l. 15 'pinglers'; 253 ll. 14–17 'pigsnie,' 'mammering,' 'sleeueless' = bootless; 254 l. 34 'slibber'; 255 l. 7 'shadows,' 'leefekyes'; 256 l. 33 'manchet'; 289 l. 21 'manuary' (adj.); 307 l. 5 'aslake'; 307 l. 30 'brawnefallen'; 309 l. 12 'skinneth' (intr., no other instance quoted); 310 l. 24 'melten' (no other inst.); 317 l. 5 (322 l. 9, 325 l. 13) 'blast' = blasted bud (no other inst.). Vol. ii. pp. 5 l. 4, 139 l. 9 'cullyng'; 5 l. 33 'water-bough'; 9 l. 21 (i. 224 l. 4) 'caddis'; 16 l. 1 'tedding'; 17 l. 29 'renting' = rending; 20 l. 7 'grisping' (subst.); 22 l. 34 'affects'; 28 l. 25 'rase'; 31 l. 20 'seldome' (adj.); 31 l. 36 'sised,' 'nethermore'; 34 l. 4 'ymping'; 45 l. 35 'sequel' = subordinate; 50 l. 31 'lythernesse'; 53 l. 12 'striued'; 59 l. 18 'mych' = skulk, loiter; 60 l. 15, 135 l. 25 'claw'; 62 l. 15 'whist' (ptcp.); 68 ll. 8, 25 'partlet,' 'manne' = escort; 82 l. 13 'glorious' = boastful; 94 l. 24 'force not' = care not for; 114 l. 14 'mockage'; 129 l. 23 're-

storitie' (perhaps a misprint); 41 l. 23 (139 l. 18) 'malyce' (verb); 170 l. 22 'heedie'; 174 l. 13 'sew' = drain off; 212 l. 18 'tickle' (adj.).

But for the most part the language of Lyly is that we use to-day. The consonantal effects of English words assisted his alliterative purpose better than those of Latin; and this, united with his love and respect for his own tongue to make him set his face against the Italianizing of the language, the 'darke wordes' and 'inkhorne termes,' of which Ascham and Wilson had complained some thirty years before[1]. In the words of Professor Ward[2], 'he had too sound and too sincere a literary sense to Hispaniolise, Italianate, or Gallicise his English, either in vocabulary or syntax.'

II. Ornamental devices.

II. The second class of characteristics of Euphuism, those means of ornament and illustration which occupy a midway position between the matter and the manner of thought, and have their sphere in both, may be divided into

1. *Historical allusion.*

1. *Anecdotes of and allusions to historical personages*, especially the Greek and Graeco-Roman painters:

(*a*) Authentic, derived from Plutarch, Pliny and other sources, e. g. p. 186 Romulus; p. 250 Agesilaus; p. 276 l. 2 Chrysippus and Melissa; p. 314 l. 36 Zeno losing his wealth; p. 285 l. 2 Apelles; pp. 296, 298 Antiochus Epiphanes burning the copies of the Law. Vol. ii. p. 22 l. 24 Timanthes; p. 135 l. 31 Protogenes; p. 159 l. 14 Phrigius and Pieria. Here should be noted two historical inaccuracies, p. 303 l. 4 Themistocles is made contemporary with Philip of Macedon, vol. ii. p. 13 l. 28 Demosthenes, the orator, with Lais. In *Euphues*, however, Lyly is very rarely guilty of anachronism (Athens and the Emperor of course are such, cf. below, pp. 155-6), whatever his offences in the plays. There is nothing at all comparable to Pettie's putting into the mouth of the classical Camma (in his first tale) allusions to the Countess of Salisbury and the Duchess of Savoy, anachronisms which he unblushingly avows in his prefatory letter to 'R. B.'

(*b*) Invented, wholly or in part: sometimes the personages seem wholly fictitious, e.g. p. 256 Asiarchus and Biarus; p. 257 l. 34 Theocrita; vol. ii. pp. 102 l. 37 Titus, Gysippus and Sempronia; ib. l. 12 the stranger before the two statues, and the poets Daretus, p. 94 l. 11, and Mizaldus, p. 221 l. 21. Sometimes an imaginary story is told about a real personage, after the model of doings or sayings of theirs which are authenticated, e.g. pp. 179, vol. ii. 204 Parrhasius; pp. 179, vol. ii. 42 Apelles; vol. ii. p. 3 Phidias; p. 5 l. 18 Accius; 23 l. 7 Roscius dumb with Cato (= Lyly dining

[1] Ascham's *Toxophilus* (1545), p. 18, ed. 1868; Wilson's *Art of Retorique* (1553).
[2] *English Dramatic Literature* (2nd ed. 1899), i. 277.

with Lord Burleigh?); p. 39 l. 4 Caesar; p. 60 l. 9 Aristippus and Lais; sometimes Lyly embroiders a real story with imaginary details, e.g. p. 262 l. 11 Diophantus; vol. ii. p. 77 l. 25 Praxiteles and his statue of Flora. Lyly's habit of heaping up illustrations sometimes leads him to add to one authentic instance one or two imaginary ones, e.g. p. 184 Helen's scar, which looks authentic, though I cannot find it, suggests 'Aristippus his wart, Lycurgus his wenne,' for which I believe there is no authority at all; p. 188 the instance about the Lacedaemonians, which is from Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, c. 28, leads us on to purely imaginary customs of the Persians and the Parthians; and vol. ii. p. 94 l. 9 the real poet Choerilus is followed by the imaginary Daretus.

2. *Allusions to classical mythology*, drawn from Ovid, Virgil, Hyginus, &c., and sometimes simply stolen from Pettie, or else invented: 2. *Mythological.*

e.g. p. 189 Syrtes and Symplegades; p. 231 Myrrha, Byblis and Phoedra; p. 235 contest for the arms between Ajax and Ulysses; p. 243 daughters of Danaus; vol. ii. p. 97 l. 4 Achilles' shield tossed to the tomb of Ajax; p. 142 l. 32 Cerberus and Orpheus; p. 150 l. 13 Mercury and Vesta (invented).

As in the case of the similes these allusions are sometimes introduced for mere display or simply from habit, and do not really illustrate the point in hand, e.g. vol. ii. p. 37 l. 2 Thersites, Damocles, &c., where the point to be proved is that noble behaviour is a sign of noble birth, not that ignoble behaviour negatives such an idea; p. 86 l. 35 'When thy disease is so daungerous . . . when neither Ariadne's thrid, nor Sibillas bough, nor Medeas seede, may remedy thy griefe'; p. 159 l. 16 Pigmalion affords no parallel at all. Philautus, however, points this out on the following page.

3. The introduction of recondite knowledge of all kinds, e.g. of medicine (vol. ii. pp. 94 l. 34, 100 l. 2, 101 l. 3, and everywhere), of magic (pp. 115–8), his incorporation of part of the descriptions of Britain by Caesar (pp. 31–2) and Harrison (pp. 191–6), and above all the famous *similes from natural history*, mostly drawn from Pliny, but a few from other sources, while some are manifest inventions of his own[1], and others seem to be reported from his personal observation or from popular belief. A taste for knowledge of this kind had been diffused in earlier days by the Bestiaries, which afforded example of the application of physical facts to moral and religious relations; in a later by the *Physiologi*, which were read as text-books in the schools[2], by Bartholomaeus de Glanvilla's *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, 3. *Natural history, &c.*

[1] Gabriel Harvey says: 'I could name the party, that in comparison of his own inuentions, termed Pliny a barren wombe,' *Advertisement to Papp-hatchett* (Grosart's *Harvey's Works*, ii. 126).

[2] Courthope's *History of English Poetry*, ii. 198.

translated by Trevisa in 1397, and beautifully printed by Berthelet in 1535, and by illustrated works like the *Ortus Sanitatis*[1], compiled chiefly from the German of J. von Cube—like Conrad Gesner's *Historia Animalium*[2], which Topsell followed in his *Historie of Foure-footed Beastes*, 1607—like Edward Fenton's *Certaine secrete Wonders of Nature*, 1569, 4°, or like *The boke of secretes of Albartus Magnus, of the vertues of Herbes, stones and certaine beastes*, &c., printed in black letter, 8vo, by William Copland, perhaps in 1560. Lyly went straight to the prime source for all this true and fabulous matter, namely the *Natural History* of Pliny, of which no English translation existed before that of Philemon Holland, in two folio volumes, London, 1601.

Examples of his similes are—

From Pliny, &c.

P. 191 'the stone Abeston' (perhaps rather from Bartholomaeus Anglicus)
205 'Eagles wing wasting the fethers,' &c.
232 'the fish Scolopidus' (Pseudo-plutarchea—*De Fluviis*, vi)
247 'the hearb Nerius'
249 great things done by rabbits, moles, frogs and flies (perhaps from Geoffrey Fenton)
250 'Hiena' (perhaps from Bartholomaeus Anglicus)
282 'Panther' (perhaps from Bartholomaeus Anglicus)
vol. ii. 138 l. 19 Dragons feeding on elephant's blood
144 l. 11 Crocodile and Trochilus
181 l. 19 'riuer Gallus'

invented

P. 204 'stone of Sicilia' ('Scilitia,' Pettie)
222 'hearbe Araxa' and 'stone in Mt. Tmolus,' enemy and protector of chastity respectively
vol. ii. 85 l. 16 'riuer in Arabia which turneth golde to drosse & dust to siluer.'

personally observed

P. 208 the dog eating grass to make him vomit
vol. ii. 147 l. 19 wine poured into fir vessels poisonous
157 l. 24 dog spoiling his scent by nosing carrion

popular superstition

vol. ii. 52 l. 28 wearing the eye of a weasel in a ring (not a simile).

Those actually traceable to Pliny are, however, by far the most numerous, as my notes will show.

It was these similes, their number and strangeness, that chiefly

[1] The British Museum contains a fol. ed. publ. Strasburg [1490?], and another dated 1491.

[2] 1st ed. in 5 vols. fol. richly illustrated, Zürich, 1551, 2nd ed. Frankfort, 1620.

attracted contemporary attention; and soon called forth cavil, of which I quote some leading instances below[1]: but it is hardly correct to assert, as Professor Ward does, that Lyly 'takes no trouble to assimilate his facts or fancies to the circumstances under which he applies them.' This is true only of a minority, e. g.

[1] Sidney, *Apologie for Poetrie* (writt. 1581–5, publ. 1595): 'So is that honny-flowing Matron Eloquence, apparelled, or rather disguised, in a Curtizan-like painted affectation. . . . I would this fault were only peculier to Versefiers, and had not as large possession among Prose-printers. . . . For nowe they cast Sugar and Spice vpon euery dish that is serued to the table; Like those Indians, not content to weare eare-rings at the fit and naturall place of the eares, but they will thrust Iewels through their nose and lippes, because they will be sure to be fine. . . . Now for similitudes, in certaine printed discourses, I thinke all Herbarists, all stories of Beasts, Foules, and Fishes, are rifled vp, that they come in multitudes, to waite vpon any of our conceits; which certainly is as absurd a surfet to the eares, as is possible: for the force of a similitude, not being to prooue anything to a contrary Disputer, but onely to explane to a willing hearer, when that is done, the rest is a most tedious pratling: rather ouer-swaying the memory from the purpose whereto they were applyed, then any whit informing the iudgement, already eyther satisfied, or by similitudes not to be satisfied' (pp. 68-9, ed. Arber). So in the third sonnet of *Astrophel and Stella* (published 1591 but written at various times in the preceding twelve years), he says he cannot—

'with strange similes enrich each line
Of herbs, or beasts, which Ind or Afric hold.'

Nash, Epistle prefixed to Greene's *Menaphon*, 1589: 'shaped in a new suite of similitudes, as if, like the eloquent apprentice of Plutarch, it were propped at seuen yeares end in double apparell' (p. 27, ed. Arber).

Harvey, *Advertisement for Papp-hatchett* (dated 1589, publ. with Pierce's *Supererogation*, 1593): 'I cannot stand nosing of candlesticks or Euphuing of similes alla Savoica: it might happily be done with a trice: but every man hath not the gift of Albertus Magnus: rare birds are dainty, and they are queint creatures that are privileged to create new creatures. When I have a mint of precious stones, and strange fowls, beasts, and fishes, of mine own coining (I could name the party, that, in comparison of his own natural inventions, termed Pliny a barren womb), I may, peradventure, bless you with your own crosses, and pay you with the usury of y^r^ own coin.' (Grosart's *Harvey*, ii. 126.)

The author of *The Returne from Parnassus*, v. 2 (circ. 1600): 'There is a beaste in India call'd a polecatt, that the further shee is from youe the less she stinks, and the further she is from you the less you smell her. This dry cuntrie is that polecatt,' &c. (p. 72, ed. Macray).

Shakespeare's parody, reproducing the simile of the camomile, 1 *Henry IV*, ii. 4. 438–61: 'Harry, I do not only marvel where thou spendest thy time, but also how thou art accompanied: for though the camomile, the more it is trodden on the faster it grows, yet youth, the more it is wasted the sooner it wears. . . . If then thou be son to me, here lies the point; why, being son to me, art thou so pointed at? Shall the blessed sun of heaven prove a micher and eat blackberries? a question not to be asked. Shall the son of England prove a thief and take purses? a question to be asked. There is a thing, Harry, which thou hast often heard of and it is known to many in our land by the name of pitch: this pitch, as ancient writers do report, doth defile; so doth the company thou keepest: for, Harry, now I do not speak to thee in drink but in tears, not in pleasure but in passion, not in words only, but in woes also' (see Dr. Schwan's comments quoted below, p. 150 note).

Drayton: 'Of Poets and Poesie' among his *Elegies*, 1627, praises Sidney in that he

'did first reduce
Our tongue from Lillie's writing then in use;
Talking of Stones, Stars, Plants, of Fishes, Flyes,
Playing with words, and idle Similies.'

P. 185 'Heere (i.e. in Naples) my youthe (whether for werinesse hee coulde not, or for wantonesse . . .) determined to make hys abode: whereby it is euidently seene that the fleetest fishe swalloweth the delicatest bayte, that the highest soaring Hawke trayneth to the lure,' &c.; where the first about the fish is quite beside the point; and the second, being an instance of discipline, is the reverse of apposite.

Vol. ii. p. 183 l. 36 'For as the stone Draconites can by no meanes be polished vnlesse the Lapidarie burne it, so the mind of Camilla can by no meanes be cured, except Surius ease it'; where there seems no analogy at all between the burning of the stone and Surius' return of Camilla's affection, and only a very strained one between the stone receiving a polish and Camilla attaining ease of mind.

But all the instances cited above, p. 132, are fairly applicable to the matter they illustrate, except perhaps that of the eagle's wing on p. 205; and evidence of Lyly's care in this respect may be found in his occasional change of the form by which they are introduced, substituting for 'as . . .' or 'like . . .,' 'not unlike' or as in that of the dragons on vol. ii. p. 138 l. 18 'not farre differing from,' where he feels the simile to be rather strained. The real fault of the similes, whether false or true, is that they are used in gross excess. The right criticism is that of Sidney, just quoted in the note, that similes do not prove, but only explain (and, it should be added, adorn); and that an accumulation of them merely distracts the attention, and confuses the memory, without assisting the judgement.

4. *Proverbs.* 4. The perpetual introduction of proverbs and pithy sayings, to which an antithetic, alliterative style peculiarly lends itself. They are drawn from the ancient authors, from current collections such as the *Adagia* of Erasmus or John Heywood's *Proverbes and Epigrams*, or from the popular speech of his day: e. g.

P. 180 'The Shomaker must not go aboue his latchet' (='Ne sutor ultra crepidam,' Pliny, xxxv. 36).

P. 185 'witte . . . better if . . . deerer bought' (Sharman's reprint of Heywood's *Proverbes*, p. 31).

P. 251 'as Seneca reporteth . . . as to much bending breaketh the bowe, so to much remission spoileth the minde.'

Vol. ii. p. 83 l. 7 'Wine is the glasse of the mind' (Erasmus' *Adagia*, p. 368, ed. 1666).

P. 81 l. 13 'fishe and gestes in three dayes are stale' (see note).

P. 134 l. 36 'a Prouerb in Italy, whẽ one seeth a woman striken in age to looke amiable . . . she hath eaten a Snake.'

P. 28 l. 30 'neither penny nor Pater noster'

Ib. l. 35 'comming home by weeping crosse.'

Origin of Euphuism.

The question how far Lyly was original in his Euphuism, will form our natural transition to the discussion of the sources from which he drew matter for his romance. It has been repeatedly pointed out that the effort after elaboration of which *Euphues* represents the culminating point, is an outcome of the Renaissance; that all this attention to fineness, eloquence, and pomp of phrase is a general result of the revived study of the classics, and of the balanced oratorical prose, of Cicero and Seneca, in particular—a reflection, in fact, of that preoccupation with style which marked the fifteenth-century humanists in Italy. It has further been noted that the travel which took Englishmen of rank or affairs to Italy brought them into direct contact with Italian culture, and notably with the worship of Petrarch at Florence, on whose model the poetry of Wyatt and Surrey is chiefly founded, in its use of conceits, of alliteration, of the eternal subject of love, of the sonnet-form. Florence, and the Platonic Academy founded there by the Medici, exercised a potent influence on all the literature of the time, an influence which Mézières traces in the title and some points of conduct of *Euphues* itself, e. g. in the supper at Lucilla's house[1]. Italian custom is still more markedly present in the Second Part, where Lyly dedicates himself more unreservedly to the delineation of polite society, e. g. the house of Fidus' father, vol. ii. pp. 54–5, 58, 63, the pomegranate, p. 125 l. 2, the copy of Petrarch, p. 129, the garden-talk, pp. 133 sqq., and the long discussion at Lady Flavia's supper-party, pp. 162 sqq. These Italian fashions, which first appeared in literature in Boccaccio's *Filocopo* (written about 1339, 'Englished by H. G. 1567'), had obtained a wider circulation through Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (Venice, 1528; translated by Sir Thomas Hoby, 1561), and were of course copied extensively in the higher social life of England, as elsewhere[2]: and copied, too, was the fashion of fine and dainty speech. Miss Aikin's *Memoirs of the Court of Elizabeth* (1823) gives several pronouncedly Euphuistic speeches made at the reception of the French Embassy in 1581, and calls attention to the antithetic style of Elizabeth's early letters[3]. So that both in his

[1] 'Là, comme c'était l'usage à Athènes, comme le fait Platon dans le Banquet, et comme on le faisait à l'académie platonicienne de Florence, on met sur le tapis une question d'amour ou de science.' *Les Prédécesseurs et Contemporains de Shakespeare*, ch. iii. p. 60.

[2] Compare the picture of courtly custom Ben Jonson gives in *Cynthia's Revels*, 1600.

[3] Child's *John Lyly and Euphuism*, p. 14. On pp. 104–5 he quotes, from the same source (Aikin, i. p. 101) a letter of Elizabeth to Edward VI, who had asked

peculiar style, and in some points of his handling, Lyly possessed some model in the actual life of his day. In style, however, it would be obviously impossible that the resemblance could be more than slight: no conversation, it is safe to say, could really be maintained in words demanding anything like the wit and forethought and precision that mark Lyly's euphuism; and for this we must look rather to literary models. Of these he had two in especial; in one of which he found partly an exemplar of style, but far more of treatment and subject-matter, in the other a complete model of style, which he follows with hardly any, if any, addition. The first is Sir Thomas North's *The Diall of Princes*, 1557; the second, George Pettie's *Pallace of Pleasure*, 1576.

To repeat an oft-told tale, North's *Diall* is a translation, through the French, of the famous work of the Spanish historiographer, Antonio de Guevara, bishop of Guadix, the earliest authorized edition of which appears to be the handsome folio containing three books, published at Valladolid by Nicolas Tierri in 1529[1]. Guevara's

for her picture, written in 1552, seven years before the first edition of North's *Diall*: e.g. 'My picture I mean: in which if the inward good mind toward your grace might as well be declared as the outward face and countenance shall be seen, I would not have tarried the commandment, but prevented it, nor have been the last to grant but the first to offer it. . . . Of this also yet the proof could not be great, because the occasions have been so small; notwithstanding, as a dog hath a day, so may I perchance have time to declare it in deeds, which now I do write them but in words.'

[1] The title runs as follows: *Libro del emperador Marco aurelio cō. relox de principes: auctor del qual es el obispo de Guadix: nueuamente reuisto por su señoria*—while the colophon gives the date, publisher and place of publication as follows: 'Acabose [finished] en la muy noble villa de valladolid: por maestre Nicolas tierri impresor de libros. A ocho dias d'Abril de mil & quinientos & xxix Años.' (Brit. Mus. 8007. g.)

The words 'nueuamente reuisto por su señoria' imply a previous edition, which was probably unauthorized. A quarto copy of some such ed., also dated 1529, exists in the British Museum (521. e. 4), with the following title: *Libro Aureo de Marco Aurelio: emperador: y eloquentissimo orador. Nueyamente impresso.* The colophon runs: 'Fue impresso en la triunfante villa de Enueres por Ioannes Grapheus. Año del Señor de mill E quinientos E veynte E nueue. Acabose a diez dias del mes de Enero [January].' This Enueres copy differs from that of Valladolid (1) in omitting the elaborate Table of Contents which precedes the Prologue in the latter, (2) it has a brief 'Prologo' of only $2\frac{3}{8}$ quarto leaves as opposed to the long 'Prologo general' of $13\frac{1}{2}$ folio leaves of the Valladolid ed. (3) Whereas in the Valladolid ed., Bk. i. has 47 chapters, Bk. ii. has 40, Bk. iii. 57, and there an end, the Enueres ed. is not divided into books at all, but simply runs for 48 chaps. with headings different to those of the authorized ed., and then concludes with 19 Letters from Marcus Aurelius to various persons, a few of which are embodied in the text of the Third Book of the Valladolid ed., while the rest are added to the work only in a later edition.

Brunet (*Manuel de Libraire*, vol. iii), quoted by Landmann in his *Euphues*, p. xvii, says: 'Ces deux éditions de 1529 sont les plus anciennes que nous connais sions de cet ouvrage. Cependant, selon M. Hallam (*Lit. of Europe*, éd. Paris, iv. 377) l'édition de Valladolid ne serait pas la première, car le Marco Aurelio aurait

work was translated into French by Rénè Bertaut, successive editions of whose version appeared in 1531, 1534, 1537, 1538, 1542, &c. From the first of these Lord Berners, at the request of his nephew, Sir Francis Bryan, made the first English translation, entitled, *The Golden boke of Marcus Aurelius*. It was completed March 10, 1532, though not published before 1534, a year or more after Lord Berners' death. Mr. G. C. Macaulay, in his introduction to the Globe *Froissart*, p. xvii, says, 'At least twelve editions of this book [i. e. *The Golden boke*] are recorded between 1534-60, and there can be no doubt that the credit of making Guevara known in England must be assigned to Lord Berners rather than to North.'

But it is North's version from which Lyly borrows. It appeared in 1557, with the following title:—

The Diall of Princes. Compiled by the reuerende father in God, Don Anthony of Gueuara, Bysshop of Guadix. Preacher and Cronicler to Charles the fyft Emperour of Rome. Englysshed oute of the Frenche, by Thomas North, seconde sonne of the Lorde North. Ryght necessary and pleasaunt, to all gentylmen and others whiche are louers of vertue. Anno 1557. ¶ *Imprinted at London by Iohn Waylande. Cum priuilegio, ad imprimendum solum per septennium.* Fol. (Brit. Mus. C. 54. f. 15).

At the end of the Third Book are printed some letters of Marcus Aurelius (forming chaps. 58–73) with the following heading 'Here followeth the letters (which were not in the Frenche Copye) conferred with the originall Spanishe copye,' some of which agree in title with some of those printed at the end of the unauthorized Spanish edition of 1529, though Guevara did not include them in the authorized edition of that date.

The second edition of *The Diall of Princes* is the folio of Tottill and Marshe, 1568, the title of which announces as part of the contents *an amplification also of a fourth booke annexed to the same, Entituled The fauored Courtier, neuer heretofore imprinted in our vulgar tongue*, which Fourth Book, inserted immediately after Book iii. and before the Letters, is a translation of another work of Guevara, *Libro Llamado Aviso de Privados y Doctrina de cortesanos*[1].

d'abord paru, sans le consentement de l'auteur, à Seville, et aussi en Portugal; ce qui aurait déterminé Guevara à donner lui-même, en 1529, une édition fort augmentée et contenant de plus le *Relox de p.*'

[1] Other works of Guevara translated into English were (1) the *Libro Llamado Menosprecio del Corte y Alabança de Aldea*, translated by Sir Francis Bryan, 1548, with title *A Dispraise of the life of a Courtier and a commendacion of the life of the labouryng man. (Out of Castilian drawen into Frenche by Antony Alaygre*

A third edition of *The Diall* was issued in 1582 (4°), another in 1619 fol.

Dr. Landmann maintains[1] that Lyly's Euphuism is an adaptation from Guevara, whose *alto estilo* (imitating, appropriately to the person of his hero Marcus Aurelius, the balanced structure of Latin orators) exhibited many of Lyly's special marks, such as the parallelism of sentences, the marking of corresponding words by consonance and rhyme, antithesis, and rows of similes taken however from nature rather than Pliny. Landmann, however, of course acknowledges the intervention of North and Pettie, with the addition of alliteration; saying, indeed, of the latter author that his book 'exhibited already, to the minutest detail, all the specific elements of Euphuism.' Indeed, whatever Guevara's share in inducing in England a style, the like of which appeared in several countries about the same time, it is essential to emphasize the far closer resemblance to Euphuism in the case of North and Pettie. North endeavoured, what Berners had not aimed at, to reproduce in his *Diall* the characteristics of Guevara's style, with the notable addition of an alliteration natural to English and not to Spanish; and it is he who must be regarded as the real founder of our euphuistic literary fashion. But even in North alliteration is not profusely used, and the similes from natural history are comparatively rare. Whatever Lyly's debt to *The Diall* in point of subject-matter, he owes little to it directly in point of style. In Pettie, on the other hand, who indeed owes much of his manner to North, we have an exact model of the style of *Euphues*: and whereas the latter presents few close resemblances of diction to *The Diall*, it occasionally appropriates sentences from Pettie with scarce any change of form or substance[2]. The title of Pettie's book, which though undated was entered on the *Stationers' Register* to Richard Watkyns, under date Aug. 6, 1576[3], runs as follows:—

A Petite Pallace of Pettie his pleasure: Contayning many pretie Histories, by him set foorth in comely colours, and most delyghtfully discoursed. Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.

and now out of the Frenche toungue into our maternal lāguage by sir Fraunces Bryant.) *In ædibus R. Graftoni: Londini* 1548. 8°. It was reprinted in 1575 as *A Looking glasse for the Court.* (2) *Epistolas familiares*, translated by Sir Geoffrey Fenton, 1577, as *Golden Epistles . . . gathered as well out of the remainder of Gueuaraes woorkes, as other Authours*, &c. 1577. 4°. (3) the *Chronicle, conteyning the lives of tenne Emperors of Rome*, as translated by E. Hellowes in the same year, 1577.

[1] Transactions of the New Shakspere Society, 1880-5, Part II.

[2] See my notes on pp. 181, 197, 198, 201, 202, 205, 222, 240, &c.

[3] Arber's *Transcript*, vol. ii. p. 301.

The colophon is merely 'Printed at London, by R. W.'

This collection of twelve stories, which went through five or, according to Hazlitt, six editions by 1613, and was obviously familiar to Lyly, contains instances of every one of the structural characteristics enumerated above as Lyly's, and of the classical allusions, the natural history similes, and the proverbs also. It presents also other striking resemblances of treatment. I will give a few examples, in the order adopted above for Lyly, referring to the *pages* of Pettie's first edition (1576,) and the *folios* of his second (1586).

I. (*a*) i. *Parisonic antithesis:*

Parallel marks in Pettie's style. I. Structural.

'But if hereafter in deedes I shall see as playne proufe of perfect goodwill, as your wordes import likelyhood of ernest loue, perchaunce I shal bee as zelous to cast liking towardes you, as now I am ielous to cast doubtes of you,' p. 67 (fol. 32 v.).

'I see it is some mens fortune not to be beleeued when they speake truly, and others to bee well thought of when they deale falsely: which you haue verified in your husbande and mee, who doubte of my wordes which are true, and not of his deedes which are false . . . for I knowe it commonly to bee so, that trauaylers wordes are not much trusted, neither great matters soone beleeued,' p. 163 (fol. 68 r.).

ii. *Rhetorical questions:*

(The princess Scilla soliloquizes on her love for Minos) 'And shall I then preferre mine owne pleasure before my fathers profit? why euery one ought to be nerest to them selues, and their wisdome is nothing worth which are not wise for them selues. Nay rather shall I preferre the commodytie of King Minos before the commodytie of King Nysus? why Nysus is my father: why Minos will be my Phere: why Nysus gaue me lyfe: Why Minos wyll yeelde mee loue: Why Nysus made mee a maide: Why Minos wil make mee a mother: Why Nysus cherised mee beeinge young: Why Minos wyll make mutch of mee beeinge olde: why Nature bindeth mee to loue my father: why God commaundeth mee to loue my husband,' &c. p. 133 (fol. 57 v.). Cf. also p. 15 (fol. 12 v.).

iii. *Repetition* is even more abundant than in *Euphues*, Pettie having less resource or less care in varying his form, e. g. Lyly would not so long have continued the form 'Why . . .' in the example just given.

(*b*) i. *Alliteration:*

1. Simple: 'in my *f*ancy that man is to begged *f*or a *f*oole who will *pref*er his wiues *p*leasure be*f*ore his owne and her *prof*ite,' &c. p. 63 (fol. 31 r.); 'shee *as*sayed the *as*sistaunce of reason, the *p*ollicy of *p*erswations, the *h*elpe of *h*erbes, and the *m*eane of *m*edicines, to *m*ortify her beastly desire to the beast,' &c. p. 186 (fol. 77 v.).

2. Transverse: 'though you for *g*ayne *f*lee no *f*ilthynesse, that I for *g*lory *f*olowe no *f*aythfulnesse,' p. 13 (fol. 9 v.) ; 'greate *in*ciuility and *ch*urlishnesse . . . great *im*becillity and *ch*ildishnesse,' p. 63 (fol. 31 r.).

ii. *Syllabic or word-likeness:*

1. Complete (1) of syllables, i. e. *Consonance:* 'as the hope of obtayning . . . *heaue*th mee vp to *heaue*n,' p. 40 (fol. 22 r.) ; 'neuer inioy him with ioye,' p. 105 (fol. 46 v.).

(2) Of words, i. e. *Repetition:* 'to indeuour to vndoe the destinies and disappointe the appointment of *the goddes*, shewing themselues traitours to *the goddes*,' p. 111 (fol. 49 r.) ; 'Therefore (good wife) giue mee leaue to die, to whom it wil bee onely good and easy to die,' p. 116.

2. Partial (1) *Assonance:* 'to pleade for re*lea*se and re*lee*fe,' p. 9 (fol. 4 r.) ; 'so warely w*a*cht by her w*a*spish parents,' p. 155 (fol. 66 r.) ; 'as *zelous* to cast liking towardes you, as now I am *ielous* to cast doubtes of you,' p. 67 (f. 32 v.).

(2) *Annomination:* 'as by holy *oth* I bounde my fayth . . . so only my death shal dissolue that bond,' p. 66 (f. 32 r.) ; '*wayl*fully and *wil*fully,' p. 110.

(3) *Rhyme:* 'in him sutch deuilish de*sire*, in her sutch reuengful *ire*, in him sutch hellish *heat*, in her sutch haggish *hate*,' p. 38 (f. 21 r.) ; 'euery dram of de*lyght* hath a pound of *spyght*, and euery inch of *ioy*, an el of an*noy*, annexed to it,' p. 83 (f. 38 v.).

(4) *Puns and word-play:* 'forced him to depart without *mani*festing vnto her the *mani*folde good will hee bare her,' p. 102 (f. 46 r.) ; 'what *passe* I (=care I) to *passe* a thousande perils to pleasure you?' p. 108 (f. 48 r.). And for more elaborate play take the following in *Admetus and Alcest*, p. 118, 'Meethinkes I heare my wish, wishe mee sutch a wife as I haue spoken of, verily (good wish) you wish your wealth great wealth, and God make mee worthy of you, wish, and your wishe, and if I might haue my wish I am perswaded you should haue your wish.' Cf. Lyly's passage playing on 'glasse,' vol. ii. pp. 189–90.

II. *Ornamental.*

II. 1. *Anecdotes* historical or imaginary do not occur, or at least abound, in Pettie.

2. *Allusions to classical mythology* (from which the tales themselves are mostly drawn), e.g. Philemon and Baucis, p. 115, others p. 118.

3. *Similes*, seldom drawn be it observed from Pliny, and not invented, but from simple facts in natural history, or from men's daily avocations; nor are they nearly so numerous as in Lyly:

e. g. 'As the earth draweth dounward because it is heavy, the fyre flyeth vpward because it is light, the water contrarie to it nature oftentimes ascendeth to the top of high hyls to avoyde vacantnesse,' &c. p. 135 (f. 58 v.).

'As a boate borne by the tide against the winde, feeleth double force, and is compeld to yielde both to winde and waue, so this young prince driuen by the force of loue againste the minde and pleasure of his father, felte double doulour,' p. 107 (f. 47 v.).

'As the phisition first ministreth to his patient bitter pilles and purgations to expell grose and ill humours, and then applieth lenitiues and restoratiues to breede and bringe againe good bloud,' p. 104 (f. 46 v.).

'For as the Larketaker in his day Net hath a glasse whereon while the birdes sit and gaze, they are taken in the Net, so your face hath sutch a glistering glasse of goodlynesse in it,' &c. p. 137 (f. 59 r.).

4. *Proverbs:*

'those which woorst may, are driven to holde the Candle,' f. 65 r. and *Euphues*, p. 201.

'For the increase is smal of seede to timely sowen, the whelps are euer blind that dogges in hast do get, the fruites ful soone do rot which gathered are to soone, the mault is neuer sweete, vnlesse the fyre be soft, & he that leapeth before he looke, may hap to leape into y^e^ brooke,' p. 157 (f. 67 r.). 'But the old saying is, haste maketh waste, and bargaines made in speede, are commonly repented at leasure,' ib. Cf. p. 104 (f. 46 v.).

III. Further, there is a marked correspondence in *treatment* between Lyly and Pettie, a matter wherein the latter betrays his debt to North. In Guevara's work action occupies a very subordinate place: it is the philosophic reflections of the Emperor with which he is really concerned, and the various situations and personages are imagined merely as pegs for moral discourse. In Pettie and Lyly action is more prominent, but still of very minor importance, especially in *Euphues*, Part I. Events of the utmost moment to the tale are sometimes dismissed in a few curt words. Instances from Pettie are Tereus, fol. 21 r., Eriphile, fol. 36 r., Appius, fol. 44 r., Scilla, fol. 57 v.: from Lyly, p. 217 Ferardo's hurried visit, necessary to get Philautus out of the way, made more hurried by its casual relation; p. 199 ll. 15–17 'hauing banqueted . . . they daunced all y^t^ afternoone: they vsed not onely one boord, but one bedde, one booke,' passing without notice from the detail of one day to a general course of life; p. 219 'she fedde him indifferently . . . fell to suche agreement,' &c. These few words inserted in the middle of their long speeches save much narrative later on; p. 237 the summary narration of Euphues' jilting—if we look back over the tale we find he has only seen Lucilla twice before altogether; p. 245 the summary announcement of Ferardo's death; p. 286 the brief paragraph in which Euphues' career at Athens is dismissed. Occasionally reference is made to something for which the actual narrative has hardly left room, e. g. p. 238 'Yet I spared nót in all places to blaze thy loialtie.

III. *Methods of treatment.*

Subordinate place assigned to action.

That the defect soon became apparent to Lyly is clear from his occasional efforts in the second edition to remedy such abruptness, e.g. pp. 216–7 (and cf. what is said *Bibliography*, pp. 107–8, about the insertions in T), and by the marked improvement of Part II in this respect, though even there the tale is bungled up hurriedly at the close, vol. ii. p. 228. All this betrays the utter immaturity of the novelist's art, which has not yet recognized the relative importance of the different means of evoking interest. The object both of Pettie and of Lyly is not so much to tell a story as to discourse on set themes, especially such as are connected with love; and accordingly the bulk of either's work is made up of long speeches and soliloquies, laments and 'passions' by the personages of the story, introduced by similar phrases:

Set discourses.

e. g. (Pettie) 'entreth into these termes' fol. 1 v. 'departed into her chamber by her selfe, to thinke more of the matter: where she entred with her selfe into these contrarities,' fol. 57 r.; (Lyly) '(Lucilla) all the company beeing departed to their lodgings, entred into these termes and contrarieties,' p. 205, and Camilla in like case 'no sooner had entred in hir chamber, but she began in straunge tearmes to vtter this straunge tale,' vol. ii. p. 183 l. 24.

Asides to the reader.

Just so a discourse or discussion among the characters is occasionally continued by either author in his own person, with an appeal to his readers as a tribunal:

e. g. (Pettie) 'It were hard here Gentlewomen for you to geue sentence, who more offended of the husband, or the wyfe, seeyng,' &c. fol. 21 r.; (Lyly) 'Heere ye may beholde, gentlemen,' &c. p. 195; 'I appeale to your judgment gentlemen,' &c. p. 198; 'Gentlemenne and Gentlewoemenne,' &c. vol. ii. p. 57 l. 5, cf. i. 215, ii. 109 l. 21, 120–2, 131 l. 13, 154 l. 26, 160 l. 19 —a habit which has obtained wide currency among later novelists, e. g. Fielding, Thackeray, and more recent writers.

Misogynist tirades.

And lastly we may note that the misogynist tone often felt in Guevara's work, e. g. the passage quoted by Landmann from the tenth chap. of the *Diall*, and also the sixteenth of Bk. ii, from which I quote in a note on p. 249, is repeated in Pettie, e. g. Amphiaraus in his fourth tale, Curiatius' satirical soliloquy, fol. 59–60 r., and the passage, fol. 79 v. and in Lyly, pp. 241, 249, 253–6, &c. This misogynist tone is greatly modified in Part II, where he professes to make the ladies amends (cf. Pettie's playful tone to them at the bottom of fol. 37).

The examples I have quoted from Pettie clearly prove that Euphuism had attained full-blown existence before Lyly composed

Euphues, and that Pettie's work was Lyly's model in this respect. The vastly greater success[1] that *Euphues*, published only some two years later, attained, serves to exhibit the share of error in Landmann's assertion that 'the importance of the book does not rest with the contents but with the style[2].' *Euphues* is, indeed, of vast importance in the effect of its style upon our literature; but its easy victory over the preceding example of precisely the same style shows that it owes this importance to other merits. That greater popularity justifies us in attributing to Lyly, rather than to North or Pettie, the immense influence of Euphuism on English Prose: but if we seek elsewhere for justification of Webbe's praise of him as having 'stept one steppe further than any either before or since' in ministering to 'the great good grace and sweete vayne which Eloquence hath attained in our speeche,' we shall find but little[3]. Yet he may at least be credited with the recognition that Pettie's occasional lapse into, or conscious use of, metrical rhythm and inversions with that end[4], was a defect. Rhythm is one thing, and a desirable adjunct to a good prose: metrical rhythm is another, and undesirable; and in my judgement, Dr. Schwan was perfectly justified in deprecating, if somewhat tartly, the application by Mr. John Goodlet of a verse-terminology to Lyly's style[5]. Ingenuity of the kind shown in Mr. Goodlet's essay only tends to confuse the discussion of a matter already sufficiently intricate; though doubtless Professor Courthope is right in considering Euphuism as too near akin to metrical composition, and of too wide an influence on English taste in general, to be omitted from his *History of English Poetry*[6].

And one other point in which Lyly may claim to have made advance is in the greater care he takes about the distribution of his matter into paragraphs[7]. The carelessness of early printed books in

[1] The editions known of Pettie's *Pallace* are [1576?], [1586?], [1590?], 1598, 1608, 1613.

[2] New Shaks. Soc. *Transactions*, 1884, p. 259.

[3] *Discourse of English Poetrie*, 1586, p. 46, ed. Arber.

[4] A striking example occurs in the second of those quoted of his use of proverbs (above, p. 141). Cf. also 'Yes I am content my rage in rule to bind,' p. 76 (f. 35 v.); and 'But sutch as he sowed, he reapte; sutch as hee sought hee founde, sutch as hee bought, hee had, to wit, a witles wenche to his wife.' p. 158.

[5] See article by John Goodlet entitled 'Shakespeare's Debt to John Lyly' in *Englische Studien*, v. 356 63; Dr. Schwan's reference to it, *Eng. Stud.* vi. 98; Mr. Boyle's defence of it, vii. 206–210, and Schwan's rejoinder, vii. 210–211.

[6] See his vol. ii. pp. 178 sqq.

[7] Mr. Child also devotes a word to this point in his pamphlet *John Lyly and Euphuism*, p. 117 (Münchener Beiträge, 1894).

this respect is largely due, no doubt, to the compositors, and to the author's neglect to give proper correction to the proof-sheets; but it is also clearly a matter belonging to the emergence of prose as an art. It is, however, a praise due far more decisively to the Second Part of *Euphues* than to the First.

Importance of Euphuism in the development of English prose.

Euphuism [1], the characteristics and origin of which have just been indicated, is important, not because it eminently hit the taste of its day, but because it is, if not the earliest, yet the first thorough and consistent attempt in English Literature to practise prose as an art; the first clearly-defined arch in the bridge that spans the gulf between the rambling obscurities of Chaucerian prose, such as that of the unknown author of *The Testament of Love*, and the lucid nervous paragraphs of our own essayists. Preceding prose had either paid little attention to form, or, being translation, had been hampered by its original, or else had attained almost by accident to a clarity but partial and half-conscious. Bishop Pecock's *Repressor* (c. 1450) may boast some attention to the period: More's *Life of Edward V* (written c. 1513, first printed 1557) has been praised by Hallam as 'the first example of good English language, pure and perspicuous, well chosen without vulgarisms or pedantry': Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, printed in England in 1536, the year in which its author was burnt at Vilvorde, has undoubtedly exercised immense influence on the language owing to the extensive embodiment of its phraseology in the Authorized Version [2]: and Professor Courthope [3] has quoted passages from Coverdale's *Prologue to the Translation of the Bible* (1535), and from Cranmer's *Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacraments* (1550), which show those writers to have possessed a sound, clear, and dignified style of English. But none of these achieved such literary fame as could make them a general example; perhaps none of them exhibited that element of exaggeration which is necessary to arrest attention. Nor do I find in George Gascoigne, nor in Sir Geoffrey Fenton, though Lyly knew both these writers, any resemblance sufficiently strong to warrant their inclusion among his special predecessors in point of style. We shall be right in assigning to the Euphuist, as representing and including his special forerunners, North and Pettie,

[1] Much of the sense and no small part of the language of the following pages are reproduced by kind permission of Mr. John Murray, from my article on Lyly in the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1896.

[2] Marsh's *Lectures on the English Language.*

[3] *Hist. of English Poetry*, ii. 185–6.

the praise of asserting, with an emphasis hitherto unknown, the absolute importance to prose-writing of the principle of Design. These three, and Lyly in particular, recognized the need of, and consistently aimed at, what has been well denominated the quality of mind in style, the treatment of the sentence, not as a haphazard agglomeration of clauses, phrases, and words, but as a piece of literary architecture, whose end is foreseen in the beginning, and whose parts are calculated to minister to the total effect. Of this mental quality, this architectural spirit in style, Antithesis is the most powerful instrument. It may be, it is, the fact that Lyly abused it; that he harped on this string perpetually, to weariness; that in his devotion to form he forgot its large dependence upon matter, and constrained his thought, sometimes by dilution, sometimes by compression, to a mould for which it was not always fitted, with the effect of unreality in either case. But this is only to say that he had not reached the preference for concealed over obtruded art. It cannot affect his claim to have taken the first momentous step in the development of English prose, by obeying a rule of design and aiming at elegance and precision of form.

At elegance: for Lyly would certainly not have shared the purist opinion which, excluding all rhetoric, ornament and imaginative glow, would confine prose art to the power of exact expression. Such a view forgets that no reader, no, nor writer either, is really able to judge how far the language used accurately expresses the thought. Not the reader; because what appears as excrescence or redundancy to him may really represent earlier, more fundamental and necessary, action of the author's brain; and, similarly, any inadequacy he feels may be proper to the author's thought rather than to his words. Not the writer; because thought itself only acquires development and determination from the words which seek to reflect it. With their arrival it undergoes kaleidoscopic change, and adjusts itself in some measure to them. Allowing that certain words may possess a greater affinity to the germ-idea than certain others, the feeling that they are merely a reflection of it must be pronounced a delusion. Language is one of the parents, not merely the *accoucheur*, to ideas: the processes of originating by invention, and shaping by words, are so nearly simultaneous and so mutually interactive as to be in reality indistinguishable. Grace, vigour, and wit, at any rate, shared to the full with clearness in Lyly's effort and admiration. He grasped the fact that in prose, no less than in poetry, the reader demands to be

lured onward by a succession of half-imperceptible shocks of pleasure in the beauty and vigour of diction, or in the ingenuity of phrasing, in sentence after sentence—pleasure separable from that caused by a perception of the nice adaptation of word to thought, pleasure quite other than that derivable from the acquisition of fresh knowledge. Yet for all his tendency to adornment, he did certainly more for the cause of clearness than any predecessor or contemporary. Is there one, in spite of the rare exceptions which I have been at pains to collect from Lyly's novel, whose meaning is so readily to be grasped on a first perusal? any, who could so well stand the test of the removal of all marks of punctuation save the full stop? Even Mallory's simplicity is sometimes marred by obscurity, or by an anacoluthon. Robynson's translation of the *Utopia* (1551) is full of loosely-constructed sentences, the *Arcadia* (begun 1580) of rambling ones of wearisome prolixity. Thomas Nash huddles phrase on phrase with a breathlessness which, as he confesses, makes his 'full points seem as tedious as the Northern man's mile[1].' Take the following from the epistle which he prefixed to Greene's *Menaphon* (1589), an early specimen, indeed, of Nash, but fairly quotable, since it is an indictment of Lyly's style.

"Let other men (as they please) praise the mountaine that in seuen yeares brings foorth a mouse, or the Italionate pen, that of a packet of pilfries, affoordeth the presse a pamphlet or two in an age, and then in disguised arraie, vaunts *Ouids* and *Plutarchs* plumes as their owne; but giue me the man, whose extemporall vaine in anie humor, will excell our greatest Art-masters deliberate thoughts; whose inuention quicker than his eye, will challenge the proudest Rethoritian, to the contention of like perfection, with like expedition . . . Indeede I must needes say, the descending yeares from the Philosophers Athens, haue not been supplied with such present Orators, as were able in anie English vaine to be eloquent of their owne, but either they must borrow inuention of *Ariosto*, and his Countreymen, take vp choyce of words by exchange in *Tullies Tusculane*, and the Latine Historiographers store-houses; similitudes, nay whole sheetes and tractates *verbatim*, from the plentie of *Plutarch* and *Plinie*, and to conclude, their whole methode of writing, from the libertie of Comicall fictions, that haue succeeded to our Rethoritians, by a second imitation: so that, well may the Adage, *Nil dictum quod non dictum prius*, bee the most iudiciall estimate, of our latter Writers . . . so woulde I haue them, being surfetted vnawares with the sweete sacietie of eloquence, which the lauish of our copious Language maie procure, to vse the

[1] *An Almond for a Parrat*, p. 9 (Petheram's *Puritan Discipline Tracts*).

remedie of contraries; and recreate their rebated witts, not as they did, with the senting of slyme or Goates beardes burnt, but with the ouerseeing of that *sublime dicendi genus*, which walkes abroad for wast paper in each seruing mans pocket, and the otherwhile perusing of our Gothamists barbarisme; so shoulde the opposite comparison of *Puritie*, expell the infection of absurditie; and their ouer-rackte Rhetorique, bee the Ironicall recreation of the Reader." *Menaphon*, ed. Arber, pp. 6–8.

Reading passages like this, not the most fervent devotee of simplicity can assert that it is a *natural* power; not the bitterest foe of artificiality but must prefer the sharp and pointed style of the appropriator of Pliny and Plutarch to such jumbled incoherence. Lyly at least knew that he must select; and his selection was not confined to mere diction. He had not merely grasped the secret of the picked and telling word: he had recognized that parasitical side-suggestions, thrown up by the brain in the act of composition, cannot be allowed to take unquestioned the place they tend to assume as dependent clauses of a sentence then being written; but that, being weighed with regard to their purport and relative importance to the argument in hand, they must be, some subordinated, some co-ordinated with what precedes, some pruned away to an epithet, some disallowed altogether—that, in a word, the new arrival must never be the slave of the grammatical form in use at the moment of its appearance, but must be admitted to council as to what that form shall ultimately be. It is this interplay and just equipoise of matter and manner, of thought and form, that creates correct style. This Lyly, though he sometimes forgets it, really has; this Nash and Sidney have not: and though I do not think the direct influence of Lyly's Euphuism can be traced much beyond the beginning of the seventeenth century[1], his indirect influence, as setting an example of constant attention to form and aim at force and precision, was probably greater than that of any other writer our literature has known. "He at least," writes Prof. Courthope, "showed the nation the possibilities of balance and harmony in English prose composition; and the form which he established in the structure of the English sentence has never been entirely lost sight of by his successors. Addison and Steele, while they aimed at something much beyond the 'fit phrases, pithy sentences, and gallant tropes' which gratified the taste of Webbe, learned from Lyly how to present genuine thoughts in an artistic form; and Burke, Johnson, and Macaulay,

[1] Child quotes some good examples of parisonic antithesis and simple and transverse alliteration from Fuller, in *John Lyly and Euphuism*, pp. 114–5.

avoiding the petty particularity of his contrasted words, followed his example in working up sentences and periods to the climax required for the just and forcible presentation of the argument [1]."

Lyly's defects may be freely acknowledged: redundancy of expression, plethora of ornament and illustration, a parade of knowledge sometimes consciously false and mostly recognized to-day as unscientific, and tediousness due to perpetual repetition of the sentiment, and strained adherence in a later clause to a form appropriate only to the sense of an earlier—in a word, a want of respect for 'the modesty of nature [2].' But these are largely the defects of his time; and Lyly, with all his cleverness, indeed because he had good wits rather than genius, won his immediate success, as immediate success is almost always won, by complying with current taste. If evidence were wanted it is to be found in his dedicatory Epistles, in the second of which he acknowledges that in both Parts he may 'seeme to gleane after an others Cart [3],' while in the first he affects to apologize for 'rudeness':—

'Though the stile nothing delight the dayntie eare of the curious sifter, yet wil the matter recreate the minde of the courteous Reader. The varietie of the one wil abate the harshnes of the other . . . I shal satisfie myne own mynde, though I cannot feede their humors, which greatly seke after those that sift the finest meale, & beare the whitest mouthes. It is a worlde to see how Englishmen desire to heare finer speach then the language will allow, to eate finer bread then is made of wheat, to weare finer cloth then is wrought of Woll [4].'

Imitation of Euphuism:

Still stronger evidence of its accordance with the mode is found in the almost slavish imitation which *Euphues* evoked, especially in Greene, whom Nash, in the passage quoted above, will have us believe so superior to his model. Euphuism is very noticeable in Greene's *Mammillia*, 1583, ridiculously so in *The Myrrour of Modesty*, 1584, and in the Epistle Dedicatory to *Planetomachia*, 1585,

[1] *History of English Poetry*, ii. 201–2.

[2] 'Hiermit haben wir eine Haupteigenschaft seines Stils bezeichnet; derselbe gehört der Renaissance an, aber er bleibt nicht in den Grenzen der Einfachheit; was Shakespeare im Hamlet von dem Schauspieler verlangt, die Bescheidenheit der Natur zu wahren, wäre für Lilly's Diction eine vergebliche Mahnung gewesen. Er liebt bei den Alten das Ueberladene und Geschmückte mehr als das Einfache und Natürliche, den Virgil mehr als den Homer,' &c. (Hense, *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, viii. 260).

[3] Vol. ii. p. 5 l. 26, meaning, I think, Pettie, but perhaps his models and sources in general.

[4] P. 180. For a still more precise profession of faith cf. vol. ii. p. 60 l. 18: 'It is wit y^t allureth, when euery word shal haue his weight, whē nothing shal proceed, but it shal either sauour of a sharpe conceipt, or a secret conclusion.'

and somewhat in *Euphues his censure to Philautus*, 1587, in *Alcida*, *lic.* 1588, *Orpharion*, written 1588, and *Menaphon*, 1589[1]. About 1590 it practically disappears from Greene's work, though there is a very euphuistic passage in *Philomela*, 1592[2]. It is pretty well confined to Greene's love-romances. I notice nothing of it in *Perimedes the Blacksmith*, 1588, nor anything in the *Qvip for an Vpstart Courtier*, 1592. Lodge's *Rosalynde . Euphues golden Legacie* (1590) has been described by Landmann as 'Euphuistic in style and Arcadian in content[3]'; but the structural resemblance to *Euphues* is not very strongly marked or frequent, while the *Arcadia*, though written in 1580–1581, was only published in 1590, and I cannot feel that Lodge was much affected by its peculiar mannerism, though *Rosalynde* shares its ideal temper. There is no doubt, however, that the *Arcadia* soon superseded, by its own far more stilted and unnatural language, the exaggerated antithesis and similes of *Euphues*. Written, like the latter, by a courtier for courtiers, it is much more markedly aristocratic in tone; and if it did not permanently oust the latter, it at least shared its empire over the fashionable world. If society accepted *Euphues* as the model of polite literary style, it accepted *Arcadia* no less as the model of all that it was noble and courtly and ingenuous to feel and think. Their relative influence is well illustrated in the *Every Man out of his Humour* of Ben Jonson, whose pages contain the fullest and most direct caricature of fashionable life. If the courtier, Fastidious Brisk, alludes once to the *Anatomy of Wit* (iii. 1), and Fallace, the city dame, quotes it (v. 7)[4], yet her brother Fungoso, equally studious of courtly fashion, will 'lie abed and read the *Arcadia*' (iii. 1), a work which Brisk elsewhere commends as the model of polite speech[5]. One of the chief points ridiculed in Brisk and Puntarvolo in this play, in the Osric and Armado of Shakespeare, and in Scott's Sir Piercie Shafton, is the use of fine words to lend

in part superseded by Arcadianism.

[1] In *Pandosto*, 1588, a tale which presents considerable resemblances to *Menaphon*, and on which Shakespeare founded *The Winter's Tale*, I detect but little trace of Euphuism.

[2] See Grosart's edition of Greene's Works, vol. xii. p. 145.

[3] Child's *John Lyly and Euphuism*, pp. 26, 112.

[4] See my note on *Euphues*, vol. ii. p. 123 l. 16.

[5] Brisk, ii. 1, thus commends his mistress, 'she does observe as pure a phrase, and use as choice figures in her ordinary conferences, as any be in the *Arcadia*'; to which Carlo Buffone rejoins, 'Or rather in Green's works, whence she may steal with more security.' Brisk's allusion to *Euphues* in iii. 1 is also in reference to his mistress, 'but when she speaks herself, such an anatomy of wit, so sinewized and arterized, that 'tis the goodliest model of pleasure that ever was to behold.'

a false dignity to the most simple actions. Now, while instances of this abound in the *Arcadia*, it is not at all a mark of *Euphues*.

Degree to which Euphuism is parodied, ridiculed, or copied by Shakespeare.

After 1590, then, Euphuism, though still appearing here and there, is no longer the regnant or exclusive influence. This is not to say, however, that its influence is dead. The continued reprinting of both Parts of the novel is proof that it must still be reckoned among the literary formative influences of the time. Delius, in his essay on Shakespeare's prose [1], noted the presence of Lylian phrases and constructions, of antithesis and metaphors, due either to direct imitation or to spontaneous evolution, particularly in the later dramas, where information on matters of fact had to be given to the audience, or where it was desirable to strike a specially ceremonial note; and Hense, too, considered that Euphuism had laid strong fetters on the style of the greater poet [2]. Dr. Schwan (*Englische Studien*, vi. 99 sqq.) examined a number of passages adduced by Delius, and decided that Euphuism could not be said to be present in them. One readily agrees that all the characteristics of Euphuism are nowhere presented together: that antithesis and alliteration are not the peculiar property of any one writer: that Shakespeare often, while following euphuistic matter by Lyly or Greene or Lodge, effaces the Euphuism of the style, and that in the famous passage cited by Landmann he is actually parodying it [3]. But its influence

[1] 'Die Prosa in Shakspere's Dramen' (*Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, vol. v. p. 155, 1870).

[2] "Shakespeare ist sichtbar von dem euphuistischen Sprachgeschmacke, der in höchster Blüthe stand, als der jugendliche Dichter nach London kam, tief berührt und stark gefesselt worden, und noch in seinen reifsten Dichtungen trägt manches ernst gemeinte Wort eine euphuistische Farbe" (*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, vol. viii. p. 261).

[3] 1 *Henry IV*, ii. 4. 438-61, quoted above in note on p. 133. The simile from the camomile which occurs *Euphues*, p. 196, is ultimately derived from Pettie's *Pallace*, p. 16 (f. 11 v.). Dr. Schwan has the following interesting remarks on the Shakespeare parody:—

"Eine stelle ist schon von Landmann herausgehoben und in ihr die verschiedenen elemente des Euphuismus nachgewiesen worden. Nachzutragen wäre noch, dass auch hier die Lyly's antithesenstil charakterisirenden partikeln 'not only—but' und 'though—yet' sich finden. Die köstliche verspottung von Lyly's rhetorischen fragen in jener stelle hat L. übersehen: 'Shall the blessed sun of heaven prove a micher and eat blackberries? a question not to be asked. Shall the son of England prove a thief and take purses? a question to be asked.' Auch hier klingt der spott durch den predigerton hindurch, indem Falstaff sich darüber belustigt, dass manche dieser fragen überhaupt nicht zu fragen seien, ähnlich wie er, bei dem citat vom pech, die unständliche art Lyly's, allbekannte sachen wie etwas noch nie gehörtes anzuführen und auf autoren des alterthums als gewährsmänner hinzuweisen, verspottet (*Transactions*, N. S. S., p. 251). Ueberhaupt ist die ganze stelle nicht als ein muster euphuistischen stils zu betrachten; der stil ist mehr angedeutet, als wirklich ausgeführt. Eine zweite stelle, in welcher wir allerdings auch nur mehr

on him must not be minimized, nor his ridicule of it exaggerated. *Love's Labour's Lost*, for instance, while reproducing bombastic, grandiloquent, pedantic and affected methods of speech, cannot fairly be interpreted, any more than can Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, as an attack on Euphuism. The style of the courtiers in *Love's Labour's Lost* is rather the inflated metaphorical style made fashionable at the Spanish Court about this period by Luis de Gongora[1]; and the play itself is an attack on violation of nature by convention or affectation of any kind, whether of speech or conduct, the general moral being that we are to recognize the homely necessity of facts and of natural limitations—'No egma, no riddle, no l'envoy; no salve in them all, sir! O sir, plantain, a plain plantain!' 'A marvellous good neighbour, faith, and a very good bowler: but, for Alisander,—alas, you see how 'tis,—a little o'erparted[2].' And so[3] in all the other cases where Shakespeare draws a superfine courtier, with a touch of braggardism or emptiness. Courtly affectation, not Lyly specially, nor his subjects, nor his style, is variously ridiculed in Proteus, in Cassio, in Parolles, in Osric: it is an object of aspiring imitation to Touchstone and Sir Andrew; it is abused and parodied by manly characters like Mercutio and Kent. Many characteristics of style are caricatured by Shakespeare: poverty of phrase in Nym, bombast like Marlowe's in Pistol, over-nicety of distinction in

eine anspielung auf den Euphuismus haben, findet sich in der folgenden rede Falstaff's: '*If then the tree may be known by the fruit*, as the fruit by the tree, then, peremptorily I speak it, there is *virtue* in that Falstaff' (1 *Henry IV*, ii. 4. 409–11). Das vorbild zu dieser stelle findet sich im *Euphues*, p. 207: 'Can his honour be called into question, whose *honestie* is so great? Is he to be thought thriftlesse, who in all qualities of the minde is peerlesse? No, no, *the tree is known by his fruit*,' &c. Eine andere stelle, in der der Euphuismus parodirt ist, findet sich in des prinzen rede, als dieser die rolle des königs spielt. Nachdem er in einer reihe von schimpfwörtern Falstaff charakterisirt hat, fährt er so fort: 'Wherein is he good, but to *t*aste sack and *d*rink it? Wherein neat and *c*leanly, but to *c*arve a *c*apon and eat it? Wherein *c*unning but in *c*raft? Wherein crafty but in villainy? Wherein *v*illainous, but in *all things*? Wherein *w*orthy, but in nothing?' (Ibid. 435 sqq.) Hier haben wir eine periode gleichgebauter rhetorischer fragen, die selbst wieder aus antithesen bestehen, deren entsprechende glieder durch alliteration &c. hervorgehoben sind. Zu bemerken ist auch die schöne climax, welche ganz ähnlich von Lyly zur charakteristik verwandt wird." (*Englische Studien*, vi. p. 102 (1883).)

[1] See Landmann's essay in the *Transactions* (N. S. S.), 1884, pp. 244–50, and Dr. Schwan's criticism, *Englische Studien*, vi. pp. 103–4.

Luis de Gongora, born 1561, is mentioned as a known author by Cervantes as early as 1584: he was the chief contributor to Espinosa's collection of poetry in 1605 (Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*, iii. 20 sqq.).

[2] *Love's Labour's Lost*, iii. 1. 75, v. 2. 585.

[3] This and the next two pages are reprinted almost without change from my article in *The Quarterly Review* for Jan. 1896.

Launcelot, verbosity in Polonius and Salarino. Shakespeare knew 'a many fools' that 'for a tricksy word' would 'defy the matter.' Lyly with his Euphuism was at worst only one among the rest; and Shakespeare must have felt himself too much indebted to the example of his predecessor to single him out as specially deserving of ridicule. For I cannot help feeling that Euphuism did exercise a marked influence upon his own prose, especially in the five years between 1596 and 1600; and that such influence tended to subtilize and strengthen his thought, and is visible even in the riper and more natural dialogue of later plays, such as that of the opening scene of *The Winter's Tale*. There is abundant evidence that he had carefully studied Lyly's comedies, most of which were printed after his own arrival in London (*circ.* 1585). In these comedies Euphuism, however diminished, is still plainly apparent; and Shakespeare, as he comes to know them better, and still more the *Euphues* itself, which was being constantly reprinted, betrays at whiles the unconscious infection, or deliberately chooses it as the occasionally appropriate vehicle for what he wishes to convey. In the prose of his earliest comedies, however these may exhibit the influence of Lyly's dramatic structure, I find no marks of the style at all[1].

[1] No mechanical marks, that is, except so far as puns and word-play are such: i. e. he exhibits only something of the habits of I. (*b*), not of I. (*a*), see above, pp. 120, 123. In the stuff and spirit of his earliest comic work he assimilates largely the *spirit* of Lyly's—the dialogue-scenes which exist chiefly for dialogue, not action; the preoccupation with wit and raillery which was what the last generation of critics, who had not reached our minute analysis, chiefly meant when they discussed Euphuism: and, incidental to this, he indulges in a certain amount of alliteration and punning and word-play. But his closer feeling, and reproduction, of Lyly's antithetic style come later. Mézières (1863) perhaps feels the distinction, though he does not clearly state it. He shows how Shakespeare, on his arrival in London, *c.* 1585, must needs have been affected by the witty style of talk then all the fashion in society and on the stage; and he also recognizes that his apprenticeship to Euphuism left a permanent deposit on his own mind and style: but he does not discriminate the stages and degrees, does not see that the work of his middle period contains passages far more closely euphuistic than any in the early work, where the signs of external imitation are far more obvious.

"Car Shakespeare a passé par l'euphuisme. . . . Cela nous explique pourquoi nous trouvons, dans ses premières pièces, un certain nombre de dialogues qui ne tiennent pas à l'action, qui pourraient en être détachés sans difficulté, mais où deux ou trois interlocuteurs font de propos délibéré assaut d'esprit, uniquement pour montrer qu'ils en ont et pour déployer devant le public toutes les ressources de leur imagination. Bénédict et Béatrix, dans *Beaucoup d'embarras pour rien*; Lance et l'Éclair, dans les *Deux Véronais*; Mercutio lui-même, dans *Roméo et Juliette*, n'ont guère d'autres fonctions que d'engager une discussion avec le premier venu sur un mot, sur une phrase, sur une bagatelle qu'amène le hasard de la conversation, et d'en faire sortir une foule d'épigrammes, de quolibets et de calembours. Tout ce groupe de personnages de Shakespeare vient en droite ligne de Lyly. Ils ont lu l'*Euphues*, *Endymion* et *Galathée*, et c'est à cette école qu'ils ont appris à

It appears first in *The Merchant of Venice*, in the talk between Portia and Nerissa, and one or two other passages, and is constantly reappearing in the work of the next few years. It crops up only in the mouths of people of rank and education, and chiefly in characters remarkable for wit, such as Falstaff, Prince Hal, Portia, Rosalind, Touchstone, or the Clown in *Twelfth Night*. Doubtless we should have had it earlier in Shakespeare's work, had he sooner adopted the free mingling of prose with verse in his historical plays, or had the clowns of the earliest comedies been, like the later ones, professional wits. Just as in his earliest comic work he imitates Lyly in the artificial balancing of group against group, and in the continual word-play and strain after wit, so in the riper comic work of his middle period (1596–1600) he follows Lyly by the introduction of a still larger amount of prose, and with it a certain share of his antithesis and pointed structure of sentences. I must content myself with quoting a single instance, and that the earliest, a speech of Portia's; asking the reader to note in it the general antithetic structure, the euphuistic balance of substantive and epithet against substantive and epithet, the repetition of words to add point, the pun, the assonance, the alliteration, and referring him in a note to numerous other passages[1]:

'If *to do* were as easy as to know what were *good to do*, *ch*apels had been *ch*urches, and *p*oor men's cottages *p*rinces' *p*alaces. It is a good

distiller, comme ils le font, la quintessence du bel esprit." (*Prédécesseurs et Contemporains de Shakespeare*, pp. 84–5.)

"Celui-ci (Skakespeare) a cherché à s'en dégager de bonne heure, et il s'en est même un peu moqué dans le rôle d'Armado [in a note he qualifies this by stating that it is 'l'emphase espagnole' rather than Euphuism that Armado parodies]; mais il a eu beau faire, il en a gardé quelque chose toute sa vie. Outre qu'il lui a dû une certaine délicatesse et une certaine grâce de langage qu'il n'aurait peut-être pas atteinte aussi facilement sans l'exemple des Italiens et de Lyly, il a conservé jusqu'à la fin, dans son style, quelques traces de raffinement et de recherche dont l'origine n'est pas douteuse. Quand on voit ce génie si vigoureux et si franc donner quelquefois à sa pensée, même dans ses meilleures pièces, une forme quintessenciée et subtile, on ne peut pas s'empêcher de penser aux leçons qu'il a reçues des euphuistes dans sa jeunesse." (Ibid. p. 87.)

[1] The references are to Clark and Wright's text:

Merchant of Venice, i. 1. 114–18 Bassanio; 2. 1–36 Portia and Nerissa, 92–6, 140–5. iii. 1. 41–4 Salarino, 92–101 Shylock and, in part, 55–76.

1 *Henry IV*, i. 2. 1–5 Prince, 26–43 Falstaff and Prince, 140–8, 170–5.

2 *Henry IV*, i. 2. 84–102 Falstaff, 138–49, 159–64, 196–209, 245–7, 255–60. ii. 2. 192–6 Prince; and the first half-dozen lines of the Epilogue.

Much Ado, i. 1. 173–8 Benedick, 240–8; 3. 11–19 Don John, 27–38, 69–70. ii. 1. 38–42 Beatrice; 3. 6–36 Benedick. iii. 3. 166–70 Borachio; 4. 80–90 Margaret's repetition of words. iv. 1. 319–26 Beatrice.

As You Like It, i. 2. 40–60 Rosalind and Celia, 92–6, 197–204 Orlando.

divine that follows his own instructions: I can easier *teach twenty* what were good to be done, than be one of the *twenty* to follow mine own *teaching*. The *b*rain may devise laws for the *b*lood, but a *hot temper* leaps o'er a *cold decree*: such a hare is *madness the youth*, to skip o'er the *m*eshes of *good counsel the cripple*. But this reasoning is not in the fashion to choose me a husband. O me, the word "choose"! I may neither *choose whom I would*, nor *refuse whom I dislike*; so is the *will* of a *living daughter* curbed by the *will* of a *dead father*. Is it not hard, Nerissa, that I cannot *choose one*, nor *refuse none*?' (Act i. sc. 2. 13–29.)

SOURCES: The entry of *Euphues* in the *Stationers' Register*, Dec. 2, 1578, speaks of it as '*compiled* by John Lyllie,' and in the Epistle Dedicatory to the Second Part we have a similar admission from himself[1].

Pettie In pointing to Pettie as Lyly's chief exemplar in the matter of style, I have shown how he is also indebted to him in respect of treatment. But his chief original in this department must, no doubt, be

North sought in North's *Diall of Princes*, i.e. in Guevara's *Libro Aureo*. His debt was first exhibited by Dr. Landmann, and restated by Mrs. Humphry Ward in her article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. If anything it has been overstated. The reader should guard against the notion that Lyly makes frequent verbal drafts upon the *Diall*. Words, and the deft manipulation of them, were his peculiar province; and the consciousness of a far superior skill would sufficiently debar him from much verbal indebtedness, though I have pointed out in my notes one or two passages, e.g. one from North's book ii. ch. 16, which does seem to have lent something to a passage on p. 249. His real debt consists in suggestion: throughout Part I the form, tone, and subjects of Guevara's work are largely the model of his own.

"They coincide in their contents in many points, and both show the same dissertations on the same subjects. In both works are letters affixed at the end, and these letters treat of the same matter. In both occur the same persons, and some of these persons bear the same name. There is not much of a plot in either work; the principal contents of each are long dialogues, soliloquies, and moral dissertations on love and

iii. 2. 11–32 Touchstone and Corin—a possible parody, 46–9; 3. 12–15 Touchstone, 50–64, 80–83. iv. i. 10–29 Jaques. Epilogue.

Twelfth Night, i. 5. 47–59 Clown, 209–14 Olivia.

[1] Vol. ii. p. 5 l. 26: 'if I seeme to gleane after an others Cart, for a few eares of corne, or of the Taylors shreds to make me a lyuery, I will not deny, but that I am one of those Poets, which the painters faine to come vnto Homers bason, there to lap vp that he doth cast vp.' It is noticeable, however, that throughout his work he never mentions either North or Plutarch or Pettie by name.

ladies, God, friendship, courtship, youth and education, Court and country[1]."

For example, the name of Lucilla, the light-minded daughter of the Emperor who is rebuked by him in the fifth of the Letters at the end of the *Diall*, is also that of Lyly's fickle heroine, similarly rebuked by her father Ferardo, pp. 243–4; while Livia is the correspondent to whom the Emperor's last letter is addressed in the *Diall*, as her namesake is the recipient of Euphues' last in Part I of Lyly's romance, p. 320. Book ii. chh. 32–40 of the *Diall* deal with Education: therefore Lyly writes his treatise 'Euphues and his Ephoebus,' but goes, as Guevara did, directly to Plutarch, whom he practically translates with additions of his own. Guevara devotes chh. 4 and 9–12 of his first Book to religious matters: hence Lyly feels it incumbent on him to introduce a dialogue between Euphues and Atheos to prove the existence of God; but his dialogue owes nothing at all to Guevara's chapter. And, further, the *Diall* contains (1) (bk. i. 42) a letter from M. Aurelius to a disorderly nephew Episepo, at Athens, who prides himself on personal beauty, which suggests that of Euphues to Alcius, p. 316, who is similarly misengaged, but whose pride is based rather on old descent. (2) Two letters, to Domicio, iii. 34, and Torquado, iii. 41, to comfort them in banishment, which suggest one from Euphues to Botonio 'to take his exile patiently' (p. 313), taken, however, not from Guevara, but direct from Plutarch, *De Exilio*. (3) The tenth of the batch of Letters at the end of the *Diall* is from the Emperor 'To the amorous Ladies of Rome,' inveighing against their frivolity, and in the middle of it he pauses to exempt the respectable ladies of the capital from his censure[2]: so, too, Lyly writes a misogynist 'Cooling Carde,' pp. 246 sqq., followed by an *amende* 'To the graue Matrones and honest Maydens of Italy,' pp. 257–9. From another work of Guevara's, *Aviso de privados y doctrina de cortesanos*, North translated the fourth book of his *Diall* in the second edition; and this, together with the *Menosprecio del Corte* (see note on p. 137 above), is the original of that opposition between Court and country which appears so often in these letters written by Euphues. A sufficiently clear indication that Lyly was really imitating the *Diall* is found in his careless adoption of the university of Athens, pp. 184, 273 l. 29, 316, and of the Emperor, p. 319, of whom we have not previously heard, appro-

[1] Landmann's paper in *Transactions of the New Shakspere Society*, 1885, p. 255.
[2] See note on 'A Cooling Carde,' p. 246.

priate enough in Guevara's work, but anachronisms in his own romance of Elizabethan life. With the First Part, however, Lyly's connexion with Guevara ceases. The mere introduction of the name Camilla, which Landmann says is borrowed from Guevara, and the fact that Fidus has retired from the Court, are entirely insufficient to give the Spaniard the slightest title in the Second Part; and even though the *Diall*, ii. 16, gives rules to enable a man to leave at peace with his wife, yet Lyly may with more probability be supposed to have received the suggestion, as he certainly borrows most of the matter, of his final letter to Philautus from the *Conjugalia Praecepta* of Plutarch.

Plutarch

To sum up his debt to Plutarch: his *Ephoebus* is a fairly close translation of the *De Educatione*; the letter to Botonio bears the same relation to Plutarch's *De Exilio*; Euphues' advice to Philautus about his married life, vol. ii. pp. 223–7 sqq., is translated in the same free manner from Plutarch's *Conjugalia Praecepta*; and a whole page is inserted in the *Ephoebus*, p. 279, from the *De Garrulitate*. Besides this, a very large proportion of the anecdotes and historical allusions, in which the two novels abound, is drawn from the *Regia et Imperatoria Apophthegmata*, from the *Apophthegmata Laconica*, from other treatises, or from one or other of the *Lives*. Also the letter to Eubulus, on the death of his daughter, p. 310, is probably suggested by Plutarch's *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, or that *ad Polybium*, though possibly by the *Diall*, iii. 49. No English translation of Plutarch's *Moralia* existed before that in folio by Philemon Holland, 1603; but there were many Latin versions, on one or other of which I think Lyly chiefly relied, though doubtless he had the Greek also before him.

Pliny

Among the classical authors to whom he is indebted, Pliny must take the next place. The notes will sufficiently illustrate his debt throughout to the *Natural History*; but I may select for special mention the account Fidus gives of his bees, vol. ii. pp. 44–6, largely drawn from Book xi. chh. 10–12, 17, 18, 20, while on pp. 117–8 Lyly lifts fourteen lines of historical instances straight from Book xxvi. 9[1].

[1] As I have often referred in the notes to Bartholomaeus Anglicus, in connexion with the similes, and think Lyly may have turned to him occasionally rather than to Pliny, e.g. p. 191 'stone Abeston'; p. 208 'Dogge . . . eateth grasse'; p. 219 'worme eateth not the Ceder,' I append the title of Berthelet's beautiful black-letter folio:—*Anno. M.D.XXXV. Bertholomevs de proprietatibus rerum. Londini in ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti regii impressoris. Cum privilegio a rege indulto.* In the colophon John Trevisa, Sir Thos. Berkeley's chaplain, informs us that 'this translatiō was ended at Berkeley, the vi. daye of Feuerer the yere of our lorde

Ovid

For his perpetual allusions to classical mythology his chief source was undoubtedly Ovid, on whose *Metamorphoses*, *Heroides*, and *Ars Amatoria*, &c., he is perpetually drawing. Occasionally one doubts whether he did not rather use the succinct little accounts given in the *Fabularum Liber* of Hyginus, identified on no good authority with Augustus' freedman, C. Julius Hyginus. In 1535 there was printed at Basle a folio collection of the mythologies of Hyginus, Palaephatus, and Fulgentius, to which was added in 1549 the work of Phornutus, Albricius, and others. That Lyly used the work seems probable from his reproduction in the *Woman in the Moone*, ii. 1, of some lines of a Latin translation of Aratus' *Phaenomena*, which are also embodied in this collection. An octavo edition, with the important addition of Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca sive de Deorum origine*, which I believe Lyly uses in regard to Apollo, p. 236, was printed at Paris in 1578.

and Hyginus

Aesop

References to Aesop occur pretty frequently, the most notable being his reproduction of the fable of the Sun and the Wind, vol. ii. p. 224 (repeated in the Epilogue to *Endimion*), which however he took from the twelfth of Plutarch's *Conjugalia Praecepta*.

Cicero

The *De Amicitia* of Cicero affords him some matter for the relations of Euphues and Philautus, while on the *De Natura Deorum* he makes considerable drafts, e. g. on pp. 291–2 eighteen lines are translated from book iii. 34 of that work, on p. 293 twenty-two lines from book ii. 5, in vol. ii. p. 102 l. 1 the allusion to Jason's imposthume comes from book iii. 28, and on p. 204 l. 4 the story about Simonides defining God is taken from book i. 22.

Caesar.

Mr. G. C. Child[1] has, I find, anticipated me in pointing out that Euphues' description of Britain (vol. ii. pp. 31–2) to the seasick yet patient Philautus is simply translated from the *De Bello Gallico*, v. 12–14. Indeed, Euphues acknowledges the debt.

mccclxxxxvii. the yere of the reyne of King Rycharde the seconde after the Conqueste of Englande .xxii. The yere of my lordes age syre Thomas lorde of Berkeley, that made me to make this Translation .xlvi.' And in this same connexion of similes, since both Parts abound in illustrations from medicine (in imitation of Pettie) and Euphues promises himself consolation from 'the Aphorismes of Galen,' p. 241, I add the title of a huge Froben folio of that famous work with Brasavola's notes—*Antonio Mvsæ Brasavoli Medici Ferrariensis in octo libros Aphorismorum Hippocratis & Galeni, Commentaria & Annotationes . . . Basileæ in officina Frobeniana Anno MD.XLI.* For a handier source of such knowledge Lyly might turn to *The newe Jewell of Health, wherein is contayned the most excellent Secretes of Phisicke and Philosophie, deuided into fower Bookes. . . . Gathered out of the best and most approved Authors, by that excellent Doctor Gesnerus. . . . Faithfully corrected and published in Englishe, by George Baker, Chirurgian. Printed at London, by Henrie Denham.* 1576.

[1] *John Lyly and Euphuism*, p. 33.

Other classical authors.

To complete the list of classical sources that I have identified, there are many allusions to Seneca, e.g. p. 284 l. 36, to the *De Brevit. Vitae*, c. 1; three anecdotes for which I find no adequate original save Valerius Maximus (p. 276 l. 2 Chrisippus and Melissa, from Val. Max. viii. 7. 5; vol. ii. pp. 206 l. 32, patience of Zeno, from iii. 3. 2; p. 209 l. 17 Aemilia the Vestal, from i. 1. 7); two allusions at least to Suetonius' *De Cesaribus* (p. 77 l. 12, Augustus' piercing eyes, from ii. 79; page 208 l. 16, 'I would we could not write,' from *Nero*, vi. 10); three to Aelian's *De Natura Animalium*, on pp. 144, 215 l. 25; vol. ii. p. 131 l. 13, and several to his *Varia Historia*, e.g. vol. ii. pp. 56 l. 7, 107 l. 28, 203 l. 34, 213 ll. 23–4; and a few to Virgil and Homer.

Other English authors.

Returning to the literature of his own country, we must add to the works of Pettie and North (1) the *Description of Britaine*, by William Harrison, prefixed to the English section in Holinshed's *Chronicle*, 1577, from which Lyly freely borrows in his *Glasse for Europe*, so far as p. 196. (2) John Heywood's *Proverbes*, the first edition of which was printed in 1546; but in 1562 it was reprinted with large augmentations and title as below[1]. (3) A little black-letter octavo by Edmund Tylney, Lyly's superior in the Revels Office at a later date, entitled *A briefe and pleasaunt discourse of duties in Mariage* with running-title 'The Flower of Friendship' (1568), from which he borrows a passage vol. ii. pp. 162–3 (see note *in loco*), and which he had before him, along with the *Conjugalia Praecepta*, in composing the letter to Philautus, pp. 223–7 sqq. (4) One cannot pass over without mention Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, 1566–7 (2nd ed. 1575), from which Lyly certainly takes the allusions to Cyrus and Panthea (tom. i. 11) on p. 250, to Demosthenes and Lais (tom. i. 15) vol. ii. p. 13 l. 28, to Zenobia (tom. ii. 14) on p. 210 l. 4, and possibly others: Fortescue's *Foreste or Collection of Histories, no lesse profitable then pleasant and necessarie, dooen out of Frenche into Englishe by Thomas Fortescue . . . London . . .* 1571, 4°, from which Lyly borrowed perhaps some of his title, some of his stories about Apelles, and the tale about moles and frogs on p. 249: Sir Geoffrey Fenton's *Certaine Tragicall Discourses written oute of Frenche and Latin . . . London . . .* 1567, 4°, whose third tale certainly gave him hints

[1] "Iohn Heywoodes woorkes. A dialogue conteyning the number of the effectuall prouerbes in the Englishe tounge, compact in a matter concernynge two maner of maryages. With one hundred of Epigrammes: and three hundred of Epigrammes vpon three hundred prouerbes: and a fifth hundred of Epigrams. Whervnto are now newly added a syxt hundred of Epigrams by the sayde Iohn Heywood. Thomas Powell: London, 1562." B. L. 8vo. Reprinted in 1566 and 1576.

later on for *The Woman in the Moone*: and, lastly, the *Hundreth sundrie Flowres* (1573), which appeared in authorized form as *The Posies of George Gascoigne*, 1575, whose short prose tale, *The Aduentures passed by Master F. I.* (Ferdinando Ieronimo), in its subject-matter, its love-making, its letters, the coquetry of its heroine Elinor, and its general aspect as a picture of polite society, forms the only anticipation of *Euphues* in English literature[1].

THE BOOK ITSELF: *the first English novel,*

For when we turn our attention from the style and the sources of the book to its actual contents, we find that it has in reality excellent claims to be considered an original work. It is, in effect, nothing less than the first English novel, the first holding-up to English men and women of the mirror of their own life and loves[2]. In *Euphues* we may actually mark the beginning of the inset of that mighty tide of prose fiction, which now, racing wide across the muddy flats and flooding up every hidden creek and inlet, is menacing ancient landmarks, and infecting and staying the limpid current of our mountain springs. The departure was half unconscious. A distinction should be drawn between the two Parts, a distinction of which the author was quite aware. It is shown even in their titles. That of the First Part contemplates only a male audience, and is rather an essay in philosophy than in fiction proper. The author's real object is to string together moral reflections on grave subjects, the gathered results of various reading. Among these friendship holds a prominent place, a theme suggested, no doubt, by Cicero's treatise, of which there were already three several English translations. The form of a love-tale, though his own sympathies went along with it, was rather the presentation of folly under which he might shoot his wit, and win attention to a young man's utterance on questions of moment. The *Anatomy of Wyt*, as a whole, deserves to be considered rather as the prototype of the novel with a purpose than of the novel in general. But in the Second Part this didactic aim is very much modified. 'Had I not named Euphues,' says the author in his dedication, 'fewe woulde haue thought it had bene Euphues[3].' The title, observe, has no

[1] See p. 175 note. To these should be added some echoes in Part II of Sannazarro's *Arcadia*: see vol. ii. pp. 473 sqq. Note on Italian Influence.

[2] Friendship, already dealt with by Richard Edwardes in *Damon and Pithias* (cf. p. 186 l. 14 note), and (presumably) in *Palamon and Arcite*, holds a prominent place also in *Euphues and his England*, in *Campaspe* (Alexander, Hephaestion and Apelles), and in *Endimion* between the hero and Eumenides.

[3] Vol. ii. p. 5 l. 14.

addressed to women.

invidious mention of 'Gentlemen,' no allusion to moral benefit to be derived. Aiming now where moral improvement is inconceivable, we offer merely a liberal promise of amusement, 'pretie discourses of honest Loue,' and an assurance that these delights may be tasted harmlessly. And, turning the opening leaves, one finds the author, his duty paid to his patron, addressing himself directly 'To the Ladies and Gentlewoemen of England,' openly professing that it is for them he writes. Let them read him as and when they like; let them merely finger his pages as they loll with the little dogs in their laps, even though they drop asleep the while. 'Euphues had rather lye shut in a Ladyes casket, then open in a Schollers studie'; and he has taken the most particular care 'that there shall be nothing found that may offend the chast minde with vnseemely tearmes, or vncleanly talke[1].' We have never had this sort of thing before: or, if Pettie's friend 'R. B.' did preface his collection of old-world love-tales with an address 'To the gentle Gentlewomen Readers,' he said nothing so absolute as this. The men are nowhere, or at best are dismissed in curt business-like fashion when the claims of the fair are satisfied. It seems as if, in the wide attention aroused by his misogynist remarks in the First Part, Lyly had recognized his opportunity. He becomes aware of the mine he has opened, and works now with full consciousness in a form suggested, indeed, by the Italian novelists, but none the less original in English literature—the form of a romance of polite society. It is the first and triumphant assertion, by an English author, of literary interest to be derived, not from tales of classical history or mythology, nor from the adventures of mediaeval chivalry, but from the social intercourse of the modern world. 'With *Euphues*,' says M. Jusserand, 'commences in England the literature of the drawing-room[2].'

Consequent modernity.

As a consequence the portraiture of love and lovers is completely changed. In the chivalric romance our attention is asked for the dangers and hardships of the hero in its pursuit, or for the misfortunes and fidelity of the heroine. Lyly dwells upon love and love-making rather as the chief subject of interest and conversation, the underlying motive and mainspring of social intercourse, than for its own sake. It is polite society, its methods and customs, with

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 9 l. 4, 10 l. 10.
[2] *The English Novel in the time of Shakespeare*, p. 105 (ed. 1894).

which he is really concerned; the meeting and dalliance of young men and women, with the elders as a background, the oeillades, the polite speeches, the 'priuie nippes,' the repartees, the secret pangs, raptures and despairs, all, in fact, that women delight in, the whole imported charm that the passion derives from the fact that it is subject to the restraints and refinements of polite society. Lyly's Cupid walks amid hothouse blooms and trim parterres, not in woodland glade or mountain upland. For the first time an author realizes that he must look to the verdict of the women as well as, or instead of, the men; and that women, whatever their culture, are always far more interested in the living and practical present than in the most romantic aspect of the past. So, in *Euphues*, the feminine interest cracks at length the mould of knightly adventure in which it has long been forming. The masculine side, of prowess and achievement, is frankly discarded for the inner or mental side, the subjective history, of the tender passion; and we pass at once from mediaevalism and classic survival, and enter the modern world. We change lance and war-horse for walking-sword and pumps and silk stockings. We forget the filletted brows and wind-blown hair, the zone, the flowing robe, the sandalled or buskined feet, and feel the dawning empire of the fan, the glove, the high-heeled shoe, the bonnet, the petticoat and the parasol. With Lyly, in fact, we enter the path which leads to the Restoration dramatists, to Addison and to Pope; and in Lucilla and Camilla we are prescient of Millamant and Belinda.

Some sort of example for this great change Lyly might find in the translation of *Filocopo*, mentioned above (p. 135), and still more in that of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, a book which, while taking leave of chivalric adventure, admirably embodies that spirit of fine courtesy and upright manliness which is the great bequest of chivalry to the world. But in Lyly the narrative thread assumes more importance than in *The Courtyer*, where it forms the merest framework; and the chivalric spirit undergoes large modifications. For the story of *Euphues* is the story of a young man's passion and disillusion, disillusion followed by a gradual and partial reconstruction of his faith in woman, though never of his happiness. Lucilla, the girl of whose affections he has robbed his friend and who soon deserts him for another, dies before the end of the First Part; and while Philautus easily finds consolation in England, Euphues appears henceforward as the old young man, the philosopher before his time, bitterly cynical at first, afterwards taking a somewhat melancholy

The tale.

pleasure in observing the workings of a passion in which he has no further share. His chief occupation in the Second Part, where he is hardly the protagonist, is to sermonize and watch over the successive courtships of Philautus; and, at the close, while the rest are marrying and giving in marriage, he retires to indulge his melancholy vein in a lonely cave in the mountain of Silixsedra.

Deficiency of action.

The book, being far less a picture of passion than of courtly society, is consequently artificial, divorced from homely realities. It is deficient, too, in characterization and in pathos; but undoubtedly its chief defect is its want of action. It is shown in that hasty slurring over of events important to the tale on which I have commented above[1]; and instances of similar indifference may be found in one or two textual errors of names[2], and in the reference, vol. ii. p. 14 l. 19, to Philautus' wish to answer, rather than admit the force of, the 'Cooling Carde,' a reference which ignores the intervention of 'tenne yeares,' vol. i. p. 286 l. 28. The want of action is probably referable to poverty of invention, which leads Lyly to expend his effort mainly on discourses.

Parallelism of the two Parts.

Poverty of invention is discerned in the parallelism of the two Parts. The theme of reckless youth warned by old age, represented by Euphues and Eubulus in Part I, is repeated in Callimachus and Cassander and in Fidus and Philautus in Part II. Euphues' love disappointment in Part I is repeated in those of Fidus and Philautus in Part II. In both Parts there is a quarrel and a reconciliation between the two friends; and Camilla's reception of Philautus' suit (as Iffida's of Fidus') is reminiscent of Lucilla's initial prudery to Euphues. Nevertheless a distinct advance in art may be claimed for the Second. Much more space is allowed to action; the voyage and journey of the friends are dwelt upon; Dover and London are described; social forms are reported in fuller detail. The characters, too, are more numerous; Fidus, Philautus, Iffida and Camilla being drawn with spirit: and variety is sought not only in incident, e.g. the appeal to Psellus, the quarrel and reconciliation between the friends, the rival suit of Surius, and the transfer of Philautus' affection from Camilla to Fraunces, but in such little matters as change of scene (the masque, vol. ii. p. 103 l. 27; the garden, p. 134 l. 3; the supper-party, p. 162), and still more in the

The Second much the better.

[1] P. 141.

[2] P. 214 l. 35 'Euphues' put for 'Philautus'; p. 310 l. 1 'Ferardo' for 'Eubulus' (corrected in the second ed.); vol. ii. p. 51 l. 26 'But he,' i.e. Philautus, who has not been recently named.

relation of the stories of Callimachus and of Fidus' courtship of Iffida, wherein a note of real pathos is struck. There is far less purely didactic matter: even though Euphues can always be relied on for a lecture, his preaching has a more immediate bearing on the action; and the letters, which in Part I were almost all thrown into a batch at the end, are now interwoven with the tale and minister to its interest. Nevertheless, the tediousness, for which Lyly once or twice apologized in the former work[1], is still felt; and the book, as a whole, has another prime defect—one of humour. No amount of painful experience or repented folly can justify the ghastly priggishness of Euphues' letter to the aged Eubulus in Part I, or even of his tone to Livia, p. 320, or to Philautus throughout the Second Part. Yet the latter affords evidence that this fault, too, had been partly perceived; for there *is* humour in the spectacle of Philautus lying too seasick to resent Euphues' tirade, vol. ii. pp. 33–4, in the timidity of Psellus confronted with the angry lover, and the ridicule he casts on love-charms, pp. 114–6, still more in the way Philautus attempts to turn the tables on his preaching friend, pp. 92–4, where, if the opportunity is a little marred by Philautus' real anger, it at least serves to betray Lyly's consciousness that sedate wisdom in a young man may be overdone. To these we may add 'his feet shold haue ben olde Helena,' p. 7 l. 11, and what is meant, I think, for a hit at travellers' tales on p. 34 ll. 22 sqq.

Defect of humour.

Further, there are passages where the excessive mannerism does not prevent the attainment of a real, if but momentary, eloquence[2]; and the book abounds in shrewd good sense, strong enough sometimes to overbear its priggish and pragmatical vein, as when Euphues tells Eubulus that the standard of conduct for youth and 'crabbed age' can never be the same, p. 192, or Callimachus retorts on Cassander that the latter's mishaps as a traveller are no argument to persuade all men to stay at home, vol. ii. p. 27 ll. 25 sqq., or when the author decides with Philautus, p. 160 l. 29, 'that the ende of loue is the full fruition of the partie beloued'; and in apophthegms not unworthy, some of them, of a place in Bacon's *Essays*, e.g., ii. p. 23 l. 27, 'those that giue themselues to be bookish, are oftentimes so blockish, that

Eloquence and shrewd sense.

[1] e.g. pp. 198 l. 8 and 215 l. 10 'but I will not trouble you with superfluous addition, vnto whom I feare mee I have bene tedious, with the bare discourse of this rude historie.'

[2] Among such may be reckoned p. 202 l. 13 'How franticke are those louers . . . siluer potte'; p. 252 'Heere shalt thou beholde . . . slippe into the graue'; and vol. ii. p. 88 l. 30 Philautus' apostrophe of Italy and her vices.

they forget thrift,' or vol. i. p. 308 l. 18, of courtiers, 'All y^t^ see not their folly, they account fooles, & all that speake against it, precise.'

And if Lyly's wisdom sometimes wears to modern ears the air of platitude, it must be carefully remembered that he wrote in an age when the classics were still new, before Plato and Aristotle, Cicero and Plutarch and Seneca had poured their enriching flood into the stream of English literature. If Bacon and Shakespeare and the prose-writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries expressed this wisdom more happily and less laboriously, it was Euphues who had first taught them to assimilate the fine material. It is no rhetorical figure to say that Lyly was almost the first Englishman into whose mind the philosophy of the ancients had sunk with fructifying power for English letters; and if an exception can be claimed in Sir Thomas More, yet Lyly introduces us to a range of thought and knowledge at once wider and more intimate, embodies it in a more attractive and original form, and obtains for it a far wider and more influential circulation. To trace in detail all the sentiment that Lyly may have fathered in the writings of his immediate contemporaries and successors would be a useless and impossible task; but in the case of the most famous of them all it appears proper to point out the evidence of a close acquaintance with Lyly's two novels, evidence all the more convincing when we reflect that Shakespeare could claim no classical scholarship at all on a par with that of his highly-educated predecessor. In a volume entitled *Shakespeare's Euphuism* (London: 1871, 8vo), Mr. W. L. Rushton pointed out many of the following parallels. Some of those noted by him were merely instances of the employment by both of some common proverb or phrase; some I had independently observed; others have not, so far as I am aware, been noticed before at all. I present the collection without distinction, excluding all that strike me as merely proverbial.

Shakespeare's debt to 'Euphues.'

Three instances, in the best-known plays, may be placed in the forefront. The first is from *Hamlet*. The general opposition of character between Euphues and Philautus is reflected in Valentine and Proteus, in Romeo and Paris, and in Hamlet and Laertes; but in the last of these cases the likeness is pointed by the fact that both Philautus and Laertes, in a foreign land, have a countryman named Reynaldo interested in them[1], and by the further fact that Philautus is lectured by Euphues in words which, borrowed in part from the

[1] *Euphues and his England*, p. 97 l. 1.

aged Eubulus[1], are obviously the original of Polonius' famous advice to Laertes, and intended, like that, to furnish Philautus with a guide to his conduct in a foreign country.

EUPHUES.	POLONIUS.
Vol. ii. pages 30–1.	
'if these few precepts I giue thee be obserued'	'these few precepts in thy memory See thou character'
'At thy comming into England . . . be not lauish of thy tongue'	'Give thy thoughts no tongue'
'euery one that shaketh thee by the hand is not joined to thee in heart': Cf. vol. i. p. 281 l. 15 'Wee should not shake every man by the hand: that is, we should not contract friendshippe wyth all': vol. ii. p. 149 l. 30 'Trust them thou hast tried.'	'Be thou familiar, but by no means vulgar. Those friends thou hast, and their adoption tried, Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel, But do not dull thy palm with entertainment Of each new-hatch'd, unfledged comrade.'
'Be not quarrellous for euery lyght occasion'	'Beware of entrance to a quarrel'
'It shal be there better to heare what they say, thē to speak what thou thinkest'	'Give every man thy ear, but few thy voice: Take each man's censure, but reserve thy judgement'
Page 286.	
'Be merry but with modestie, be sober but not too sullen: be valiaunt but not too venturous: let your attire be comely, but not too costly . . . feare God, loue God, and God will blesse you.'	'Costly thy habit . . . rich not gaudy; . . . This above all: to thine ownself be true, And it must follow, as the night the day, Thou canst not then be false to any man.'

The second instance is from *Romeo and Juliet*, where the relations between Capulet, Juliet, Paris, and Romeo form a curious, and sometimes close verbal, reproduction of those between Ferardo, Lucilla, Philautus, and Euphues.

EUPHUES.	ROMEO AND JULIET.
Page 199.	i. 2.
'Philautus . . . crepte into credite with Don Ferardo, one of the chiefe gouernours of the citie . . . his daughter heire to his whole reuenews'	Paris sues the wealthy and important old Capulet for the hand of his sole daughter and heiress.

[1] P. 189 l. 34, the passage beginning 'Descende into thine owne conscience,' &c., repeated near the close of *Euphues and his Ephoebus*, p. 286 ll. 6–16, and partly incorporated with the lecture from which I mainly quote, vol. ii. p. 31.

EUPHUES.	ROMEO AND JULIET.
Page 227 l. 7.	iii. 4.
Ferardo, after Philautus has 'serued ... three yeares faithfully' (p. 232 l. 33), 'beeinge willinge to haue the match made, was content *incontinently* to procure the meanes'	Capulet, after putting Paris off in i. 2, is now eager to arrange the match *at once*, and puts it forward by a further day in iv. 2.
Page 219 l. 34.	ii. 2. 95 (Juliet to Romeo).
Lucilla fears 'that if she should yeelde at the first assault, he (Euphues) woulde thinke hir a lyght huswife.'	'Or if thou think'st I am too quickly won, I'll frown and be perverse, and say thee nay, So thou wilt woo; but else, not for the world!'
Page 213 l. 12.	*iii. 2. 84.
'Neither can there bee vnder so delicate a hew lodged deceite' &c.	'O that deceit should dwell In such a gorgeous palace!'
Page 227 l. 17. Ferardo to Lucilla about Philautus—	*iii. 5. 179. Capulet about Juliet and Paris—
'Mine onely care hath bene hetherto to match thee ... At the laste I haue founde one aunswerable to my desire, a gentleman of great reuenewes, of a noble progenie, of honest behauiour, of comely personage,' &c.	'Alone, in company, still my care hath been To have her match'd: and having now provided A gentleman of noble parentage, Of fair demesnes, youthful and nobly train'd, Stuff'd, as they say, with honourable parts, Proportion'd as one's thought would wish a man' &c.
Page 228 l. 28.	*iii. 5. 118 (Juliet).
Lucilla 'cannot but smile to heare ... that the woeing should bee a day after the weddinge':	'I wonder at this haste; that I must wed Ere he, that should be husband, comes to woo.'
Page 229 l. 11.	iii. 5. 120.
'My duetie therefore euer reserued, I heere *on my knees* forsweare Philautus ... seeing I shall hardly bee induced euer to match with any' &c.	'I pray you, tell my lord and father, madam, I will not marry yet' &c.
	*iii. 5. 159.
	'Good father, I beseech you *on my knees*' &c.

* It is noticeable that the five parallels to which I have affixed an asterisk appear first only in the Second Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*, 1599. The bulk, both of these reminiscences and of euphuistic prose-passages (p. 153, note), are found in the work of the middle portion of Shakespeare's dramatic career.

EUPHUES.	ROMEO AND JULIET.
Page 243 l. 26 (Ferardo). 'I that am father to one more then I would be although one be all, haue that one most disobedient to me in a request lawfull and reasonable.'	iii. 5. 165 (Capulet). 'Wife, we scarce thought us bless'd, That God hath lent us but this only child; But now I see this one is one too much, And that we have a curse in having her.'
Page 241 ll. 37 sqq. Euphues recognizes the element of *excess* in his conduct—	ii. 3. 19. Romeo receives counsels of *moderation* from the Friar, whose previous moralizings are verbally reproductive of the passage opposite—
'Most true it is that the thing y^e^ better it is the greater is the abuse, and that ther is nothing but through the mallice of man may be abused... Doth not Treacle as wel poyson as helpe? ... Is not poyson taken out of the Honnysuckle by the Spider, venime out of the Rose by the Canker,' &c.	'Naught so good, but strain'd from that fair use, Revolts from true birth, stumbling on abuse. ... Within the infant rind of this small flower Poison hath residence and medicine power ... . Two such opposed kings encamp them still, In man as well as herbs, grace and rude will' &c.
Page 218 l. 22, vol. ii. p. 73 l. 22. 'one droppe of poyson disperseth it selfe into euerye vaine.'	v. 1. 60. 'A dram of poison, such soon-speeding gear *As will disperse itself through all the veins.'

My third instance is Jaques in *As You Like It*, who is simply Euphues Redivivus. In Lodge's *Rosalynd*, on which Shakespeare founded his drama, Euphues is the supposed author of the tale, which professes to have been 'found after his death in his Cell at Silexedra[1].' Shakespeare, therefore, admits Euphues himself to a share in the events he is supposed to have related, under the name of 'the melancholy Jaques,' who accordingly presents the familiar features of Lyly's hero. Like Euphues, Jaques has made false steps in youth, which have somewhat darkened his views of life: like Euphues, he conceals under a veil of sententious satire a real goodness of heart, shown in his action towards Audrey and Touchstone. A traveller, like Euphues or like Cassander[2], he has 'a melancholy of his own, compounded of many simples, extracted from many objects'; and is prepared, as his prototype actually does, to lecture

[1] Title-page of edition of 1592.
[2] Vol. ii. p. 27 l. 24 'you haue bene a Trauailer and tasted nothing but sowre,' &c.

his contemporaries on every conceivable theme. He will moralize every spectacle, and, free charter given,

> 'will through and through
> Cleanse the foul body of the infected world.'

Finally, like Euphues, he is something out of harmony with youthful pastimes and the life of luxury and dalliance[1]. While the others are busy with wedding festivities and their return to Court, Jaques bethinks him of matter to be learned from a converted duke, as Euphues learned from Fidus or the hermit Cassander, and retires, like Euphues to Silixsedra, to indulge his melancholy at the 'deserted cave.' These resemblances and the full title of Lodge's novel considered, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that we have in Jaques a reproduction of, and a verdict on, the hero of Lyly's famous book[2].

The large remainder of parallel passages must be relegated to a separate table, where I have arranged them in the chronological order of Shakespeare's plays (pp. 169–175). The reader will find there close verbal resemblance between sentiments in *Euphues* and utterances of Gaunt, of the king in *All's Well*, of Hamlet, of Thersites, of Othello and Iago, of Prospero and of Perdita. Philautus in love recalls the names of great conquerors who have suffered from the same flames, and Armado imitates him. Falstaff's humorous complaint of the Chief Justice's intolerance of youthful follies seems borrowed, with the addition of the humour, from Euphues' answer to Eubulus' lecture. Philautus' dispatch of a love-letter to Camilla in a pomegranate, from which the kernel has been extracted, is made the subject of one of Lafeu's scoffs at Parolles. Rosalind's proposal that Orlando shall woo her, as though she were his very Rosalind, is anticipated by Iffida's permission to Fidus to personate her absent knight[3]. The rapid change of fashions, and the English medley of those of foreign countries finds plenty of illustration in the novel as it does in *The Merchant* and *Much Ado*. Beatrice's spiteful criticisms of men have been noted by Euphues in the mouths of

[1] The opposition between the sophisticated and the simple life, between Court and country, so marked throughout the play, is redolent of Guevara's *Menosprecio del Corte*. That work was translated by Sir Francis Bryan in 1548, and reprinted (1575) with title *A looking glasse for the Court*: but Shakespeare is much more likely to have imbibed its spirit through the *Euphues*. See pp. 137 note, 155.

[2] The parallel was first pointed out in my *Quarterly* article, Jan. 1896, *John Lyly: Novelist and Dramatist*, p. 127.

[3] In Nash's *Jack Wilton* (1594), p. 101, Surrey at Venice woos his fair fellow-prisoner, Diamante, as proxy for his absent Geraldine.

women generally; and the bitter speech of that gentleman about the vanity and deceitfulness of the sex[1] is, possibly enough, the original suggestion of similar bitterness in the mouths of Hamlet, of Troilus, of Othello and Posthumus. Even the similes from natural history[2], though part of the common mental furniture of the age, are more likely to have reached Shakespeare through Lyly than by any other channel. If I have included in my list of parallels one or two where the chances of connexion and independence are about equal, yet I believe the student will acknowledge that the great majority are too close to be the result of chance. Doubtless many more could be cited, with more diligent search; but enough are given to prove Shakespeare's intimate knowledge of the two Parts of *Euphues*, and with this proof I may fitly commend the reader to the text. In the essay in the second volume on 'Lyly as a Playwright,' I have endeavoured to show how Shakespeare is indebted to our author not merely for phrases, similes or ideas, but in the more important matter of dramatic technique.

SHAKESPEARIAN PARALLELS OF PASSAGES IN *EUPHUES*.

EUPHUES.	SHAKESPEARE.
Page 225 l. 35 (also 317 l. 12).	*L. L. L.* i. 1. 204.
'not his great mannors, but thy good manners'	Costard makes the same pun.
Vol. ii. page 70 l. 18.	iv. 1. 110.
'three sutors (and yet neuer a good Archer)'—pun on 'shooter.'	'Who is the suitor? . . . Why she that bears the bow.'
Vol. ii. page 112 ll. 21 sqq.	i. 2. 60.
Philautus in love reminds himself that great heroes have suffered the same flames.	Armado imitates him.
Page 293 l. 25.	1 *Henry VI*, i. 1. 2.
'Comettes, which euer prognosticate some straunge mutation'	'Comets, importing change of times and states,'
Page 221 l. 35.	2 *Henry VI*, iv. 7. 86.
'rulers (have) large reches'	'Great men have reaching hands.'

[1] *Euphues*, pp. 248–9, 253–6, vol. ii. 141 ll. 22–9.

[2] Such as the jewel in the toad's head (*Euph.* p. 202, vol. ii. 99 l. 8, *As You Like It*, ii. 1. 13); the 'kind life-rendering pelican' (*Hamlet*, iv. 5. 146, *Euph.* ii. 111 l. 29); the basilisk whose glance is fatal (*Euph.* ii. 170 l. 17, *Rich. III*, i. 2. 150); or the lapwing that 'flyeth with a false cry farre from her neste' (*Euph.* ii. 4 l. 18, *Com. of Errors*, iv. 2. 27).

EUPHUES.

Pages 200–1.

Euphues and Lucilla play on 'shadow' and 'substance'

Vol. ii. page 108 l. 14.

'things aboue thy height are to be looked at, not reached at' (cf. p. 41 l. 30)

Page 199. Description of the friendship of Euphues and Philautus—

'they vsed not onely one boord, but one bedde, one booke . . . Their friendship augmented euery day, insomuch y^t the one could not refraine y^e company of y^e other one minute, all things went in cõmon betweene them,' &c.

Page 314 l. 5.

'Plato would neuer accompt him banished . . . wher y^e same Sunne & the same Moone shined, whereby he noted that euery place was a countrey to a wise man' &c.

l. 20 'when it was cast in Diogenes teeth that the Synoponetes had banished hym Pontus, yea, sayde hee, I them of Diogenes.' (From Plutarch.)

Vol. ii. page 194 l. 15.

'The attire they [the English] vse is rather ledde by the imitation of others . . . nowe vsing the French fashion, nowe the Spanish, then the Morisco gownes' &c.

Vol. ii. page 170 l. 9.

'Loue breedeth by nothing sooner than lookes':

Cf. p. 59 l. 13 'Loue cometh in at the eye' &c.

SHAKESPEARE.

Two Gentlemen, iv. 2. 120 sqq.

Proteus and Silvia play on the same words.

iii. 1. 156.

'Wilt thou reach stars, because they shine on thee?'

Mids. N. Dr. iii. 2. 198 sqq.

'the counsel that we two have shared,
The sisters' vows, the hours that we have spent
When we have chid the hasty-footed time
For parting us . . .
. . . created both one flower,
Both on one sampler, sitting on one cushion,
Both warbling of one song,' &c.

Cf. *As You Like It*, i. 3. 69:

'we still have slept together,
Rose at an instant, learn'd, play'd, eat tògether,
And wheresoe'er we went, like Juno's swans,
Still we went coupled and inseparable.'

Rich. II, i. 3. 275. Gaunt to the banished Bolingbroke—

'All places that the eye of Heaven visits
Are to a wise man ports and happy havens.'

. . . . . .

'Think not the king did banish thee
But thou the king.'

Cf. *Cor.* iii. 3. 122 (to the rabble) 'I banish you.'

Merch. of V. i. 2. 73 (of the Englishman),

'How oddly he is suited! I think he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany, and his behaviour every where.'

iii. 2. 63.

'Tell me where is fancy bred, . . .
It is engendered in the eyes,
By gazing fed.'

EUPHUES.	SHAKESPEARE.
Page 190 l. 30.	*Merch. of V.* v. 1. 81.
'Who so seuere as the Stoyckes, which lyke stockes were moued with no melody?' The pun is repeated p. 210.	To be insensible to music is to be 'stockish, hard, and full of rage.'
	Taming of the Shrew, i. 1. 31.
	'Let's be no Stoics, nor no stocks, I pray.'
Page 314 l. 34.	
'Philip falling in the dust, and seeing the figure of his shape perfect in shewe: Good God sayd he, we desire y^e^ whole earth and see how little serueth' (from Plutarch. Probably, however, the original for Shakespeare was either *Campaspe*, v. 4. 55, or *Midas*, iii. 1. 14, 'What should I doe with a world of ground, whose body must be content with seaven foot of earth?')	1 *Henry IV*, v. 5. 89 (the Prince over Hotspur)— 'When that this body did contain a spirit, A kingdom for it was too small a bound; But now, two paces of the vilest earth Is room enough.'
Page 192 l. 36. Euphues remonstrates with Eubulus—	2 *Henry IV*, i. 2. 196 sqq. (Falstaff).
'Doe you measure the hotte assaultes of youth, by the colde skirmishes of age?' &c.	'You that are old, consider not the capacities of us that are young: you measure the heat of our livers with the bitterness of your galls' &c.
Page 251 l. 13.	iv. 4. 54.
'The fattest grounde bringeth foorth nothing but weedes'	'Most subject is the fattest soil to weeds.'
Page 193 l. 19.	*Merry Wives*, i. 3. 61.
'The Sun shineth vppon the dunge-hill, and is not corrupted'	'Then did the sun on dunghill shine.'
Vol. ii. pages 44-6.	*Henry V*, i. 2. 183 sqq.
Fidus' account of his bees.	Canterbury's description of the bees.
Vol. ii. page 60 l. 30. A noble man in Sienna, disposed to jest, says to a lady—	*Much Ado*, i. 1. 167. Benedick says of Hero—
'I know not how I shold commend your beautie, because it is somwhat to brown, nor your stature being somwhat to low' &c.	'she's *too low* for a high praise, *too brown* for a fair praise, and too little for a great praise; only this *commendation* I can afford her' &c.
Page 315 l. 26.	i. 3. 14.
'Aristotle must dine when it pleaseth Philip, Diogenes when it lysteth Diogenes'	Don John says—'I must . . . eat when I have a stomach, and wait for no man's leisure,' grumbling at his position as Don Pedro's courtier.

EUPHUES.

Vol. ii. page 105 l. 29. Camilla at the masque to Philautus—

'I neuer looked for a better tale of so ill a face.'

Vol. ii. page 3 l. 24.

'As froward as the Musition, who, being entreated, will scarce sing sol fa' &c.

Page 249 l. 9.

'Dost thou not knowe that woemen deeme none valyaunt, vnlesse he be too venturous? That they accompte one a dastarde, if he be not desperate, a pinche penny if he be not prodigall, if silente a sotte, if full of wordes a foole? Peruersly do they alwayes thinck of their louers, and talke of them scornfully' &c.

Page 254 l. 1.

'If he be cleanly, then terme they him proude, if meane in apparel, a slouen, if talle, a longis, if shorte, a dwarfe, if bolde, blunte, if shamefaste, a cowarde. Insomuch, as they haue neyther meane in theire frumpes, nor measure in theire follye.'

Page 254 l. 17. Euphues recommends a like course to Philautus as a cure for infatuation—

'If she be well sette, then call hir a Bosse, if *slender*, a *Hasill twigge*, if *Nutbrowne*, as blacke as a coale' &c.

Vol. ii. page 78 ll. 24–30.

Iffida allows Fidus to court her for Thirsus.

Page 247 l. 5.

'*Ipse*, hee,' of Curio asserting his predominance with Lucilla.

Vol. ii. p. 60 l. 35.

'why then, quoth he, doest thou thinke me a foole? thought is free my Lord, quoth she'

SHAKESPEARE.

Much Ado, ii. 1. 93. Hero to Don Pedro at the masque—

'When I like your favour; for God defend the lute should be like the case.'

ii. 3.

The reluctance of Balthasar to sing.

iii. 1. 59.

'I never yet saw man
But she would spell him backward: if faír-faced,
She would swear the gentleman should be her sister:
If black, why, Nature drawing of an antique
Made a foul blot; if tall, a lance ill-headed;
If low, an agate very vilely cut;
If speaking, why, a vane blown with all winds,
If silent, why, a block movèd with none.
So turns she every man the wrong side out
And never gives to truth and virtue that
Which simpleness and merit purchaseth.'

Taming of Shrew,
ii. 1. 247.

'Kate, like the *hazel-twig*,
Is straight, and *slender*; and as *brown* in hue
As *hazel-nuts*' &c.

As You Like It, iii. 2. 447.

Orlando woos the shepherd-youth for his absent Rosalind.

v. 1. 47.

Touchstone to William about Audrey—

'All your writers do consent that *ipse* is he: now, you are not *ipse*, for I am he.'

Tw. Night, i. 3. 64.

'*Sir Andrew.* Fair lady, do you think you have fools in hand'....

'*Maria.* Now, sir, thought is free.'

EUPHUES.	SHAKESPEARE.
Vol. ii. page 155 l. 12. 'true loue lacketh a tongue and is tryed by the eyes'	*Tw. Night*, ii. 2. 19. 'She made good view of me; indeed, so much That methought her eyes had lost her tongue, For she did speak in starts distractedly. She loves me, sure.'
Vol. ii. page 162 l. 4. 'I can be content with beefe [instead of Quailes, proposed] . . . my wit will shew with what grosse diot I haue beene brought vp.'	i. 3. 85. 'I am a great eater of beef, and, I believe, that does harm to my wit.' *Tro. and Cr.* v. 1. 56–8. 'Agamemnon . . . loves quails, but he has not so much brain as earwax.' Cf. ii. 1. 14 (of Ajax) 'beef-witted lord.'
'addle egg . . . idle head,' an assonance found once or twice; also p. 299 l. 32 'idle heads . . . adle aunsweres,' p. 325 l. 13 'addle egge . . . idle bird'	i. 2. 133. 'addle egg . . . idle head.'
Page 224 l. 10. 'in the coldest flinte there is hotte fire'	iii. 3. 257. 'it lies as coldly in him as fire in a flint.'
Vol. ii. page 67 l. 5. 'You talke of your birth, when I knowe there is no difference of blouds in a basen, and as lyttle doe I esteeme those that boast of their ancestours and haue themselues no vertue,' &c. Cf. the letter to Alcius, vol. i. pp. 316–7.	*All's Well*, ii. 3. 125. 'Strange is it that our bloods Of colour, weight, and heat, pour'd all together, Would quite confound distinction, yet stand off In difference so mighty! . . . . . . that is honour's scorn Which challenges itself as honour's born And is not like the sire,' &c.
Vol. ii. page 125 l. 2. Philautus sends a love-letter in a pomegranate from which the kernel has been extracted.	ii. 3. 275. Parolles has been 'beaten in Italy for picking a kernel out of a pomegranate.'
Page 193 l. 18. 'It is y^e^ disposition of the thought y^t^ altereth y^e^ nature of y^e^ thing'	*Hamlet*, ii. 2. 255. 'There is nothing good or bad, but thinking makes it so.'
Page 289 l. 9. 'Like the bird in the limebush which the more she striueth to get out, y^e^ faster she sticketh in'	iii. 3. 69. 'O limèd soul, that struggling to be free Art more engaged.'

EUPHUES.	SHAKESPEARE.
Page 214 l. 1.	*Ham.* iv. 3. 9.
'Seing a desperate disease is to be cõmitted to a desperate Doctor'	'diseases desperate grown By desperate appliance are relieved.'
Page 255 l. 8.	*Meas. for Meas.* ii. 1. 81.
'Cardinals curtisans'	'a woman cardinally given.'
Page 188.	iii. 2. 45.
'a woman so exquisite that . . . Pigmalions Image was not halfe so excellent, hauing one hande in hys pocket as notinge their thefte' &c.	'What, is there none of Pygmalion's images, newly made woman, to be had now, for putting the hand in the pocket and extracting it clutch'd?'
Pages 187–8.	*Othello*, i. 3. 324.
Eubulus, lecturing Euphues— '. . . good Gardeiners who in their curious knottes mixe Hisoppe wyth Time . . . sowed Hempe before Wheat, that is discipline before affection.'	Iago similarly compares the discipline of fleshly desires to the work of 'gardeners' who 'set hyssop and weed up thyme' &c. Cf. *L. L. L.* i. 1. 249 'thy curious-knotted garden.'
Page 206 l. 1.	ii. 3. 320.
'the broken boane once sette together is stronger then euer it was'	'This broken joint . . . entreat her to splinter; . . . this crack of your love shall grow stronger than it was before.'
Vol. ii. page 101 l. 23.	v. 2. 342.
'Flatter me not to make me better than I am, belye me not to make me worse: forge nothing of malice, conceal nothing for loue.'	'Speak of me as I am: nothing extenuate, Nor aught set down in malice.'
Vol. ii. page 116.	*Macbeth*, i. 3 and iv. 1.
Psellus enumerates various parts of animals used in brewing love-charms.	Some of the vocabulary of the Witches' incantation may be derived from or suggested by that passage.
Vol. ii. page 98 l. 25.	*Ant. and Cleop.* iv. 12. 28.
'With the Ægyptian thou playest fast and loose.'	'Like a right gipsy hath at fast and loose Beguiled me to the very heart of loss.'
Vol. ii. page 18 l. 5.	*Pericles*, ii. 2. 32.
'The torch tourned downward is extinguished with the self-same wax which was the cause of his light'	The device of the fourth knight is— 'A burning torch that's turned upside down; The word, *Quod me alit, me extinguit.*' (Perhaps suggested to both authors by some book of Emblems.)

EUPHUES.	SHAKESPEARE.
Page 202 l. 5.	*Per.* ii. 2. 56.
'if we respect more the outward shape then the inwarde habit . . . into what blyndenesse are we ledde!'	'Opinion's but a fool, that makes us scan The outward habit by (for?) the inward man.'
Page 222 l. 17.	iii. 4. 14.
'swill the drinke that will expire thy date'	'till your date expire' i.e. till your death.
Vol. ii. page 21 l. 35.	*Tempest*, i. 2. 56.
'hadde not . . . the certeyntie and assurance of our Mothers fidelitie perswaded the world we had one father . . . it woulde verye hardelye haue beene thought' &c.	'*Mir.* Sir are not you my father? *Prop.* Thy mother was a piece of virtue, and She said thou wast my daughter.'
Vol. ii. page 43 l. 35.	i. 2. 472.
'how vaine is it . . . that the foote should neglect his office to correct the face'	'My foot my tutor!'
Vol. ii. page 224 l. 34.	*Wint. Tale*, i. 2. 94.
'Women are starke mad if they be ruled by might, but with a gentle raine they will bear a white mouth'	'you may ride 's With one soft kiss a thousand furlongs, ere With spur we heat an acre.'
Vol. ii. page 54 l. 34.	iv. 4. 592.
'It is pitie Lady you want a pulpit, hauing preached so well ouer the pot' (of Iffida)	'I cannot say 'tis pity She lacks instructions, for she seems a mistress To most that teach' (of Perdita).
Vol. ii. page 39 l. 4.	iv. 4. 455.
'Cæsar reioyced . . . when hee heard that they talked of his valyant exploits in simple cottages, alledging this, that a bright Sunne shineth in every corner.'	'The self-same sun that shines upon his court Hides not his visage from our cottage, but Looks on alike.'

NOTE.—I must add to what I have said about Lyly's sources above, that his language in certain places, e.g. pp. 201 ll. 32 sqq., 216–7, 241, vol. ii. p. 61 l. 5, 213 l. 3, suggests that he was familiar with Lodovico Domenichi's *La Nobiltà delle Donne* (Venice, 1549), or with G. F. Capella's *Della Eccellenza et Dignità delle Donne* (Rome, 1525), or at least with one of those English discussions on the respective merits of the sexes, entered in the *Stationers' Register* under early years (e.g. 'The Defense of Women,' 1562 or 3, Arb. *Transcript*, i. 213), and probably founded on the Italian. See Introduction II to my forthcoming edition of Bercher's *Nobylytye off Wymen* for the Roxburgh Club. A late specimen of this kind of tract, one which makes pretty free drafts on *Euphues* itself, is *The Araignment of Lewde, idle, froward, and vnconstant women*, &c., London, 1615. See, further, the Note on Italian Influence, vol. ii. pp. 473 sqq.

¶ *EUPHVES.*

THE ANATOMY OF WYT.

Very pleaſant for all Gentle-
men to reade, and moſt neceſ-
ſary to remember:

wherin are contained the delights
that Wyt followeth in his youth by the
pleaſauntneſſe of Loue, and the
happyneſſe he reapeth in
age, by
the perfectneſſe of
Wiſedome.

¶ By Iohn Lylly Maſter of
Arte. Oxon.

¶ Imprinted at London for
Gabriell Cawood, dwel-
ling in Paules Church-
yarde.

haue a crooked shooe for his wry foote Damocles a smoth gloue for his streight hãd. For as euery Paynter that shadoweth a man in all parts, giueth euery peece his iust proporcion, so he that disciphereth the qualities of the mynde, ought aswell to shew euery humor in his kinde, as the other doth euery part in his colour. The Surgion that maketh the Anatomy sheweth aswel the muscles in the heele, as the vaines of the hart. If then the first sight of Euphues, shal seeme to light to be read of the wise, or to foolish to be regarded of the learned, they ought not to impute it to the iniquitie of the author, but to the necessitie of the history. Euphues beginneth with loue as allured by wyt, but endeth not with lust as bereft of wisedome. He wooeth women prouoked by youth, but weddeth not himselfe to wantonesse as pricked by pleasure. I haue set down the follies of his wit without breach of modestie, & the sparks of his wisedome without suspicion of dishonestie. And certes I thinke ther be mo speaches which for grauitie wil mislyke the foolish, then vnsemely termes which for vanitie may offẽd the wise. Which discourse (right Honorable) I hope you wil the rather pardon for the rudenes in that it is the first, & protect it the more willingly if it offend in that it shalbe the laste. It may be that fine wits wil descant vpon him, that hauing no wit goeth about to make the Anatomy of wit: And certeinly their iesting in my mynd is tollerable. For if the butcher should take vpon him to cut the Anatomy of a man, bicause he hath skil in opening an Oxe, he would proue himself a Calfe: or if the Horselech would aduẽture to minister a Potion to a sick patiẽt, in that he hath knowledge to giue a drench to a diseased Horse, he would make himselfe an Asse. The Shomaker must not go aboue his latchet, nor the hedger meddle with anye thing but his bill. It is vnsemely for the Paynter to feather a shaft, or the Fletcher to handle the pensill. All which thinges make most against me, in that a foole hath intruded himselfe to discourse of wit. But as I was willing to commit the fault, so am I content to make amendes. Howsoeuer the case standeth I looke for no prayse for my labour, but pardon for my good will: it is the greatest rewarde that I dare aske, and the least that they can offer. I desire no more, I deserue no lesse. Though the stile nothing delight the dayntie eare of the curious sifter, yet wil the matter recreate the minde of the courteous Reader. The varietie of the one wil abate the harshnes of the

3 his] a *E rest* 19 it[1] *om. G* 20 shalbe] may be *TM*[1] *rest* 23 had *E*[2] *rest* 37 lifter *E*

other. Thinges of greatest profit, are sette foorth with least price. When the Wyne is neete there needeth no Iuie-bush. The right Coral needeth no colouring. Where the matter it selfe bringeth credit, the man with his glose winneth smal commendation. It is therfore me thinketh a greater show of a pregnant wit, then perfect wisedome, in a thing of sufficiēt excellencie, to vse superfluous eloquence. We cōmonly see that a black ground doth best beseme a white counterfeit. And Venus according to the iudgemēt of Mars, was then most amyable, when she sate close by Vulcanus. If these thinges be true which experience tryeth, that a naked tale doth most truely set foorth the naked truth, that where the countenaunce is faire, ther neede no colours, that paynting is meter for ragged walls thē fine Marble, that veritie then shineth most bright whē she is in least brauery: I shal satisfie myne own mynde, though I cannot feede their humors, which greatly seke after those that sift the finest meale, & beare the whitest mouthes. It is a world to see how English men desire to heare finer speach then the language will allow, to eate finer bread then is made of Wheat, to weare finer cloth then is wrought of Woll. But I let passe their finenesse, which can no way excuse my folly. If your Lordship shal accept my good wil which I alwaies desired, I will patiētly beare the il wil of the malicious, which I neuer deserued.

Thus committing this simple Pamphlet to your Lordships patronage, & your Honour to the Almighties protection: for the preseruation of the which as most bounden, I will praye continually, I ende.

Your Lordships seruaunt to commaund: I. Lyly.

2 Where *TM*^{1} *rest* 4 is] it *A* 9 Vulcan *TM*^{1} *rest* 15 that] which *E rest* 17 the] theyr *E rest* 18 to^2] or *E rest* 19 made *E rest* 21 haue *before* alwaies *TM*^{1} *rest* 28 Worships *E* 29 I. Lyly *AC*: I. Lylly *TM*^{1}: I. Lily *G*: John Lylie *E*^{1}: Iohn Lylie *E*^{2} *rest*

EVPHVES.

THere dwelt in *Athens* a young gentleman of great patrimonie, & of so comely a personage, that it was doubted whether he were more bound to Nature for the liniaments of his person, or to fortune for the encrease of his possessions. But Nature impatient of comparisons, and as it were disdaining a companion, or copartner in hir working, added to this comlinesse of his body suche a sharpe capacitie of minde, that not onely shee proued Fortune counterfaite, but was halfe of that opinion that she hir selfe was onely currant. This younge gallant, of more wit then wealth, and yet of more wealth then wisdome, seeing himselfe inferiour to none in pleasant conceipts, thought himselfe superiour to al in honest conditions, insomuch y^t^ he deemed himselfe sò apt to all things, that he gaue himselfe almost to nothing, but practising of those things cõmonly which are incident to these sharp wits, fine phrases, smoth quipping, merry taunting, vsing iesting without meane, & abusing mirth without measure. As therefore the sweetest Rose hath his prickel, the finest veluet his brack, the fairest flowre his bran, so the sharpest witte hath his wanton will, and the holiest heade his wicked waye. And true it is that some men write and most men beleeue, that in all perfecte shapes, a blemmish bringeth rather a liking euery way to the eyes, then a loathing any waye to the minde. *Venus* had hir Mole in hir cheeke which made hir more amiable: *Helen* hir scarre on hir chinne which *Paris* called *Cos amoris*, the Whetstone of loue. *Aristippus* his wart, *Lycurgus* his wenne: So likewise in the disposition of y^e^ minde, either vertue is ouershadowed with some vice, or vice ouercast with some vertue. *Alexander* valiaunt in warre, yet gyuen to wine. *Tullie* eloquent in his gloses, yet vayneglorious: *Salomon* wyse, yet to too wanton: *Dauid* holye but yet an homicide: none more wittie then *Euphues*, yet at the first none more wicked. The freshest colours soonest fade, the teenest Rasor soonest tourneth

4 vnpatient *F rest* 11 though *T rest* al his honest *M* 12 thought *T rest* 14 indicent *M* 14–5 quipping . . . iesting] quippes, merry tauntes, iestinge *TM*: quippes, merry tauntes using iestinge *C rest* 17 finest floure *E rest* 21 a *om. E rest* 23 on] in *T rest* 25 eitheir *A* 30 keenest *E rest*

his edge, the finest cloathe is soonest eaten wyth Moathes, and the Cambricke sooner stained then the course Canuas: whiche appeared well in this *Euphues*, whose witte beeinge lyke waxe apte to receiue any impression, and hauinge the bridle in hys owne handes, either to vse the raine or the spurre, disdayning counsayle, leauinge his countrey, loathinge his olde acquaintance, thought either by wytte to obteyne some conquest, or by shame to abyde some conflicte, and leauing the rule of reason, rashly ranne vnto destruction. [who preferring fancy before friends, & his present humor, before honour to come, laid reasõ in water being to salt for his tast, and followed vnbrideled affection, most pleasant for his tooth. When parents haue more care how to leaue their childrẽ wealthy thẽ wise, & are more desirous to haue them mainteine the name, then the nature of a gentleman: when they put gold into the hands of youth, where they should put a rod vnder their gyrdle, when in steed of awe they make them past grace, & leaue them rich executors of goods, & poore executors of godlynes, then is it no meruaile, yᵗ the son being left rich by his fathers Will, become retchles by his owne will. But]

It hath bene an olde sayed sawe, and not of lesse truth then antiquitie, that witte is the better if it bee the deerer bought: as in the sequele of thys historie shall moste manifestlye appeare. It happened thys young Impe to ariue at *Naples* (a place of more pleasure then profite, and yet of more profite then pietie) the very walles and windowes whereof shewed it rather to bee the Tabernacle of *Venus*, then the Temple of *Vesta*.

There was all things necessary and in redinesse that myght eyther allure the minde to luste, or entice the hearte to follye, a courte more meete for an *Atheyst*, then for one of *Athens*, for *Ouid* then for *Aristotle*, for a gracelesse louer then for a godly lyuer: more fitter for *Paris* then *Hector*, and meeter for *Flora* then *Diana*.

Heere my youthe (whether for weerinesse hee coulde not, or for wantonnesse woulde not goe anye further) determined to make hys abode: whereby it is euidently seene that the fleetest fishe swalloweth the delicatest bayte, that the highest soaring Hawke

1 the *before* Moathes *G rest* 4 hauinge . . . handes] bearing the head in his owne hande *T rest* 8 and . . . destruction *A only* 8–19 who preferring . . . will. But (11 *lines*) *added T rest* 9 his] this *G* 17 it is *C rest* 18 Father, will *F rest* by his²] in her *G*: in his *E rest* 24 pittie *E* 34 woulde] he would *E rest*

or as cunninge Painters, as they were happie parentes, no doubte they had sowed Hempe before Wheate, that is discipline before affection, they had set Hisoppe wyth Time, that is manners wyth witte, the one to ayde the other: and to make thy dexteritie more, they had caste a blacke grounde for their white woorke, that is, they had mixed threates wyth faire lookes.

But thinges past, are paste callinge agayne, it is to late to shutte the stable doore when the steede is stolen: The *Troyans* repented to late when their towne was spoiled: Yet the remẽbraunce of thy former follies might breede in thee a remorse of conscience, and bee a remedy against further concupiscence. But nowe to thy present tyme: The *Lacedemonians* were wont to shewe their children dronken men and other wicked men, that by seeinge theire filth they might shunne the lyke faulte, and auoyde suche vices when they were at the lyke state. The *Persians* to make theire youth abhorre glutonie woulde paint an *Epicure* sleeping with meate in his mouthe, & most horribly ouerladen with wine, that by the view of such monsterous sightes, they might eschewe the meanes of the like excesse.

The *Parthians* to cause their youthe to loath the alluringe traines of womens wyles and deceiptful entisementes, had most curiously carued in their houses a younge man blinde, besides whome was adioyned a woman so exquisite, that in some mennes iudgement *Pigmalions* Image was not halfe so excellent, hauing one hande in hys pocket as notinge their thefte, and holdinge a knyfe in the other hande to cutte hys throate: If the sight of such vglye shapes caused a loathinge of the like sinnes, then my good *Euphues* consider their plight, and beware of thyne owne perill. Thou art heere in *Naples* a younge soiourner, I an olde senior, thou a straunger, I a Citizen, thou secure doubtinge no mishappe, I sorrowfull dreadinge thy misfortune. Heere mayste thou see that which I sighe to see, dronken sottes wallowinge in euery house, in euery chamber, yea, in euery channell, heere maiste thou beholde that whiche I cannot wythout blushinge beholde, nor wythoute blubbering vtter, those whose bellies bee their Gods, who offer their goodes as sacrifice to theyre guttes: who sleepe wyth meate in their mouthes, wyth sinne in their heartes, and wyth shame in their houses.

3 affaction *A* 9 thy] their *E rest* 14 suche] the lyke *TM* 16 his *before* meate *E rest* 17 most *om. E rest* 21 deciptfull *A* 25 their] hir *T rest* 32 house] corner *G rest* 35 as] a *E rest* to *twice G*

Heere, yea, heere *Euphues*, maiste thou see not the carued visarde of a lewde woman, but the incarnate visage of a lasciuious wanton, not the shaddowe of loue, but the substaunce of luste: My hearte melteth in droppes of bloude, to see a harlot with the one hande robbe so many cofers, and wyth the other to rippe so many corses.

Thou arte heere amiddest the pykes betweene *Scilla* and *Caribdis*, readye if thou shunne *Syrtes*, to sincke into *Semphlagades*. Let the *Lacedemonian*, the *Persian*, the *Parthian*, yea, the *Neapolitan*, cause thee rather to detest suche villanie, at the sight and viewe of their vanitie.

Is it not farre better to abhorre sinnes by the remembraunce of others faultes, then by repentaunce of thine owne follies? Is not hee accompted moste wise, whome other mens harmes dooe make moste warie? But thou wylte happely saye, that although there bee many thinges in *Naples* to bee iustlye condemned, yet there are some thinges of necessitie to bee commended, and as thy wyll doeth leane vnto the one, so thy wytte woulde also embrace the other.

Alas *Euphues* by how much the more I loue the highe climbinge of thy capacitie, by so muche the more I feare thy fall. The fine christall is sooner crazed then the harde marble, the greenest Beeche burneth faster then the dryest Oke, the fairest silke is soonest soyled, and the sweetest wine tourneth to the sharpest vineger, the pestilence doth most ryfest infect the cleerest complection, and the Caterpiller cleaueth vnto the ripest fruite, the most delicate wyt is allured with small enticement vnto vice, and moste subiecte to yelde vnto vanitie, if therefore thou doe but harken to the *Syrens*, thou wilte bee enamoured, if thou haunte their houses and places, thou shalt be enchaunted.

One droppe of poyson infecteth the whole tunne of Wine, one leafe of *Colliquintida* marreth and spoyleth the whole potte of porredge, one yron Mole defaceth the whole peece of lawne: Descende into thine owne conscience, and consider wyth thy selfe the greate difference betweene staringe and starke blinde, wit and wisdome, loue and lust. Bee merrye but with modestie, be sober but not to sulloume, bee valiaunt but not too venterous. Let thy

4 a] an *C rest* 8 into] in *F rest* Semphlegades *E rest* 13 other E^2 15 happily *EF* 1617 *rest* 16–7 are there *C rest* 18 vnto] to *E rest* 20 loue] see *C rest* 22 crased *TM*, *cf. p.* 205 l. 28 greenest] greatest *C* 32 Colloquintida *M*: Coloquintida *C rest* 33 pottage *E rest*

possible to gather grapes of thornes, or figges of thistelles? or to cause any thinge to striue a gainst nature?

But why go I about to prayse Nature, the whiche as yet was neuer any Impe so wicked & barbarous, any Turke so vile and brutish, any beast so dull and sencelesse, that coulde, or would, or durst disprayse or contemne? Doth not *Cicero* conclude and allowe, that if wee followe and obey Nature, we shall neuer erre? Doth not *Aristotle* alleadge and confirme, that Nature frameth or maketh nothing in any poynte rude, vayne, and vnperfect?

Nature was had in such estimation and admiration among the Heathen people, that she was reputed for the onely Goddesse in Heauen: If Nature then haue largely and bountefully endewed mee with hir giftes, why deeme you me so vntoward and gracelesse? If she haue dealte hardely with me, why extoll you so muche my birth? If Nature beare no sway, why vse you this adulation? If Nature worke the effecte, what booteth any education? If Nature be of strength or force, what auaileth discipline or nurture? If of none, what helpeth Nature? But lette these sayings passe, as knowne euidently and graunted to be true, which none can or may deny vnlesse he be false, or that he bee an enemye to humanitie.

As touchinge my residence and abidinge heere in *Naples*, my youthly and lusty affections, my sportes and pleasures, my pastimes, my common dalyaunce, my delyghtes, my resorte and company, and companions, which dayly vse to visite mee, althoughe to you they breede more sorrowe and care, then solace and comforte, bicause of your crabbed age: yet to mee they bring more comforte and ioy, then care & griefe, more blisse then bale, more happines then heauines: bicause of my youthfull gentlenes. Eyther you would haue all men olde as you are, or els you haue quite forgotten y^{t} you your selfe were young, or euer knew young dayes: eyther in your youth you were a very vicious and vngodly man, or now being aged very supersticious & deuoute aboue measure.

Put you no difference betweene the younge flourishinge Baye tree, and the olde withered Beeche? No kinde of distinction betweene the waxinge and the wayninge of the Moone? And betweene the risinge and the settinge of the Sunne? Doe you measure the hotte assaultes of youth, by the colde skirmishes of age? whose

1 Garpes *T* 9 and] or *T rest* 22 and lusty *om. T rest* 24 and companions *om. T rest* 27 then^{1}] the *E*^{2} 29 quite *om. E rest* 31 vngodly] vngodlie minded *E rest* 36 the^{2} *om. E rest*

yeares are subiect to more infirmities then our youth, we merry, you melancholy, wee zealous in affection, you ielous in all your dooinges, you testie without cause, wee hastie for no quarrell. You carefull, we carelesse, wee bolde, you fearefull, we in all pointes contrary vnto you, and ye in all pointes vnlike vnto vs.

Seeing therefore we bee repugnaunt eache to the other in nature, woulde you haue vs alyke in qualyties? Woulde you haue one potion ministred to the burning Feuer, and to the colde Palseye? one playster to an olde issue and a fresh wounde? one salue for all sores? one sauce for all meates? No no *Eubulus*, but I will yeelde to more, then eyther I am bounde to graunte, eyther thou able to proue: Suppose that which I neuer will beleeue, that *Naples* is a canckred storehouse of all strife, a common stewes for all strumpettes, the sinke of shame, and the very nurse of all sin: shall it therfore follow of necessitie that all y^t^ are woed of loue, should be wedded to lust, will you conclude as it were *ex consequenti*, that whosoeuer aryueth heere shall be enticed to follye, and beeinge enticed, of force shallbe entangled? No, no, it is y^e^ disposition of the thought y^t^ altereth y^e^ nature of y^e^ thing. The Sun shineth vppon the dungehill, and is not corrupted, the Diamond lyeth in the fire, and is not consumed, the Christall toucheth the Toade, and is not poysoned, the birde *Trochilus* lyueth by the mouth of the Crocodile and is not spoyled, a perfecte wit is neuer bewitched with leaudenesse, neyther entised with lasciuiosnesse.

Is it not common that the Holme tree springeth amidst the Beach? That the Iuie spreadeth vppon the hard stones? That the softe fetherbed breketh the hard blade? If experience haue not taughte you this, you haue lyued long & learned lyttle, or if your moyst braine haue forgot it, you haue learned much and profited nothing. But it may be, that you measure my affections by your owne fancies, and knowing your selfe either too simple to rayse the siege of pollycie, or too weake to resist the assault by prowesse, you deeme me of as lyttle wit as your selfe, or of lesse force, eyther of small capacitie, or of no courage. In my iudgement *Eubulus*, you shal assone catch a Hare with a Taber, as you shal perswade youth, with your aged & ouerworn eloquence, to such

2 affections *G rest* 4 to *E rest* 5 ye] you *E rest* vnto *om. E rest* 6 in *om. F* 7 alyke] like *F* 11 eyther²] or *E rest* 12 will neuer *E rest* 22 Fiochilus *A*: Throchilus *T* by] in *E rest* 27 feathered bed *EF* 29 forgotten the same *E rest* 30 mine *F rest* 32 of] by *T rest*

seueritie of lyfe, which as yet ther was neuer *Stoycke* so strict, nor *Iesuite* so supersticious, neyther *Votarie* so deuout, but would rather allow it in words thē follow it in workes, rather talke of it then try it. Neither were you such a Saint in your youth, that abandoning all pleasures, all pastimes, and delyghts, you would chuse rather to sacrifice the first fruites of your lyfe to vayne holynesse, then to youthly affections. But as to the stomacke quatted with daynties, all delycates seeme quesie, and as he that surfetteth with wine vseth afterward to allay with water: So these olde huddles hauing ouercharged their gorges with fancie, accompte all honest recreation meere folly, and hauinge taken a surfet of delyght, seeme now to sauor it with despight. Seeing therefore it is labour lost for mee to perswade you, and winde vaynely wasted for you to exhort me, heere I founde you, and heere I leaue you, hauing neither bought nor solde with you, but chaunged ware for ware, if you haue taken lyttle pleasure in my reply, sure I am that by your counsaile I haue reaped lesse profit. They that vse to steale honny, burne hemlocke to smoke the Bees from their hiues, and it may bee, that to get some aduauntage of mee, you haue vsed these smokie argumentes, thincking thereby to smother mee with the conceipt of strong imagination: But as yᵉ *Camelion* thoughe hee haue most guttes, draweth least breath, or as the Elder tree thoughe hee bee fullest of pith, is farthest from strength, so though your reasons seeme inwardly to your selfe somewhat substantial, and your perswasions pithie in your owne conceipte, yet beyng well wayed without, they be shadowes without substaunce, and weake without force. The Birde *Taurus* hath a great voyce, but a small body, the thunder a greate clappe, yet but a lyttle stone, the emptie vessell giueth a greater sownd, then the full barrell. I meane not to apply it, but looke into your selfe and you shall certeinely finde it, and thus I leaue you seekinge it, but were it not that my company stay my comming, I would surely helpe you to looke it, but I am called hence by my acquaintance.

Euphues hauing thus ended his talke departed leauing this olde gentleman in a great quandarie: who perceiuing that he was more enclined to wantonnesse, then to wisedome, with a deepe sigh the

1–2 Stoycke . . . deuout] Stoicke in preceptes so strict, neither any in lyfe so precise *M rest* 11 follly *A* 16 I am sure *E rest* 21 hath *G rest* 27 Fauras *A* 28 yet but] but yet E^1: but E^2 *rest*

teares trickling downe his cheekes, sayde: Seeing thou wilt not buye counsell at the firste hande good cheape, thou shalt buye repentaunce at the seconde hande, at suche an vnreasonable rate, that thou wilt curse thy hard penyworth, and banne thy hard hearte. [Ah *Euphues* little dost thou know that if thy wealth wast, thy wit will giue but small warmth, & if thy wit encline to wilfulnes, that thy wealth will doe thee no great good. If the one had bene employed to thrift, the other to learning, it had bene harde to coniecture, whether thou shouldest haue ben more fortunate by riches, or happie by wisdome, whether more esteemed in ye common weale for welth to maintaine warre, or for counsell to conclude peace. But alas why doe I pitie that in thee which thou seemest to praise in thy self.] And immediately he wente to his owne house, heauily bewayling the young mans vnhappinesse.

Heere ye may beholde gentlemen, how lewdly wit standeth in his owne lyght, howe he deemeth no pennye good siluer but his owne, preferring the blossome before the fruite, the budde before the flower, the greene blade before the ripe eare of corne, his owne witte before all mens wisedomes. Neyther is that geason, seeing for the most parte it is proper to all those of sharpe capacitie to esteeme of themselues, as most proper: if one bee harde in conceiuing, they pronounce him a dowlte, if giuen to study, they proclayme him a duns, if merrye a iester, if sadde a Sainct, if full of wordes, a sotte, if without speach, a Cypher, if one argue with them boldly, then is he impudent, if coldely an innocent, if there be reasoning of diuinitie, they cry, *Quae supra nos nihil ad nos*, if of humanitie, *Sententias loquitur carnifex.* Heereoff commeth suche greate familyaritie betweene the rypest wittes, when they shall see the dysposition the one of the other, the *Sympathia* of affections and as it were but a payre of sheeres to goe betweene theire natures, one flattereth an other in hys owne folly, and layeth cushions vnder the elbowe of his fellowe, when he seeth him take a nappe with fancie, and as theire witte wresteth them to vice, so it forgeth them some feate excuse to cloake theire vanitie.

Too much studie doth intoxicate their braynes, for (saye they) althoughe yron the more it is vsed the brighter it is, yet siluer with

3 an *om. E rest* 4 hearte *A–E*^{1}: happe *E*^{2} *rest* 4–12 Ah Euphues . . . in thy self. (8 *lines*) *added T rest* 7 thee small *E rest* 12–3 And . . . he] And so saying, he immediately *T rest* 15 you *G rest* 19 wisedome *E rest* reason *E*^{2} *rest, exc.* 1617 24 them] him *E*^{2} *rest* 26 they] the *T* 29 sympathie *E rest* 31 in] by *G rest*

much wearing doth wast to nothing, though the Cammocke the more it is bowed the better it serueth, yet the bow the more it is bent & occupied, the weaker it waxeth, though the Camomill, the more it is trodden and pressed downe, the more it spreadeth, yet the violet the oftner it is handled and touched, the sooner it withereth and decayeth. Besides thys, a fine wytte, a sharpe sence, a quicke vnderstanding, is able to atteine to more in a moment or a very little space, then a dull and blockish heade in a month, the sithe cutteth farre better and smoother then the sawe, the waxe yeeldeth better and sooner to the seale, then the steele to the stampe or hammer, the smooth & playne Beeche is easier to be carued and occupyed then the knottie Boxe. For neyther is ther any thing, but y^t^ hath his contraries: Such is the Nature of these nouises that thincke to haue learning without labour, and treasure without trauayle, eyther not vnderstanding or els not remembring, that the finest edge is made with the blunt whetstone, and the fairest Iewell fashioned with the harde hammer. I go not about (gentlemen) to inueigh against wit, for then I wer witlesse, but frankely to confesse mine owne lyttle wit, I haue euer thought so supersticiously of wit, that I feare I haue committed Idolatry agaynst wisedome, and if Nature had dealte so beneficially with mee to haue giuen me any wit, I should haue bene readyer in the defence of it to haue made an Apologie, then any way to tourne to Apostacie: But this I note, that for the most part they stande so on their pantuffles, that they be secure of perills, obstinate in their owne opinions, impatient of labour, apte to conceiue wrong, credulous to beleeue the worst, ready to shake off their olde acquaintaunce without cause, and to condempne them without colour: All which humors are by somuch the more easier to bee purged, by howe much the lesse they haue festred the sinnewes: But retourne we agayne to *Euphues*.

Euphues having soiourned by the space of two moneths in *Naples*, whether he were moued by the courtesie of a young gentleman named *Philautus*, or inforced by destenie: whether his pregnant wit, or his pleasaunt conceits wrought the greater liking in the minde of *Euphues* I know not for certeyntie: But *Euphues* shewed such entyre loue towards him, that he seemed to make small accompt of

2 serueth] is *E rest* 5 is] his *A* 7 a^2^ *om. F rest* 10–1 or hammer *A only* 11–2 and occupyed *A only* 13 y^t^] that *T rest* contrarieties *E*^2^ *rest* those *G rest* 19 my *CG* 25 of] in *E rest* tourne *C rest* 33 Philatus *M* 34 his] the *EF* in] of *C–F* Euphues^1^] Eubulus *EF*

any others, determining to enter into such an inuiolable league of friendship with him, as neyther time by peecemeale should empaire, neither fancie vtterly dissolue, nor any suspition infringe. I haue red (saith he) and well I beleeue it, that a friend is in prosperitie a pleasure, a solace in aduersitie, in griefe a comfort, in ioy a merrye companion, at all times an other I, in all places ye expresse Image of mine owne person: insomuch that I cannot tell, whether the immortall Gods haue bestowed any gift vpon mortall men, either more noble, or more necessary, then friendship. Is ther any thing in the world to be reputed (I will not say compared) to friendship? Can any treasure in this transitorie pilgrimage, be of more valewe then a friend? in whose bosome thou maist sleepe secure without feare, whom thou maist make partner of all thy secrets without suspition of fraude, and pertaker of all thy misfortune without mistrust of fleeting, who will accompt thy bale his bane, thy mishap his misery, the pricking of thy finger, the percing of his heart. But whether am I carried? Haue I not also learned that one shoulde eate a bushell of salt with him, whom he meaneth to make his friend? that tryall maketh trust? that there is falshood in fellowship? and what then? Doth not the sympathy of manners, make the coniunction of mindes? Is it not a by woord, like will to like? Not so common as commendable it is, to see young gentlemen choose thē such friends with whom they may seeme beeing absent to be present, being a sunder to be conuersant, beeing dead to be aliue. I will therefore haue *Philautus* for my pheere, and by so much the more I make my selfe sure to haue *Philautus*, by how much the more I view in him the liuely Image of *Euphues*.

Although there bee none so ignoraunt that doth not know, neither any so impudent that will not confesse, friendship to bee the iewell of humaine ioye: yet whosoeuer shall see this amitie grounded vpon a little affection, will soone coniecture that it shall be dissolued vpon a light occasion: as in the sequele of *Euphues* & *Philautus* you shall see, whose hot loue waxed soone colde. For as ye best wine doth make ye sharpest vinaiger, so ye deepest loue tourneth to the deadliest hate. Who deserued the most blame in mine opinion, it is doubtful, & so difficult, that I dare not presume to giue verdit. For loue being ye cause for which so many mischiefes

2 impart *C–E* 3 desolue *M* 9 noble] able *GEF* 17 whither 1613 19 20 fellowship] friendship *E rest* 25 for] to be *G rest* 31 shall] will *G rest* 33 see] soon see *G*: soone perceiue *E rest* quicklie became colde *E rest* 36 it *om. G rest* so doubtfull, and difficult 1613 *rest*

haue ben attempted, I am not yet perswaded, whether of thẽ was most to be blamed, but certeinly neither of them was blamelesse. I appeale to your iudgement gentlemen, not that I thincke any of you of yᵉ lyke disposition able to decide the question, but beeing of deeper discretion then I am, are more fit to debate the quarrell. Though yᵉ discourse of their friendship and falling out be somewhat long, yet being somewhat straunge, I hope the delightfulnes of the one, will attenuate the tediousnesse of the other.

Euphues had continuall accesse to the place of *Philautus* and no little familiaritie with him, and finding him at conuenient leasure, in these short termes vnfolded his minde vnto him.

Gentleman and friend, the triall I haue had of thy manners, cutteth off diuers termes which to an other I would haue vsed in the like matter. And sithens a long discourse argueth folly, and delicate words incurre the suspition of flattery, I am determined to vse neither of them, knowing either of them to breede offence. Waying with my selfe the force of friendship by the effects, I studied euer since my first comming to *Naples* to enter league with such a one, as might direct my steps being a straunger, & resemble my manners being a scholler, the which two qualities as I finde in you able to satisfie my desire, so I hope I shall finde a hearte in you willing to accomplish my request. Which if I may obtein, assure your selfe yᵗ *Damon* to his *Pythias*, *Pylades* to his *Orestes*, *Titus* to his *Gysippus*, *Theseus* to his *Pyrothus*, *Scipio* to his *Lælius*, was neuer foũd more faithfull then *Euphues* will be to his *Philautus*.

Philautus by how much the lesse hee looked for thys discourse, by so much the more he liked it, for he saw all qualities both of body & minde in *Euphues*, vnto whom he replyed as followeth.

Friend *Euphues* (for so your talke warranteth me to terme you) I dare neither vse a long processe, neither louing speach, least vnwittingly I should cause you to cõuince me of those thinges, which you haue alredy condemned. And verily I am bolde to presume vpon your curtesie, since you your self haue vsed so little curiositie, perswading my selfe, that my short answere wil worke as great an effect in you, as your few words did in me. And seeing we resemble (as you say) each other in qualities, it cannot be that the one should differ from yᵉ other in curtesie, seeing the sincere affec-

5 I am] myselfe *E rest* 11 termes] tearmes following *E rest* to *C rest* 13–4 in like manner *E rest* 14 sith *E rest* 24 Pyrothous *EF*: Pyrithous 1613 *rest* 25 his *om. T rest* 30 a *before* louing *T rest* 33 sith your owne selfe *E rest* 36 the *om. G and* 1617–1636

tion of the minde cannot be expressed by the mouth, & that no arte can vnfolde y^e^ entire loue of the heart, I am earnestly to beseech you not to measure the firmenesse of my faith, by the fewnes of my wordes, but rather thincke that the ouerflowing waues of good will leaue no passage for many woords. Tryall shall proue trust, heere is my hand, my heart, my lands and my lyfe at thy cõmaundement: Thou maist well perceiue that I did beleeue thee, that so soone I dyd loue thee, and I hope thou wilt the rather loue me, in that I did beleeue thee. [Either *Euphues* and *Philautus* stoode in neede of frindshippe, or were ordeined to be friendes: vpon so short warning, to make so soone a conclusion might seeme in mine opinion if it continued myraculous, if shaken off, ridiculous.

But] After many embracings & protestations one to an other, they walked to dinner, where they wanted neither meate, neither Musicke, neither any other pastime, & hauing banqueted, to digest their sweet confections, they daunced all y^t^ afternoone, they vsed not onely one boord, but one bedde, one booke (if so be it they thought not one to many.) Their friendship augmented euery dày, insomuch y^t^ the one could not refraine y^e^ company of y^e^ other one minute, all things went in cõmon betweene them, which all men accompted cõmendable. *Philautus* being a towne borne childe, both for his owne continuance, & the great countenaunce whiche his Father had whyle he liued, crepte into credite with *Don Ferardo* one of the chiefe gouernours of the citie, who although he had a courtly crewe of gentlewomen soiourning in his pallace, yet his daughter heire to his whole reuenews, stained the beautie of them all, whose modest bashfulnesse caused the other to looke wanne for enuie, whose lillye cheekes dyed with a Uermillion redde made the rest to blushe at hir beautie. For as the finest Rubie stayneth the coulour of the rest that bee in place, or as the Sunne dimmeth the Moone, that she cannot bee discerned, so this gallant gyrle more faire then fortunate, and yet more fortunate then faithfull, eclipsed the beautie of them all, and chaunged their coulours. Unto hir had *Philautus* accesse, who wanne hir by right of loue, and shoulde haue worne hir by right of lawe, had not *Euphues* by straunge destenie broken the bondes of marriage, and forbidden the banes of Matrimonie.

It happened y^t^ *Don Ferardo* had occasion to go to *Venice* about

9–13 Either . . . ridiculous. But (4 *lines*) *added T rest* 9 Philatus *M* 11 soone] fine *C rest* 22 continuance] countenaunce *T rest* 28–9 to blushe . . . beautie] to blush for shame *T rest, C rest omitting* to brightnesse of the Sunne *E rest* 30 Sunne] 36 bondes] bands *E rest*

certein his own affaires, leauing his daughter the onely steward of his houshoulde, who spared not to feast *Philautus* hir friend, with al kindes of delights & delicates, reseruing onely hir honestie as the chiefe stay of hir honour. Hir father being gon she sent for hir friend to supper, who came not as he was accustomed solitarily alone, but accompanied with his friende *Euphues*. The Gentlewoman whether it were for nycenesse or for niggardnesse of curtesie, gaue hym suche a colde welcome that he repented that he was come.

Euphues thoughe hee knewe himselfe worthy euery way to haue a good countenaunce, yet coulde hee not perceiue hir willinge any way to lende hym a friendly looke. [Yet least he should seeme to want gestures, or to be dashed out of conceipt with hir coy countenaunce, he addressed him to a Gentlewoman called *Liuia,* vnto whome he vttered this speach. Faire Ladye, if it be the guise of *Italy* to welcome straungers with strangnes, I must needes say the custome is strange and the countrey barbarous, if the manner of Ladies to salute Gentlemen with coynesse, then I am enforced to think the women without courtesie to vse such welcome, and the men past shame that will come. But heereafter I will either bring a stoole on mine arme for an vnbidden guest, or a visard on my face, for a shamelesse gossippe. *Liuia* replyed.

Sir, our country is ciuile, & our gentlewomẽ are curteous, but in *Naples* it is compted a iest, at euery word to say, In faith you are welcome. As she was yet talking, supper was set on the bord, then *Philautus* spake thus vnto *Lucilla.* Yet] Gentlewoman I was the bolder to bringe my shadowe with mee, (meaning *Euphues*) knowing that he should be the better welcome for my sake, vnto whome the gentilwoman replyed: Syr as I neuer when I sawe you thought that you came without your shadow, so now I cannot a lyttle meruaile to see you so ouershot in bringing a new shadow wᵗ you. *Euphues* though he perceiued hir coy nippe, seemed not to care for it, but taking hir by yᵉ hand sayd.

Fayre Lady seing the shade doth often shilde your beautie from the parching Sunne, I hope you will the better esteeme of the shadowe, and by so much the lesse it ought to be offenciue,

1 his[1]] of his *G rest* 2 her friend Philautus *E rest* 7 or for] for *om. E² rest* 11–25 Yet least . . . Lucilla. Yet (14 *lines*) *added T rest, omitting* At the last supper beeing readye to come in, Philautus sayde vnto hir: *found in A* 14 these speeches *E rest* 16 manners *E rest* 17 be to salute *G rest* 18 without] voyde of *C rest* 21 Where-vpon, Liuia replied in this manner *E rest* 25 Gentlewomen *EF* 1636 33 so *before* often *G rest*

by how much the lesse it is able to offende you, and by so much the more you ought to lyke it, by how much the more you vse to lye in it.

Well gentleman aunswered *Lucilla* in arguing of the shadowe, we forgoe the substance: pleaseth it you therefore to sit downe to supper. And so they all sate downe, but *Euphues* fed of one dish which euer stoode before him, the beautie of *Lucilla*.

Heere *Euphues* at the firste sight was so kyndled with desyre, that almost he was lyke to burn to coales. Supper being ended, the order was in *Naples* that the gentlewomen would desire to heare some discourse, either concerning loue or learning: And although *Philautus* was requested, yet he posted it ouer to *Euphues*, whome he knew most fit for that purpose: *Euphues* being thus tyed to the stake by their importunate intreatie, began as followeth.

He that worst may is alwaye enforced to holde the candell, the weakest must still to the wall, where none will, the Diuell himselfe must beare the crosse: But were it not gentlewomen that your lyste standes for lawe, I would borrow so much leaue as to resigne myne office to one of you, whose experience in loue hath made you learned, and whose learning hath made you so louely: for me to entreate of the one being a nouise, or to discourse of the other being a trewant, I may wel make you weary but neuer the wyser, and giue you occasion rather to laugh at my rashnesse, then to lyke my reasons. Yet I care the lesse to excuse my boldnesse to you, who were the cause of my blyndenesse. And since I am at myne owne choyce eyther to talke of loue or of learning, I had rather for this tyme be deemed an vnthrift in reiecting profit, then a *Stoicke* in renouncing pleasure.

It hath bene a question often disputed, but neuer determined, whether the qualities of the mynde, or the composition of the man, cause women most to lyke, or whether beautie or witte moue men most to loue. Certes by how much the more the mynde is to be preferred before the body, by so much the more the graces of the one are to be preferred before the gifts of the other, which if it be so, that the contemplation of the inwarde qualitie ought to be respected more, then the view of the outward beautie, then doubtlesse women eyther doe or should loue those best whose vertue is best,

7 which was ever before *G*: which was before *E rest* 15 alwaies *E rest* 17–8 lust standes for law *T*–*G*: lusts standes for law E^1: lusts stands for a law E^2F: lusts stand for a lawe 1613 *rest* 18 my *G rest* 23 lyke] like of *G rest* 25 sith *E rest* 33 the more *om. E rest* 36 inward *EF*

not measuring the deformed man with the reformed mynde. The foule Toade hathe a fayre stoane in his head, the fine goulde is founde in the filthy earth, the sweete kernell lyeth in the hard shell. Uertue is harbored in the heart of him that most men esteeme misshapen. Contrarywise if we respect more the outward shape, then the inwarde habit, good God into how many mischiefes doe we fall? into what blyndenesse are we ledde? Doe we not commonly see that in paynted pottes is hidden the deadlyest poyson? that in the greenest grasse is the greatest Serpent? in the cleerest water the vglyest Toade? Doth not experience teach vs that in the most curious Sepulchre are enclosed rotten bones? That the Cypresse tree beareth a fayre leafe but no fruite? That the Estridge carryeth fayre fethers, but rancke flesh? How franticke are those louers which are carryed away with the gaye glistering of the fine face? the beautie whereof is parched with the Sommers blase, & chipped with the winters blast, which is of so short continuance that it fadeth before one perceiue it florishe, of so small profit that it poysoneth those that possesse it, of so little value with the wyse, that they accompt it a delicate bayte with a deadly hooke, a sweete *Panther* with a deuouring paunch, a sower poyson in a siluer potte. Here I colde enter into discourse of such fyne dames as being in loue with theyr owne lookes, make such course accompt of theyr passionate louers: for cõmonly if they be adorned with beautie, they be so straight laced, and made so high in the insteppe, that they disdaine them most that most desyre them. It is a worlde to see the doating of theyr louers, and theyr dealing with them, the reuealing of whose subtil traines would cause me to shead teares, & you gentlewomen to shut your modest eares. Pardon me gentlewomen if I vnfold euery wyle, & shew euery wrinckle of womens disposition. Two thinges do they cause their seruants to vow vnto them, secrecie, & soueraigntie, y^e^ one to conceale their entising sleights, by the other to assure themselues of their onely seruice. Again, but ho there, if I shold haue waded any further, & sownded the depth of their deceipt, I should either haue procured your displeasure, or incurred y^e^ suspition of frawd, eyther armed you to practise the like subteltie, or accused my self of periury. But I mean not to offend your chast mynds, w^t^ the rehersal of their vnchast

5 mishape *EF*: mishap't 1613 *rest* 15 Sunnes *E rest* 16 chapped *E rest* is] if *C* 22 course *so all* 24 so^1^ *om. T rest* 30 dispositions *E*^2^ *rest* do *om.* 1613 *rest* they *om. E*^2^*F* 32 slights *G–F* 37 minde *G*

manners, whose eares I perceiue to glowe, and heartes to be greeued at that which I haue already vttered, not that amongest you there be any such, but that in your sexe ther should be any such. Let not gentlewomē therfore make to much of their paynted sheathe, lette them not be so curyous in theyr owne conceite, or so currishe to theyr loyall louers. When the blacke crowes foote shall appeare in theyr eye, or the blacke Oxe treade on their foote, when their beautie shall be lyke the blasted Rose, theyr wealth wasted, their bodies worne, theyr faces wrinckled, their fyngers crooked, who will lyke of them in their age, who loued none in their youth? If you will be cherished when you be olde, be curteous while you be young, if you looke for comfort in your hoary haires, be not coye when you haue your golden lockes, if you would be embraced in the wayning of your brauery, be not squeymish in the waxing of your beautie, if you desyre to be kept lyke the Roses when they haue loste theyr coulour, smell sweete as the Rose doth in the bud, if you would be tasted for olde wyne, be in the mouth a pleasant Grape, so shall you be cherished for your curtesie, comforted for your honestie, embraced for your amitie, so shall you be preserued with the sweete Rose, and droncke with the pleasant wyne. Thus farrę I am bolde gentlewomen, to counsell those that be coye that they weaue not the webbe of theyr owne woe, nor spin the threed of their owne thraldome by their owne ouerthwartnesse. And seing we are euen in the bowells of loue, it shall not be amisse to examine whether man or woman be sonest allured, whether be most constant the male or the female. And in this poynt I meane not to be myne owne caruer, least I should seeme eyther to picke a thanke with men, or a quarrel with women. If therfore it might stande with your pleasure (Mistres *Lucilla*) to giue yoûr censure I would take the contrary, for sure I am though your iudgement be sounde, yet affection will shadow it.

Lucilla seing his pretence thought to take aduauntage of his large profer, vnto whome she sayde. Gentleman in myne opinion Women are to be wonne with euery wynde, in whose sex ther is neither force to withstande the assaults of loue, neither constancie to remaine faythfull. And bicause your discourse hathe hetherto bredde delight, I am loth to hinder you in the sequele of your deuises.

5 conceits *E rest* 13 your *om.* E^2 *rest* 15 Rose when it hath lost his *E rest* 18 your^2] you *T* 19 you] ye *G rest* 20 dronke *T–G*: drunken *E rest* 32 this *EF* pretence] presont *F* 33 my *TM* Women *AE rest*: Woemom *T*: women *MCG*

Euphues perceiuing himselfe to be taken napping, answered as followeth.

¶ Mistres *Lucilla*, if you speake as you thincke, these gentlewomen present haue lyttle cause to thanke you, if you cause me to cõmend women, my tale wil be accõpted a meere trifle, & your words ye plain truth: Yet knowing promise to be debt, I wyll paye it with performance. And I would ye gentlemen here present wer as ready to credit my proofe, as ye gentlewomen are willing to heare their own prayses, or I as able to ouercome, as Mistres *Lucilla* would be cõtent to be ouerthrown. How so euer the matter shall fall out; I am of the surer syde, for if my reasons be weake, then is our sexe stronge, if forcyble, then your iudgement feeble, if I fynde truth on my syde, I hope I shall for my wages win the good will of women, if I want proofe, then gentlewomen of necessitie you must yelde to men. But to the matter.

Touching the yelding to loue, albeit theyr hartes seeme tender, yet they harden them lyke the stone of *Sicilia*, the which the more it is beaten, the harder it is: for being framed as it were of the perfection of men, they be free from all such cogitations as may any way prouoke them to vncleanenesse, insomuch as they abhorre the light loue of youth which is grounded vpon lust, & dissolued vpon euery light occasion. When they see the folly of men turne to fury, their delight to doting, theyr affection to frensie, when they see them as it were pyne in pleasure, and to waxe pale through theyr owne peeuishnesse, their sutes, their seruice, theyr letters, theyr labors, their loues, theyr lyues, seeme to them so odious, that they harden theyr hartes against such concupiscence, to the ende they might cõuert them from rashnesse to reason, from such lewde disposition, to honest discretion: hereoff it commeth that men accuse women of crueltie, bicause they themselues want ciuilitie, they accompt them full of wyles in not yelding to their wickednesse, faythlesse for resisting their fylthinesse. But I had almost forgot my selfe, you shall pardon mee Mistresse *Lucilla* for this time, if thus abruptly, I finish my discourse: it is neyther for want of good wil, or lacke of proofe, but that I feele in my selfe such alteration, that I can scarcely vtter one word. Ah *Eupheus*, *Euphues*.

The gentlewomen were strooke into such a quandarie with this

12 your] is your *C rest* 14 men] mee *F* 27 end that they *C rest* 31 for] in E^2 *rest* 33 thus *G rest*: this *A–C* 35 an *before* alteration *G rest* scarce *G rest* 36 Eupheus] Euphues *T rest*

sodayne chaunge, that they all chaunged coulour. But *Euphues* taking *Philautus* by the hande and giuing the gentlewomen thanckes for their patience and his repast, badde them all fare-well, and went immediatly to his chamber. But *Lucilla* who now began to frie in the flames of loue, all the company beeing departed to their lodgings, entred into these termes and contrarieties.

Ah wretched wench *Lucilla* how art thou perplexed? what a doubtfull fight dost thou feele betwixt faith and fancie? hope & feare? conscience and concupiscence? O my *Euphues*, lyttle dost thou know the sodayne sorrow that I sustayne for thy sweete sake. Whose witte hath bewitched me, whose rare qualyties haue depriued me of mine olde qualytie, whose courteous behauiour without curiositie, whose comely feature without fault, whose fyled speach without fraude, hath wrapped me in this misfortune. And canst thou *Lucilla* be so light of loue in forsaking *Philautus* to flye to *Euphues?* canst thou prefer a straunger before thy countryman? A starter before thy companion? Why *Euphues* doth perhappes desyre my loue, but *Philautus* hath deserued it. Why *Euphues* feature is worthy as good as I, But *Philautus* his fayth is worthy a better. I but the latter loue is moste feruent. I but the firste ought to be most faythfull. I but *Euphues* hath greater perfection. I but *Philautus* hath deeper affection.

Ah fonde wench, doste thou thincke *Euphues* will deeme thee constant to him, when thou hast bene vnconstant to his friende? Weenest thou that he will haue no mistrust of thy faithfulnesse, when he hath had tryall of thy fycklenesse? Will he haue no doubt of thyne honour, when thou thy selfe callest thyne honestie in question? Yes, yes, *Lucilla*, well dothe he know that the glasse once crased will with the leaste clappe be cracked, that the cloath which staineth with Mylke, will soone loose his coulour with vineger, that the Eagles wynge will wast the fether as well of the *Phœnix*, as of the Pheasant, that she that hath bene faythlesse to one, will neuer be faythfull to any. But can *Euphues* conuince me of fleetinge, seeing for his sake I breake my fidelitie? Can he condemne me of disloyaltie, when he is the onely cause of my dislyking? Maye he iustly condemne me of trecherye, who hath this testimony as tryall

4 their *EF* 8 betweene *C rest* 11 haue] hath *C–F* 12 whose] most *TM* 13 comely] common *F* 16 thy] the *T*: they *C* 17 perhappes doeth *G rest* 18 thy *E rest* 20 more *E rest* 26 had *om.* E^1 *rest* 27 into E^2 *rest* 28 crazed *C rest*: *cf. p.* 189, l. 22 30 soonest E^2 *rest* 34 brake *C rest* 36 this] his *C rest*

of my good will? Doth not he remember that the broken boane once sette together, is stronger then euer it was? That the greatest blotte is taken off with the Pommice? That though the Spyder poyson the Flye, she cannot infect the Bee? That although I haue bene light to *Philautus*, yet I may be louely to *Euphues?* It is not my desire, but his desertes that moueth my mynde to this choyse, neyther the want of the lyke good will in *Philautus*, but the lacke of the lyke good qualities that remoueth my fancie from the one to the other.

For as the Bee that gathereth Honny out of the weede, when she espyeth the faire flower flyeth to the sweetest: or as the kynde spanyell though he hunt after Byrdes, yet forsakes them to retryue the Partridge: or as we commonly feede on beefe hungerly at the first, yet seing the Quayle more dayntie, chaunge our dyet: So I, although I loued *Philautus* for his good properties, yet seing *Euphues* to excell him, I ought by Nature to lyke him better: By so muche the more therefore my change is to be excused, by how much the more my choyce is excellent: and by so much the lesse I am to be condemned, by how much the more *Euphues* is to be commended. Is not the Dyamonde of more valewe then the Rubie, bicause he is of more vertue? Is not the Emeraulde preferred before the Saphyre for his wonderfull propertie? Is not *Euphues* more prayse worthy then *Philautus* being more wittie? But fye *Lucilla*, why doste thou flatter thy selfe in thyne owne follye? canst thou fayne *Euphues* thy friend, whome by thyne owne wordes thou hast made thy foe? Dyddest not thou accuse women of inconstancie? dyddest not thou accompt them easy to be wonne? dyddest not thou condemne them of weakenesse? what sounder argument can he haue against thee, then thine owne answer? what better proofe, then thine owne speach? what greater tryall, then thyne owne talke? If thou haste belyed women, he will iudge thee vnkynde, if thou haue reuealed the troth, he must needes thincke thee vnconstant, if he perceiue thee to be wonne with a Nut, he will imagine that thou wilt be lost with an Apple: If he fynde thee wanton before thou be woed, he wil gesse thou wilt be wauering when thou art wedded.

But suppose that *Euphues* loue thee, that *Philautus* leaue thee, will thy father thinckest thou giue thee libertie to lyue after thyne owne

5 yet *A only* 6 this] his *G rest* 15 loue *E rest* 24 thy selfe *om. F* 27 thou not *C*: not *om. G* them] thy selfe *G rest*

lust? Will he esteeme him worthy to enherite his possessions, whom he accompteth vnworthy to enioye thy person? Is it lyke that he wyll match thee in marryage w^t a stranger, with a *Grecian*, with a meane man? I but what knoweth my father whether he be wealthy, whether his reuenewes be able to counteruaile my fathers lands, whether his birth be noble, yea, or no? can any one make doubte of his gentle bloude, that seeth his gentle condicions? Can his honoure be called into question, whose honestie is so greate? is he to be thought thriftelesse, who in all qualyties of y^e minde is peerelesse? No, no, y^e tree is knowen by his fruite, the golde by his touch, the sonne by the sire. And as the softe waxe receiueth what soeuer print be in the seale, and sheweth no other impression, so the tender babe being sealed with his fathers giftes representeth his Image most lyuely. But were I once certaine of *Euphues* good will, I woulde not so supersticiously accompt of my fathers ill will. [Time hath weaned me from my mothers teat, and age ridde me from my fathers correction, when children are in their swathe cloutes, then are they subiect to the whip, and ought to be carefull of the rigour of their parents. As for me seeing I am not fedde with their pap, I am not to be ledde by their perswasions. Let my father vse what speaches he lyst, I will follow mine owne lust. Lust *Lucilla*, what sayst thou? No, no, mine owne loue I should haue sayd, for I am as farre from lust, as I am from reason, and as neere to loue as I am to folly. Then sticke to thy determination, & shew thy selfe, what loue can doe, what loue dares doe, what loue hath done.] Albeit I can no way quench the coales of desire with forgetfulnesse, yet will I rake them vp in the ashes of modestie, seeing I dare not discouer my loue for maidēly shamefastnes, I wil dissemble it til time I haue opportunitie. And I hope so to behaue my selfe as *Euphues* shall thinke me his owne, and *Philautus* perswade himselfe I am none but his. But I would to God *Euphues* woulde repaire hether, that the sight of him might mittigate some part of my martirdome.

She hauing thus discoursed with hir selfe hir owne miseryes, cast hir selfe on the bedde: and there lette hir lye, and retourne wee to *Euphues*, who was so caught in the ginne of folly, that he neyther coulde comforte himselfe nor durst aske counsel of his friend, suspect-

8 in *G rest* 10 his²] the *E rest* 11 the sire *A-GF* 1613, 1617: his Sire *E*: the fire 1623, 1631, 1636 14 his *before* good *C rest* 16–25 Time . . . done. (10 *lines*) *added. T rest* 28 discouer] make knowne *E rest*

ing that which in deede was true, that *Philautus* was corriuall with him, and cookemate with *Lucilla*. Amiddest therefore these his extremityes betweene hope and feare, hee vttered these or the lyke speaches.

What is hee *Euphues* that knowing thy witte, and seeing thy folly: but will rather punish thy lewdenesse, then pittie thy heauinesse? Was there euer any so fickle so soone to be allured? any euer so faithlesse to deceiue his friend? euer any so foolish to bathe himselfe in his owne misfortune? To true it is that as the Sea Crabbe swimmeth alwayes agaynst the streame, so wit alwayes striueth agaynst wisedome: And as the Bee is oftentimes hurte with hir owne honny, so is wit not seldome plagued with his owne conceipte.

O ye gods haue ye ordayned for euerye maladye a medicine, for euery sore a salue, for euery payne a plaister, leuing only loue remedilesse? Did ye deeme no man so madde to be entangled with desire, or thoughte yee them worthye to be tormented that were so misledde? haue ye dealte more fauourable with brute beasts then with reasonable creatures.

The filthy Sow when she is sicke, eateth the Sea Crabbe and is immediately recured: the Torteyse hauing tasted the Uiper, sucketh *Origanum* and is quickly reuiued: the Beare readye to pine, lycketh vpp the Ants and is recouered: the Dogge hauing surfetted, to procure his vomitte eateth grasse, and findeth remedy: the Harte beeing pearced with the darte, runneth out of hande to the hearbe *Dictanum*, and is healed. And can men by no hearb, by no art, by no way procure a remedye for the impatient disease of loue? Ah well I perceiue that loue is not vnlyke the Figge tree, whose fruite is sweete, whose roote is more bitter then the claw of a Bitter, or lyke the Apple in *Persia*, whose blossome sauoreth lyke Honny, whose budde is more sower then gall.

But O impietie. O broade blasphemy agaynst the heauens. Wilt thou be so impudent *Euphues*, to accuse the gods of iniquitie? No fonde foole, no. Neyther is it forbidden vs by the gods to loue, by whose diuine prouidence we are permitted to lyue, neyther doe wee want remedyes to recure our maladyes, but reason to vse the meanes. But why goe I about to hinder the course of loue, with the discourse

2 cock-mate] E^2 *rest* C *rest* | his *om.* *C* E *rest* | Bitter *so all* 7–8 any euer] euer any *G rest* | 18 fauourably *T rest* | 34 it] is E^1 | vs *om.* *E rest* 12 hir] his | 29 whose] but the

of law? hast thou not redde *Eupheus*, that he that loppeth the Uine causeth it to spreade fairer? that hee that stoppeth the streame forceth it to swell higher? that he that casteth water on the fire in the Smithes forge, maketh it to flame fiercer? Euen so he that seeketh by counsayle to moderate his ouerlashinge affections, encreaseth his owne misfortune. Ah my *Lucilla*, wold thou wert either lesse faire or I more fortunate, eyther I wiser or thou milder, either woulde I were out of this madde moode, eyther I would we were both of one minde. But how should she be perswaded of my loyaltie, that yet had neuer one simple proofe of my loue? will shee not rather imagine me to be intangled with hir beautie, then with hir vertue. That my fancie being so lewdly chayned at ye first, will be as lyghtly changed at the last, yt ther is nothing which is permanēt yt is violent? yes, yes, she must needs coniecture so, although it be nothing so, for by how much ye more my affection cōmeth on ye suddaine, by so much the lesse will she thinke it certeyne. The ratling thunderbolte hath but his clappe, the lyghteninge but his flash, and as they both come in a moment, so doe they both ende in a minute.

I but *Euphues*, hath shee not hearde also that the drye touche-woode is kindled with lyme, that the greatest mushrompe groweth in one night? yt the fire quickly burneth the flaxe? that loue easilye entreth into the sharpe witte without resistaunce, & is harboured there without repentaunce?

If therefore the Gods haue endewed hir with as much bountie as beautie. If she haue no lesse wit then she hath comelynesse, certes she will neyther conceiue sinisterly of my sodayne sute, neyther be coye to receiue me into hir seruice, neyther suspecte mee of lyghtnesse, in yeelding so lyghtly, neyther reiect me disdaynefully, for louing so hastely. Shall I not then hazarde my lyfe to obtaine my loue? and deceiue *Philautus* to receiue *Lucilla?* Yes *Euphues*, where loue beareth sway, friendshippe can haue no shew: As *Philautus* brought me for his shadowe the last supper, so will I vse him for my shadow til I haue gayned his Saint. And canst thou wretch be false to him that is faithfull to thee? Shall hys curtesie

1 Euphues *T rest* 2 faire *M* 3 forceth] causeth *C rest* in the fire at *G rest* 6 wer *MCG* 8 either I would I *T rest* eyther] or els *E rest* 12–3 lewdly chayned . . . lyghtly changed *ACG* 1613 *rest*: lewdly chaunged . . . lyghtly chaunged *TM*: lewdlie chained . . . lightly chained *EF* 13 as *om. C rest* 13–4 last . . . violent] last: that nothing violent, can bee permanent *T rest* 20 hearde] hard *M* 23 into . . . witte] into the shape *E rest* 26 haue] hath *E rest* 34 I gaine *E rest*

be cause of thy crueltie? Wilt thou violate the league of fayth, to enherite the land of folly? Shal affectiõ be of more force then friendshippe, loue then law, lust then loyaltie? Knowest thou not that he that looseth his honestie hath nothing els to loose?

Tush the case is lyght where reason taketh place, to loue and to lyue well, is not graunted to *Iupiter*. Who so is blinded with the caule of beautie, decerneth no coulour of honestie. Did not *Giges* cut *Candaules* a coate by his owne measure? Did not *Paris* though he were a welcome guest to *Menelaus* serue his hoste a slippery prancke? If *Philautus* had loued *Lucilla*, he woulde neuer haue suffered *Euphues* to haue seene hir. Is it not the praye that entiseth the theefe to ryfle? Is it not the pleasaunt bayte, that causeth y^e^ fleetest fish to bite? Is it not a bye word amongst vs, that golde maketh an honest man an ill man? Did *Philautus* accompt *Euphues* to simple to decypher beautie, or supersticious not to desire it? Did he deeme him a saint in reiecting fancie, or a sotte in not discerning?

Thoughte hee him a *Stoycke* that he would not bee moued, or a stocke that he coulde not?

Well, well, seeing the wound that bleedeth inwarde is most daungerous, that the fire kepte close burneth most furious, that the Oouen dammed vp baketh soonest, that sores hauing no vent fester inwardly, it is high time to vnfolde my secret loue, to my secrete friende. Let *Philautus* behaue himselfe neuer so craftely, hee shal know that it must be a wily Mouse that shal breed in the Cats eare, and bicause I resemble him in wit, I meane a little to dissemble with him in wyles. But O my *Lucilla*, if thy hearte, be made of that stone which may bee mollyfied onely with bloud, woulde I had sipped of that riuer in *Caria* which tourneth those that drincke of it to stones. If thine eares be anointed with the Oyle of *Syria* that bereaueth hearing, would mine eyes had bene rubbed with the sirrop of the Ceder tree which taketh away sight.

[If *Lucilla* be so proude to disdayne poore *Euphues*, woulde *Euphues* were so happye to denye *Lucilla*, or if *Lucilla* be so mortyfied to lyue without loue, woulde *Euphues* were so fortunate to lyue in hate. I but my colde welcome foretelleth my colde suit, I but hir priuie glaunces signifie some good Fortune. Fye fonde foole

5 cause *E rest* 7 descerneth *T*: discerneth *M rest* 13 fleetish *EF* 15 to[1]] so *G rest* supersticious] so superstitious *C rest* 20 inwardly *T rest* 23 inwardly] secretly *T rest* 29 that[1]] the *E rest* 33 If . . . words. (28 *lines*) *added T rest*

Euphues, why goest thou about to alleadge those thinges to cutte off thy hope which she perhaps woulde neuer haue founde, or to comfort my selfe with those reasons which shee neuer meaneth to propose: Tush it were no loue if it were certeyne, and a small conquest it is to ouerthrowe those that neuer resisteth.

In battayles there ought to be a doubtfull fight, and a desperat ende, in pleadinge a diffyculte enteraunce, and a defused determination, in loue a lyfe wythout hope, and a death without feare. Fyre commeth out of the hardest flynte wyth the steele. Oyle out of the dryest Ieate by the fyre, loue out of the stoniest hearte by fayth, by trust, by tyme. Hadde *Tarquinius* vsed his loue with coulours of continuaunce, *Lucretia* woulde eyther wyth some pitie haue aunswered hys desyre, or with some perswasion haue stayed hir death. It was the heate of hys lust, that made hyr hast to ende hir lyfe, wherefore loue in neyther respecte is to bee condempned, but hee of rashnesse to attempte a Ladye furiouslye, and shee of rygor to punishe hys follye in hir owne fleshe, a fact (in myne opinion) more worthy the name of crueltie then chastitie, and fitter for a Monster in the desartes, than a Matrone of *Rome*. *Penelope* no lesse constaunt then shee, yet more wyse, woulde bee wearie to unweaue that in the nyght, shee spunne in the daye, if *Vlysses* hadde not come home the sooner. There is no woeman, *Euphues*, but shee will yeelde in time, bee not therefore dismaied either with high lookes or frowarde words.]

Euphues hauing thus talked with himselfe, *Philautus* entered the chamber, and finding him so worne and wasted with continual mourning, neither ioyeing in his meate, nor reioycing in his friend, with watry eyes vttered this speach.

FRiende and fellow, as I am not ignoraunt of thy present weaknesse, so I am not priuie of the cause, and although I suspect many things, yet can I assure my selfe of no one thing. Therfore my good *Euphues*, for these doubtes and dompes of mine, either remoue the cause or reueale it. Thou hast hetherto found me a cheerefull companion in thy mirth, and nowe shalt thou finde me as careful wyth thee in thy moane. If altogether thou maist not be cured, yet

3 my] thy *TE rest* 5 resist 1613 *rest* 7 diffused 1613 *rest* 11 Tarquinus *A–G* 12 countenuaunce *M*: coũtenaunce *CGE*^{1}: countenance *E*^{2} *rest* haue with some pitty *E rest* 15 either respect is not *E rest* 15–6 but she . . . and he *G* . 23 therefore] then *E rest* 27 watred *F rest* 29 of] to *E rest* 31 thine *F rest* 33 my *E*

maist thou be comforted. If there be any thing that either by my friends may be procured, or by my life attained, that may either heale thee in parte, or helpe thee in all, I protest to thee by the name of a friende, that it shall rather be gotten with the losse of my body, then lost by getting a kingdome. Thou hast tried me, therfore trust mee, thou hast trusted me in many things, therfore trie me in this one thing. I neuer yet failed, and now I will not fainte. Be bolde to speake & blush not: thy sore is not so angry but I can salue it, thy woũd not so deep but I can search it, thy griefe not so great but I can ease it. If it be ripe it shalbe lawnced, if it be broken it shalbe tainted, be it neuer so desperate it shalbe cured. Rise therfore *Euphues*, & take hart at grasse, younger y^{u} shalt neuer be, plucke vp thy stomacke, if loue it selfe haue stoung thee it shal not stiffle thee. Though thou be enamoured of some lady thou shalt not be enchaũted. They y^{t} begin to pine of a consũptiõ, w^{t}out delay preserue thẽselues w^{t} cullisses, he y^{t} feeleth his stomack enflamed w^{t} heat, coolith it eftsoones w^{t} cõserues: delayes breed daũgers, nothing so perillous as procrastinatiõ. *Euphues* hearing this cõfort & friendly counsaile, dissẽbled his sorrowing hart, with a smiling face, aunswering him foorthwith as followeth.

True it is *Philautus* that he which toucheth y^{e} nettle tenderly, is soonest stoung, y^{t} the Fly which plaieth with y^{e} fire is singed in the flame, that he y^{t} dallieth with women is drawen to his woe. And as y^{e} Adamant draweth the heauy yron, the harp y^{e} fleet *Dolphin*, so beauty allureth the chast minde to loue, & the wisest wit to lust: The example whereof I would it were no lesse profitable thẽ y^{e} experiẽce to me is like to be perilous. The vine wattered with wine is soone withered, y^{e} blossom in y^{e} fattest groũd is quickly blasted, the Goat y^{e} fatter she is the lesse fertil she is: yea, man the more wittie he is y^{e} lesse happy he is. So it is *Philautus* (for why should I conceale it frõ thee, of whõ I am to take counsaile) y^{t} since my last & first being w^{t} thee at y^{e} house of *Ferardo*, I haue felt such a furious battaile in mine own body, as if it be not speadely repressed by pollicie, it wil carry my minde (y^{e} graũd captain in this fight) into endles captiuitie. Ah *Liuia*, *Liuia*, thy courtly grace w^{t}out coynes, thy blazing beauty without blemish, thy curteous demeanour without curiosity, thy sweet speach sauoured w^{t} wit, thy comly mirth tem-

2 life] selfe *E rest* 9 thy^{1}] the *TM* great] sore *G* 11 tainted *so all* 12 thou *T rest* 13 it selfe *A TM only* 16 w^{t}]vpon *E rest* 17 heat] meate *E rest* 20 and aunswered him as followeth *E rest* 22 with] in *G rest* 24 & the *E rest* 33 my body *E rest*

pered with modesty, thy chast looks yet louely, thy sharp taunts yet pleasant, haue giuen me such a checke, y^t^ sure I am at the next view of thy vertues, I shall take thee mate: And taking it not of a pawn, but of a prince, y^e^ losse is to be accompted the lesse. And though they be cõmonly in a great choler that receiue the mate, yet would I willingly take euery minute x. mates, to enioy *Liuia* for my louing mate. Doubtlesse if euer she hir self haue ben scorched with the flames of desire, she will be ready to quench the coales with courtesie in an other, if euer shee haue ben attached of loue, she will rescue him y^t^ is drenched in desire, if euer she haue ben taken w^t^ the feauer of fancie, she wil help his ague, who by a quotidiã fit is conuerted into phrensie: Neither can there bee vnder so delicate a hew lodged deceite, neither in so beautifull a mould a malicious minde. True it is that the disposition of the minde, followeth the composition of y^e^ body: how thẽ can she be in minde any way imperfect, who in body is perfect euery way? I know my successe wil be good, but I know not how to haue accesse to my goddesse, neither do I want courage to discouer my loue to my friẽd, but some colour to cloak my cõming to y^e^ house of *Ferardo*, for if they be in *Naples* as ieolous as they be in the other parts of *Italy*, then it behoueth me to walke circũspectly, & to forge some cause for mine oftẽ cõming. If therfore *Philautus*, y^u^ canst set but this fether to mine arrow, y^u^ shalt see me shoot so neere, y^t^ thou wilt accõpt me for a cunning Archer. And verily if I had not loued thee wel, I wold haue swalowed mine own sorrow in silẽce, knowing y^t^ in loue nothing is so daũgerous, as to perticipate y^e^ means therof to an other, & y^t^ two may keep coũsel if one be away. I am therfore enforced perforce to challenge that courtesie at thy handes, which earst thou diddest promise with thy heart, the performaunce whereof shall binde mee to *Philautus*, and proue thee faithfull to *Euphues*. [Now if thy cunning be answerable to thy good will, practise some pleasant cõceipt vpon thy poore patiẽt: one dram of *Ouids* art, some of *Tibullis* drugs, one of *Propertius* pilles, which may cause me either to purge my new disease, or recouer my hoped desire. But I feare me wher so straunge a sicknesse is to be recured of so vnskillfull a Phisition, that either thou wilt be to bold to practise, or my body too weake to purge. But seing a desperate

5 a *om. E rest* 6 x.] ten *T*: tenne *M*: then *C* 8 flame *E rest* 12 into] to *G rest* 22 my *E rest* 24 I *om. C* 27 the *before* one *E rest* 31 Now . . . handes (10 *lines*) *added T rest* to my *G rest*

disease is to be cõmitted to a desperate Doctor, I wil follow thy counsel and become thy cure, desiring thee to be as wise in ministring thy Phisick, as I haue bene willing to putte my lyfe into thy handes.]

Philautus thincking all to bee golde that glistered, and all to bee gospell that *Euphues* vttered, aunswered his forged gloase with this friendly cloase.

In that thou hast made me priuie to thy pourpose, I will not conceale my practise, in that thou crauest my aide, assure thy selfe I wil be the finger next the thumbe, insomuch as thou shalt neuer repent thee of the one or the other. [for perswade thy selfe that thou shalt finde *Philautus* during life ready to comfort thee in thy misfortunes, and succour thee in thy necessitie.] Concerning *Liuia* though shee bee faire, yet is shee not so amiable as my *Lucilla*, whose seruaunt I haue bene the tearme of three yeares, but least comparisons shoulde seeme odious, chiefly where both the parties be without comparison, I will omit that, and seeing that wee had both rather be talking wyth them, then tatling of them, wee will immediatly goe to them. And truely *Euphues* I am not a little gladde, that I shall haue thee, not onely a comfort in my life, but also a companion in my loue: As thou hast bene wise in thy choice, so I hope thou shalt bee fortunate in thy chaunce. *Liuia* is a wench of more witte then beautie, *Lucilla* of more beautie then witte, both of more honestye then honoure, and yet both of suche honoure, as in all *Naples* there is not one in birthe, to bee compared wyth any of them both. Howe much therefore haue wee to reioyce in our choice? Touchinge our accesse bee thou secure, I will flappe *Ferardo* in the mouth with some conceyte, and fill his olde heade so full of newe fables that thou shalt rather bee earnestly entreated to repaire to his house, then euyll entreated to leaue it. As olde men are very suspitious to mistruste euerye thinge, so are they verye credulous to beleeue any thinge, the blinde man doth eate many a Fly: yea, but sayd *Euphues* take heede my *Philautus*, that thou thy selfe swallow not a gudgen, which woord *Philautus* did not marke, vntill he had almost digested it. But said *Philautus* let vs goe deuoutly to the

10 the[1]] thy E^2 *rest* the[2]] thy *T rest* 11–3 or . . . necessitie (*2 lines*) *added T rest* 16 parts *EF* 18 then] that E^1 22 wilt *E rest* any] eyther E^2 *rest* 26 both *A–M only* 27 shill *G*: shall *E rest* 35 Philautus] *all eds.* Euphues, *but the following* Euphues consented *shows that* Philautus *was intended, though from the allusion to* my books *in the added intervening passage it appears that Lyly in his second edition overlooked the mistake.*

shrine of our Saincts there to offer our deuotion, [for my books teach me, that such a woũd must be healed wher it was first hurt, and for this disease we will vse a common remedie, but yet comfortable. The eye that blinded thee, shall make thee see, the Scorpion that stung thee shall heale thee, a sharpe sore hath a short cure, let vs goe :] to the which *Euphues* consented willyngly, smiling to himselfe to see how he had brought *Philautus* into a fooles Paradise.

Heere you may see gentlemen the falshood in felowship, the fraude in friendship, the painted sheth with the leaden dagger, y^e^ faire woords that make fooles faine, but I will not trouble you with superfluous addition vnto whom I feare mee I haue bene tedious, with the bare discourse of this rude historie.

Philautus and *Euphues* repaired to the house of *Ferardo*, where they found Mistres *Lucilla* and *Liuia* accompanied with other gentlewomen neither beeing idle, nor well employed, but playing at cardes. But when *Lucilla* beheld *Euphues* she could scarcely containe hir selfe from embracing him, had not womanly shamefastnesse, and *Philautus* his presence, stayed hir wisdome.

Euphues on the other side was fallen into such a trance, that he had not the power either to succour himselfe, or salute the gentlewomen. At the last *Lucilla* began as one that best might be bolde, on this manner.

Gentlemen although your longe absence gaue mee occasion to thincke that you disliked your late entertainment, yet your comming at the last hath cut off my former suspition : And by so much the more you are welcome by how much the more you were wished for. But you gentleman (taking *Euphues* by the hande) were the rather wished for, for that your discourse being left vnperfect, caused vs all to long (as women are wont for things that like them) to haue an ende thereoff. Unto whom *Philautus* replyed as followeth.

Mistres *Lucilla* thoughe your courtesie made vs nothing to doubt of our welcome, yet modestye caused vs to pinch courtesie who shoulde first come : as for my friende I thincke hee was neuer wished for heere so earnestly of any as of hymselfe, whether it might bee to

1 our two Saints E^2 *rest* 1–6 for . . . goe : (5 *lines*) *added T rest* 5 stinge *C* 8 may you *F rest* 12 rude *om. E rest* 16 would *EF* 23 Gentleman E^1 24 that *om. G rest* last *G rest* 26 were] are *C rest*

renewe his talke or to recant his sayinges, I cannot tell. [*Euphues* takynge the tale out of *Philautus* mouth, aunswered: Mistres *Lucilla*, to recant verities were heresie, and renewe the prayses of woemen flattery: the onely cause I wyshed my selfe heere, was to giue thankes for so good entertainment the which I could no wayes deserue, & to breede a greater acquaintaunce if it might be to make amendes. *Lucilla* inflamed wᵗ his presence, said, nay *Euphues* you shall not escape so, for if my curtesie, as you say, were yᵉ cause of your coñing, let it also be yᵉ occasion of yᵉ ending your former discourse, otherwise I shall thinke your proofe naked, and you shall finde my rewarde nothinge. *Euphues* nowe as willing to obey as shee to commaunde, addressed himselfe to a farther conclusion, who seeing all the gentlewomen readie to giue him the hearing, proceeded as followeth.

I haue not yet forgotten yᵗ my last talke with these gentlewomen, tended to their prayses, and therefore the ende must tye vp the iust proofe, otherwise I shold set downe *Venus* shadow without the liuely substance.

As there is no one thing which can be reckened either concerning loue or loyaltie wherin women do not excell men, yet in feruencye aboue all others, they so farre exceede, that men are lyker to meruaile at them, then to imitate them, and readier to laugh at their vertues then emulate them. For as they be harde to be wonne without tryall of greate faith, so are they hard to be lost without great cause of ficklenesse. It is long before the colde water seeth, yet being once hot, it is long before it be cooled, it is long before salt come to his saltnesse, but beeing once seasoned, it neuer looseth his sauour.

I for mine owne part am brought into a Paradise by the onely imagination of woemens vertues, and were I perswaded that all the Diuelles in hell were woemen, I woulde neuer liue deuoutlye to enherite heauen, or yᵗ they were al Saintes in heauen, I woulde liue more stricktly for feare of hell. What coulde *Adam* haue done in his Paradise before his fall without a woman, or howe woulde he haue ryse agayne after his fall without a woeman? Artificers are wont in their last workes to excell themselues, yea, God when he had

1 to *om. C rest* Euphues . . . no no Lucilla. (57 *lines*) *added T rest*
3 and to renew *C rest* 4 womens E^1 9 of *before* your² *E rest* 12 conclusiion *T* 13 gentlewoman *T* 20 where *EF* 23 imitate *E rest*
25 seethe *G* 27 seanoned *M* 34 a woemen *M* could *C rest*
35 rise *C*: risen *E rest* wyth *TM*

made all thinges, at the last, made man as most perfect, thinking nothing could be framed more excellent, yet after him hee created a woman, the expresse Image of Eternitie, the lyuely picture of Nature, the onely steele glasse for man to beholde hys infirmities, by comparinge them wyth woemens perfections. Are they not more gentle, more wittie, more beautifull then men? Are not men so bewytched with their qualyties that they become madde for loue, and woemen so wyse that they detest lust.

I am entred into so large a fielde, that I shall sooner want time then proofe, and so cloye you wyth varietie of prayses that I feare mee I am lyke to infect women with pride, whiche yet they haue not, and men with spyte whyche yet I woulde not. For as the horse if he knew his owne strength were no wayes to be brideled, or the Unicorne his owne vertue, were neuer to bee caught, so woemen if they knewe what excellency were in them, I feare mee men should neuer winne them to their wills, or weane them from their minde.

Lucilla beganne to smyle, saying, in faith *Euphues*, I woulde haue you staye there, for as the Sunne when he is at the highest beginneth to goe downe, so when the prayses of women are at the best, if you leaue not, they wyll beginne to fayle, but *Euphues* (beinge rapt with the sight of his Saint) aunswered, no no *Lucilla.*] But whilest hee was yet speakinge *Ferardo* entered, whome they all duetifully welcomed home, who rounding *Philautus* in the eare, desired hym to accompany him immediatly without farther pausinge, protesting it shoulde bee as well for his preferment as for his owne profite. *Philautus* consentinge, *Ferardo* sayd to his daughter.

Lucilla the vrgent affaires I haue in hande, wyll scarce suffer mee to tarrye with you one houre, yet my retourne I hope will bee so short, that my absence shall not breede thy sorrowe: In the meane season I commit all thinges into thy custody wishing thee to vse thy accustomable courtesie. And seeinge I must take *Philautus* wyth mee, I will bee so bolde to craue you gentleman (his friende) to supplye his roome desiring you to take this hastye warninge for a hartye welcome and so to spende this time of mine absence in honest mirth. And thus I leaue you.

Philautus knewe well the cause of this sodayne departure, which was to redeeme certeine landes that were morgaged in his Fathers

8 doe detest *C rest* 10 phrases *C rest* 18 he] she *E* 25 it shoulde] that it should *EF*: that it would 1613 *rest* his[1]] this *G* 26 vnto *T rest*
31 accustomed E^2 *rest* 36 his *E rest* 37 morgaged in] in morgaged *C*

time to the vse of *Ferardo* who on that condition had before time promysed hĩm his daughter in marriage. But retourne wee to *Euphues*.

Euphues was surprised with such increadible ioye at this straunge euent, that hee had almost sounded, for seeing his coryuall to be departed, and *Ferardo* to gyue him so friendly entertainment, doubted not in time to get the good wyll of *Lucilla*: Whome findinge in place conuẽnient without company, with a bolde courage and comely gesture, he began to assay hir in this sort.

Gentlewoman, my acquaintaunce beeing so little, I am afraide my credite will bee lesse, for that they commonly are soonest beleeued, that are best beloued, and they liked best, whome we haue knowne longest, neuerthelesse the noble minde suspecteth no guile wythout cause, neither condemneth any wight wythout proofe, hauing therefore notise of your heroycall heart, I am the better perswaded of my good hap. So it is *Lucilla*, that cõming to *Naples* but to fetch fire, as the by word is, not to make my place of abode, I haue founde such flames that I can neither quench them wyth the water of free will, neyther coole them wyth wisedome. For as the Hoppe the poale beeing neuer so hye groweth to the ende, or as the drye Beeche kindled at the roote, neuer leaueth vntill it come to the toppe, or as one droppe of poyson disperseth it selfe into euerye vaine, so affection hauinge caughte holde of my hearte, and the sparkles of loue kindled my liuer, wyll sodeinely, thoughe secretlye flame vp into my heade, and spreade it selfe into euerye sinewe. It is your beautie (pardon my abrupte boldenesse) Ladye that hath taken euery part of mee prisoner, and brought me to this deepe distresse, but seeinge women when one praiseth them for their desertes, deeme that hee flattereth them to obteine his desire, I am heere present to yelde my selfe to such tryall, as your courtesie in this behalfe shall require: Yet will you cõmonly obiect this to such as serue you & sterue to winne your good wil, that hot loue is soone colde, that the Bauin though it bourne bright, is but a blaze, that scaldinge water if it stande a while tourneth almost to yse, that pepper though it be hot in the mouth is colde in the mawe, that the faith of men though it frye in their woordes, it freeseth in theire works: Which things

4 supprised *A* 5 sounded] swouned 1631–6 14 any with without *C*: anye without *G rest* 21 to] at *G* 23 sparks *E rest* 26 haue *C* 27 vnto *TMG rest* 31 sterue *AT*: starue *M*–1613: striue 1617–36

(*Lucilla*) albeit they be sufficient to reproue the lightnesse of some one, yet can it not conuince euery one of lewdenes, neither ought the constancie of all, to be brought in question through the subtiltie of a fewe. For although the worme entereth almost into euery woode, yet he eateth not the *Ceder* tree; Though the stone *Cylindrus* at euery thunder clappe, rowle from the hill, yet the pure sleeke stone mounteth at the noyse, though the rust fret the hardest steele, yet doth it not eate into the Emeraulde, though *Polypus* chaunge his hew, yet y^e^ *Salamander* keepeth his coulour, though *Proteus* transforme himselfe into euery shape, yet *Pygmalion* retaineth his olde forme, though *Aeneas* were to fickle to *Dido*, yet *Troylus* was to faithfull to *Crœssida*, thoughe others seeme counterfaite in their deedes, yet *Lucilla* perswade your selfe that *Euphues* will bee alwayes curraunt in his dealinges. But as the true golde is tryed by the touch, the pure flinte by the stroke of the yron, so the loyall heart of the faithfull louer, is knowen by the tryall of his Lady: of the which tryall (*Lucilla*) if you shall accompte *Euphues* worthy, assure your selfe, hee wyll bee as readie to offer himselfe a sacrifice for your sweet sake, as your selfe shall bee willinge to employe hym in your seruice. Neyther doth hee desire to bee trusted any way, vntill he shall be tried euery way, neither doth hee craue credite at the first, but a good countenaunce til time his desire shall be made manifest by hys desertes. Thus not blynded by lyght affection, but dazeled with your rare perfection, and boldened by your exceeding courtesie, I haue vnfolded mine entire loue, desiring you hauing so good leasure, to giue so friendly an aunswere, as I may receiue comforte, and you commendacion.

Lucilla although she were contented to heare this desired discourse, yet did shee seeme to bee somewhat displeased: And truely I know not whether it bee peculyar to that sex to dissemble with those, whome they most desire, or whether by craft they haue learned outwardely to loath that, which inwardely they most loue: yet wisely did she cast this in hir head, that if she should yeelde at the first assault he woulde thinke hir a lyght huswife, if she should reiect him scornefully a very haggard, minding therefore that he shoulde neyther take holde of hir promise, neyther vnkindenesse of hir precisenesse, she fedde him indifferently, with hope and dispayre, reason and

2 it] they *T rest* 10 in *E rest* 12 Cressid *TMC*: Cressida *G rest*
15 and *before* the[1] *G rest* 26 an *om. E rest* 28 content *E rest*

affection, lyfe and death. Yet in the ende arguing wittilly vpon certeine questions, they fell to suche agreement as poore *Philautus* woulde not haue agreed vnto if hee had bene present, yet alwayes keepinge the body vndefiled. And thus shee replyed.

GEntleman as you may suspecte me of Idelnesse in giuing eare to your talke, so may you conuince me of lyghtenesse in answering such toyes, certes as you haue made mine eares glowe at the rehearsall of your loue, so haue you galled my hart with the remembrance of your folly. Though you came to *Naples* as a straunger, yet were you welcome to my fathers house as a friend. And can you then so much transgresse y^e^ bounds of honour (I will not say of honestie) as to solicite a sute more sharpe to me then deathe? I haue hetherto God bethancked, liued wythout suspition of lewdenesse, and shall I nowe incurre the daunger of sensuall lybertie? What hope can you haue to obtayne my loue, seeing yet I coulde neuer affoord you a good looke? Doe you therefore thinke me easely entised to the bent of your bow, bicause I was easely entreated to lysten to your late discourse? Or seeing mee (as finely you glose) to excell all other in beautie, did you deeme that I would exceed all other in beastlynesse? But yet I am not angry *Eupheus* but in an agony, for who is shee that will frette or fume with one that loueth hir, if this loue to delude mee bee not dissembled. It is that which causeth me most to feare, not that my beautie is vnknown to my selfe but that commonly we poore wenches are deluded through lyght beliefe, and ye men are naturally enclined craftely to leade your lyfe. When the Foxe preacheth the Geese perishe. The Crocodile shrowdeth greatest treason vnder most pitifull teares: in a kissing mouth there lyeth a gallyng minde. You haue made so large proffer of your seruice, and so fayre promises of fidelytie, that were I not ouer charie of mine honestie, you would inueigle me to shake handes with chastitie. But certes I will eyther leade a Uirgins lyfe in earth (though I leade Apes in hell) or els follow thee rather then thy giftes: yet am I neither so precise to refuse thy proffer, neither so peeuish to disdain thy good will: So excellent alwayes are y^e^ giftes which are made acceptable by the vertue of the giuer. I did at the firste entraunce discerne thy loue but yet dissemble it.

4 the] her *G rest* 11 bounds *AF*–1636: bonds *T*–*E* 19 you[2]] ye *C rest* could *E rest* 20 Euphues *T rest* 21 in an *ATG rest*: in *MC* not *before* fret *A* 29 proffer] a profer *E rest*

Thy wanton glaunces, thy scalding sighes, thy louing signes, caused me to blush for shame, and to looke wanne for feare, least they should be perceiued of any. These subtill shiftes, these paynted practises (if I were to be wonne) woulde soone weane mee from the teate of *Vesta*, to the toyes of *Venus*. Besides this thy comly grace, thy rare quallyties, thy exquisite perfection, were able to moue a minde halfe mortified to transgresse the bondes of maydenly modestie. But God shielde *Lucilla*, that thou shouldest be so carelesse of thine honour as to commit the state thereoff to a stranger. Learne thou by me *Euphues* to dispise things that be amiable, to forgoe delightfull practises, beleeue mee it is pietie to abstayne from pleasure.

Thou arte not the first that hath solicited this sute, but the first that goeth about to seduce mee, neyther discernest thou more then other, but darest more then any, neyther hast thou more arte to discouer thy meaninge, but more hearte to open thy minde: But thou preferrest mee before thy landes, thy lyuings, thy lyfe: thou offerest thy selfe a Sacrifice for my securitie, thou proferest mee the whole and onelye souereigntie of thy seruice: Truely I were very cruell and harde hearted if I should not loue thee: harde hearted albeit I am not, but truely loue thee I cannot, whome I doubte to be my louer.

Moreouer I haue not bene vsed to the court of *Cupide*, wherin ther be more slights then there be Hares in *Athon*, then Bees in *Hybla*, then stars in Heauen. Besides this, the common people heere in *Naples* are not onelye both verye suspitious of other mens matters and manners, but also very iealous ouer other mens children and maydens: eyther therefore dissemble thy fancie, or desist from thy folly.

But why shouldest thou desist from the one, seeinge thou canst cunningly dissemble the other. My father is nowe gone to *Venice*, and as I am vncerteine of his retourne, so am I not priuie to the cause of his trauayle: But yet is he so from hence that he seethe me in his absence. Knowest thou not *Euphues* that kinges haue long armes & rulers large reches? neither let this comfort thee, that at his departure he deputed thee in *Philautus* place. Although my face cause him to mistrust my loyaltie, yet my fayth enforceth him

2 to^2 *om. E rest* 4 I] it *EF* 7 bands *E rest* 10 those *before* things *G rest* 11 pitty *EF* 21–2 whome . . . be] whom I doubt thee to be *E*: when I doubt thee to be *F*–1636 24 slights] sights *G* 33 he is *C rest* 35 reaches *MGH rest*: reachers *EF* 37 causeth *E rest*

to giue mee this lybertie, though he be suspitious of my fayre hew, yet is he secure of my firme honestie. But alas *Euphues*, what truth can there be found in a trauayler? what stay in a stranger? whose words & bodyes both watch but for a winde, whose feete are euer fleeting, whose fayth plighted on the shoare, is tourned to periurie when they hoiste saile. Who more trayterous to *Phillis* then *Demophoon?* yet he a trauailer. Who more periured to *Dido* then *Aeneas?* and he a stranger: both these Queenes, both they Caytiffes. Who more false to *Ariadne* then *Theseus?* yet he a sayler. Who more fickle to *Medea* then *Iason?* yet he a starter: both these daughters to great Princes, both they vnfaythfull of promisses. Is it then lykely that *Euphues* will be faithfull to *Lucilla* beeing in *Naples* but a soiourner? I haue not yet forgotten the inuectiue (I can no otherwise terme it) which thou madest against beautie, saying it was a deceiptfull bayte with a deadly hooke, & a sweete poyson in a paynted potte. Canst thou then be so vnwise to swallow the bayte which will breede thy bane? To swill the drinke that will expire thy date? To desire the wight that will worke thy death? But it may bee that with y^e^ Scorpion thou canst feede on the earth, or with the Quaile and Roebucke, be fatte with poyson, or with beautie lyue in all brauerie. I feare me thou hast the stone *Continens* about thee, which is named of the contrarye, that thoughe thou pretende faithe in thy words, thou deuisest fraude in thy heart: y^t^ though thou seeme to prefer loue, thou art inflamed with lust. And what for that? Though thou haue eaten the seedes of Rockatte, which breede incontinencie, yet haue I chewed the leafe Cresse which mainteineth modestie. Though thou beare in thy bosome the hearbe *Araxa* most noisome to virginitie, yet haue I y^e^ stone y^t^ groweth in the mounte *Tmolus*, the vpholder of chastitie. You may gentleman accompte me for a colde Prophet, thus hastely to deuine of your disposition, pardon mee *Euphues* if in loue I cast beyonde the Moone, which bringeth vs women to endlesse moane. Although I my selfe were neuer burnt, whereby I should dread the fire, yet the scorching of others in the flames of fancie, warneth me to beware: Though I as yet neuer tryed any faithles, wherby I should

3 be *om. G* stay] trust *G rest* 6 hoyse ME^2F 7 Demophon *E* 1613 *rest*: Domophon *F* 11 their promises *T rest* 12 lykely] like *E rest* 13 can no] cannot *G rest* 22 Continens *F*: Contineus *A–E*: Continues [1623?] 24 y^t^] and *G rest* proffer 1617–36 25 Reckat *TMC*: Rackat *G*: Racket *E*: Rocket *F*–1636 27 mayteineth *A* 30 Gentlemen *G–F* 35 as yet I *G rest*

be fearefull, yet haue I read of many that haue bene periured, which causeth me to be carefull: though I am able to cõuince none by proofe, yet am I enforced to suspect one vppon probabilyties. Alas we silly soules which haue neyther witte to decypher the wyles of men, nor wisedome to dissemble our affection, neyther crafte to trayne in young louers, neither courage to withstande their encounters, neyther discretion to discerne their dubling, neither hard hearts to reiect their complaynts, wee I say are soone enticed, beeing by nature simple, and easily entangled, beeinge apte to receiue the impression of loue. But alas it is both common and lamentable, to beholde simplicitie intrapped by subtilytie, and those that haue most might, to be infected with most mallice. The Spider weaueth a fine webbe to hang the Fly, the Wolfe weareth a faire face to deuoure the Lambe, the Merlin striketh at the Partridge, the Eagle often snappeth at the Fly, men are alwayes laying baytes for women, which are the weaker vessells: but as yet I could neuer heare man by such snares to intrappe man: For true it is that men themselues haue by vse obserued, that it must be a hard winter, when one Wolfe eateth an other. I haue read y^{t} the Bull being tyed to y^{e} Figge tree loseth his strength, that the whole heard of Deare stande at the gaze, if they smell a sweete apple, that the *Dolphin* by the sound of Musicke is brought to y^{e} shore. And then no meruaile it is that if the fierce Bull be tamed with the Figge tree, if that women beeing as weake as sheepe, be ouercome with a Figge, if the wilde Deare be caughte with an apple, that the tame Damzell is wonne with a blossome, if the fleete *Dolphin* be allured with harmony, that women be entangled with the melodie of mens speach, fayre promises and solemne protestations. But follye it were for mee to marke their mischiefes, sith I am neyther able, neyther they willynge to amende their manners, it becommeth mee rather to shew what our sexe should doe, then to open what yours doth. And seeing I cannot by reason restrayne your importunate sute, I will by rigour done on my selfe, cause you to refraine the meanes. I would to God *Ferardo* were in this poynte lyke to *Lysander*, which would not suffer his daughters to weare gorgeous apparell, saying it would rather make them common then comely. I would it were in *Naples* a law, which was a custome in *Aegypt*, that woemen should alwayes go barefoote, to the intent they might keepe themselues

11 by] in *G rest* 13 a^{1}] the *G rest* 15 often *om. E rest* 17 themseleus *A* 21 of *before* a *G* 26 fleete] fish *F*

alwayes at home, that they shoulde be euer lyke to y^t^ Snaile, which hath euer his house on his head. I meane so to mortifie my selfe that in stead of silkes I will weare sackecloth, for Owches and Bracelettes, Leere and Caddys, for the Lute, vse the Distaffe, for the Penne, the Needle, for louers Sonettes, Dauids Psalmes. But yet I am not so senceles altogether to reiect your seruice: which if I were certeinly assured to proceed of a simple minde, it shold not receiue so simple a reward. And what greater triall can I haue of thy simplicitie & truth, thē thine owne requeste which desireth a triall. I, but in the coldest flinte there is hotte fire, the Bee that hath honny in hir mouth, hath a sting in hir tayle, the tree that beareth the sweetest fruite, hath a sower sappe, yea the wordes of men, though they seeme smoothe as oyle, yet their heartes are as crooked as the stalke of Iuie. I woulde not *Euphues* that thou shouldest condemne me of rigour, in that I seeke to asswage thy follye by reason, but take this by the way that although as yet I am disposed to lyke of none, yet whensoeuer I shall loue any I will not forget thee, in the meane season accompt me thy friend, for thy foe I will neuer be.

Euphues was brought into a greate quandarie and as it were a colde shiuering, to heare this newe kinde of kindenesse, such sweete meate, such sower sauce, such faire wordes, such faint promises, such hotte loue, such colde desire, such certayne hope, such sodaine chaunge, and stoode lyke one that had looked on *Medusaes* heade, and so had bene tourned into a stone.

Lucilla seeing him in this pitifull plight and fearing he would take stande if the lure were not cast out, toke him by the hand and wringing him softely with a smiling countenaunce began thus to comfort him.

Mee thinkes *Euphues* chaungeing so your couloure vpon the sodaine, you will soone chaunge your coppie: is your minde on your meat? a penny for your thought.

Mistresse (quod he) if you would buy all my thoughts at that price, I shoulde neuer be wearye of thinking, but seeinge it is too deere, reade it, and take it for nothing.

It seemes to me (sayd she) y^t^ you are in some browne study, what coulours you mighte best weare for your Ladye.

In deede *Lucilla* you leuell shrewdly at my thought, by the ayme

1 y^t^] the *T rest* 8 can] shall *G rest* 12 sappe] say E^2F 21 shieuering *G*: sheeuering *EF* 33 quoth *T rest* 34 too] so *G rest*

of your owne imagination, for you haue giuen vnto me a true loues knotte wrought of chaungeable silke, and you deeme mee that I am deuisinge howe I mighte haue my coulours chaungeable also, that they mighte agree: But lette this with such toyes and deuises passe, if it please you to commaund me any seruice, I am heere ready to attende your leasure. No seruice *Euphues*, but that you keepe silence vntill I haue vttered my minde: and secrecie when I haue vnfolded my meaning.

If I should offende in the one I were to bold, if in the other too beastly.

Well then *Euphues* (sayd shee) so it is that for the hope that I conceiue of thy loyaltie and the happy successe that is lyke to ensue of this our loue, I am content to yeelde thee the place in my heart which thou desirest and deseruest aboue all other: which consent in me if it may any wayes breede thy contentation, sure I am that it will euery way worke my comforte. But as eyther thou tenderest mine honour or thine owne safetie, vse such secrecie in this matter that my father haue no incklyng heereoff, before I haue framed his minde fitte for our purpose. And though women haue small force to ouercome men by reason, yet haue they good Fortune to vndermine them by pollycie. The softe droppes of raine pearce the hard Marble, many strokes ouerthrow the tallest Oke, a silly woman in time may make such a breach into a mans hearte as hir teares may enter without resistaunce, then doubt not but I will so vndermine mine olde father, as quickly I will enioy my new friend. Tush *Philautus* was liked for fashion sake, but neuer loued for fancie sake, & this I vow by y^e^ fayth of a Uirgin and by the loue I beare thee, (for greater bands to confirme my vowe I haue not) that my father shall sooner martir me in the fire then marry me to *Philautus*. No no *Euphues* thou onely hast wonne me by loue, and shalt only weare me by law, I force not *Philautus* his fury, so I may haue *Euphues* his friendship, neither will I prefer his possessions before thy person, neyther esteeme better of his lands then of thy loue. *Ferardo* shall sooner disherite me of my patrimony, then dishonour me in breaking my promise. It is not his great mannors, but thy good manners, that shall make my marriage. In token of which my

1 louers *G rest* 2 mee *om. T rest* 6 pleasure *G rest* 20 good *om. E rest* 21, 25 vndermind *EF* (*cf.* p. 229, l. 21) 23 into] in *E rest* 28 to *before* thee *F* 34 disinherit 1613 *rest* 35 promise it *A*: promise: it *T*: promise? It *M*.

sincere affection, I giue thee my hande in pawne and my heart for euer to be thy *Lucilla.*

Unto whome *Euphues* aunswered in this manner.

If my tongue were able to vtter the ioyes that my heart hath conceiued, I feare me though I be wel beloued, yet I shoulde hardlye bee beleeued. Ah my *Lucilla* howe much am I bounde to thee, whiche preferrest mine vnworthinesse before thy Fathers wrath, my happinesse before thine owne misfortune, my loue before thine owne lyfe? howe might I excell thee in courtesie, whome no mortall creature can exceede in constancie? I finde it nowe for a setled truth, which earst I accompted for a vaine talke, that the Purple dye will neuer staine, that the pure Cyuet will neuer loose his sauour, that the greene Laurell will neuer chaunge his coulour, that beautie can neuer bee blotted with discourtesie: As touching secrecie in this behalfe, assure thy selfe, that I wyll not so much as tell it to my selfe. Commaund *Euphues* to runne, to ride, to vndertake any exploite be it neuer so daungerous, to hazarde himselfe in any enterprise, be it neuer so desperate: As they were thus pleasauntly conferring the one with the other, *Liuia* (whom *Euphues* made his stale) entered into the parlor, vnto whom *Lucilla* spake in these termes.

Dost thou not laugh *Liuia* to see my ghostly father keepe me heere so long at shrift? Truely (aunswered *Liuia*) me thinckes that you smile at some pleasaunt shift, either hee is slow in enquiring of your faultes, or you slack in aunswering of his questions, and thus being supper time they al sat downe, *Lucilla* wel pleased, no man better content then *Euphues*, who after hys repast hauing no opportunitie to conferre wyth his louer, had small lust to continue with the gentlewomen any longer, seeinge therefore hee coulde frame no meanes to woorke his delight, hee coyned an excuse to hasten his departure, promisinge the next morninge to trouble them againe as a guest more bolde then welcome, although in deed he thought himselfe to bee the better welcome in saying that hee would come.

But as *Ferardo* went in poste, so hee retourned in haste, hauinge concluded wyth *Philautus*, that the marriage shoulde immediatly bee consummated which wrought such a content in *Philautus* yᵗ

5 should I *G* 13 his *om. E rest* 15 thy] your *G rest* 25 of] *om. C rest* 28 apportunitie *A* Loue *E rest* 29 gentlewoman *A* 33 the *om. C rest*

he was almost in an extasie through the extremitie of hys passions: such is the fulnesse and force of pleasure, that there is nothinge so daungerous as the fruityon, yet knowinge that delayes bringe daungers, althoughe hee nothinge doubted of *Lucilla*, whome hee loued, yet feared hee the ficklenesse of olde men, which is alwayes to bee mistrusted. He vrged therefore *Ferardo* to breake wyth his daughter who beeinge willinge to haue the match made, was content incontinently to procure the meanes: findinge therefore his daughter at leasure, and hauing knowledge of hir former loue, spake to hir as followeth.

Deere daughter, as thou hast longe tyme lyued a mayden, so nowe thou must learne to bee a Mother, and as I haue bene carefull to bringe thee vpp a virgin, so am I nowe desirous to make thee a wyfe. Neyther ought I in this matter to vse any perswasions, for y^t^ maydens cõmonly now a daies are no sooner borne, but they begin to bride it: neither to offer any greate portions for that thou knowest thou shalt inherite all my possessions. Mine onely care hath bene hetherto to match thee with such an one, as shoulde be of good wealth able to maynteine thee, of great worship able to compare with thee in birth, of honest conditions to deserue thy loue, and an *Italian* borne to enioye my landes. At the laste I haue founde one aunswerable to my desire, a gentleman of great reuenewes, of a noble progenie, of honest behauiour, of comely personage, borne and brought vp in *Naples*, *Philautus* (thy friende as I gesse) thy husband *Lucilla*, if thou lyke it, neither canst thou dislike hym, who wanteth nothing that shoulde cause thy liking, neyther hath any thinge that shoulde breede thy loathing. And surely I reioyce the more, that thou shalt be linked to him in marriage, whome thou hast loued as I heare beeinge a mayden, neither can there any iarres kindle betweene them, where the mindes be so vnited, neyther any ielowsie arise, where loue hathe so longe bene setled. Therefore *Lucilla* to the ende the desire of either of you may now be accomplished, to the delight of you both, I am here come to finishe the contract by giuinge handes, whiche you haue alredy begun between your selues by ioyning of hearts, that as God doth witnesse the one in your consciences, so the worlde may testifie the other by your conuersations, and therefore *Lucilla* make such aunswere to my request, as maye like me and satisfie thy friende.

15 they] then *C* 18 heterto *A* 23 progenie *A* 33 of^1^ *om. C*
35 by] in *E rest* 36 in] by *E rest*

Lucilla abashed with this sodeine speach of hir father, yet boldened by the loue of hir friend, with a comly bashfulnesse aunswered him in this manner.

Reuerend Sir, the sweetnesse that I haue found in the vndefiled estate of virginitie, causeth me to loath the sower sauce which is mixed with matrimony, and y^e^ quiet life which I haue tried being a maiden, maketh me to shun the cares y^t^ are alwaies incidēt to a mother, neither am I so wedded to the worlde that I should be moued wyth greate possessions, neyther so bewitched with wantonnesse, that I should bee entised with any mans proportion, neither if I were so dysposed woulde I bee so proude to desire one of noble progenie, or so precise to choose one onely in myne owne countrey, for that commonlye these thinges happen alwayes to the contrarie. Do wee not see the noble to matche wyth the base, the rich with the poore, the *Italian* oftentimes with the *Portingale?* As loue knoweth no lawes, so it regardeth no conditions, as the louer maketh no pawse where hee liketh, so hee maketh no conscience of these idle ceremonies. In that *Philautus* is the man that threateneth suche kindenesse at my handes, and such courtesie at yours, that hee shoulde accompte mee his wyfe before hee woe mee, certeinely hee is lyke for mee to make hys reckoninge twise, bicause hee reconeth without hys hostesse. And in this *Philautus* woulde eyther shew himselfe of greate wisdome to perswade, or mee of great lightnesse to be allured: although the loadstone drawe yron, yet it cannot moue golde, thoughe the Iette gather vp the light strawe, yet can it not take vp the pure steele. Althoughe *Philautus* thincke himselfe of vertue sufficient to winne his louer, yet shall hee not obtaine *Lucilla*. I cannot but smile to heare, that a marriage should bee solemnized, where neuer was any mention of assuringe, and that the woeing should bee a day after the weddinge. Certes if when I looked merilye on *Philautus*, hee deemed it in the waye of marriage, or if seeinge mee disposed to ieste, he tooke mee in good earnest, then sure hee might gather some presumption of my loue, but no promise: But mee thincks it is good reason, that I shoulde be at mine owne brydeall, and not gyuen in the Church, before I know the Bridegrome. Therefore deere Father in mine opinion as there can bee no bargaine, where both be not agreede, neither

5 state *C rest* 15 Portugale 1613–23: Portugall 1631, 1636 20 certeine *C rest* 21 mee *om. C*: for mee *om. G rest* 24 draweth *E rest* 25 light *om. C rest* 32 dispose *A* 34 think *E rest*

any Indentures sealed, where the one will not consent, so can there be no contract where both be not content, no banes asked lawfully where one of the parties forbiddeth thē, no marriage made where no match was ment: But I will hereafter frame my selfe to be coy, seeing I am claimed for a wife bicause I haue bene courteous, and giue my selfe to melancholy, seing I am accompted wonne in that I haue bene merrie: And if euery gentleman be made of the mettall that *Philautus* is, then I feare I shall be challenged of as many as I haue vsed to company with, and bee a common wife to all those that haue commonly resorted hether.

My duetie therefore euer reserued, I heere on my knees forsweare *Philautus* for my husband, althoughe I accept him for my friende, and seeing I shall hardly bee induced euer to match with any, I beseeche you, if by your Fatherly loue I shall bee compelled, that I may match wyth such a one as both I may loue, and you may like.

Ferardo beeing a graue and wise Gentleman, although he were throughly angry, yet he dissembled his fury, to the ende he might by craft discouer hir fancie, and whispering *Philautus* in the eare (who stood as though he had a Flea in his eare) desired him to keepe silence, vntil he had vndermined hir by subtiltie, which *Philautus* hauing graunted, *Ferardo* began to sift his daughter with this deuice.

Lucilla thy coulour sheweth thee to be in a greate choler, and thy hot woords bewray thy heauy wrath, but bee patient, seeinge all my talke was onelye to trye thee, I am neyther so vnnaturall to wreaste thee against thine owne will, neyther so malytious to wedde thee to any, agaynste thine owne likinge: for well I knowe what iarres, what ielousie, what striefe, what stormes ensue, where the matche is made rather by the compulsion of the parents, then by consent of the parties, neyther doe I like thee the lesse, in that thou lykest *Philautus* so little, neyther can *Philautus* loue thee the worse, in that thou louest thy selfe so well, wishinge rather to stande to thy chaunce, then to the choyse of any other. But this gryueth mee most, that thou art almost vowed to the vayne order of the vestall virgins, despisinge, or at the least not desiring the sacred

1 Indenture *E*^{2} *rest* 6 accounted *C*–*E*^{1}: counted *E*^{2} *rest* 10 hither *E rest* 18 that *before* he^{2} *G rest* 19 the] his *G rest* 21 vnderminded *E* 1613–23 (*cf.* p. 225, l. 21) 24 greate *om. E rest* 27 thy *F* 30 the^{1} *om. C rest* the *before* consent *T rest* 33 thee *before* rather *G rest*

bandes of *Iuno* hir bedde. If thy Mother had bene of that minde when shee was a mayden, thou haddest not nowe bene borne to bee of this minde to bee a virginne: Waye wyth thy selfe what slender profite they bring to the common wealth, what sleight pleasure to themselues, what greate griefe to theire parentes which ioye most in their ofspringe, and desire moste to enioye the noble and blessed name of a graundfather.

Thou knowest that the tallest Ashe is cut downe for fuell, bycause it beareth no good fruite, that the Cowe that gyues no mylke is brought to the slaughter, that the Drone that gathereth no honny is contemned, that the woman that maketh hyr selfe barren by not marryinge, is accompted among the *Grecian* Ladyes worse then a carryon, as *Homere* reporteth. Therefore *Lucilla* if thou haue any care to bee a comforte to mye hoarye haires, or a commoditye to thy common weale, frame thy selfe to that honourable estate of matrimonye, whiche was sanctified in Paradise, allowed of the Patriarches, hallowed of the olde Prophetes, and commended of all persons. If thou lyke any, bee not ashamed to tell it mee, whiche onely am to exhorte thee, yea, and as much as in mee lyeth to commaunde thee, to loue one: If hee bee base thy bloude wyll make hym noble, if beggerlye thy goodes shall make hym wealthy, if a straunger thy freedome may enfraunchise hym: if hee bee younge he is the more fitter to be thy pheare, if he be olde the lyker to thine aged Father. For I had rather thou shouldest leade a lyfe to thine owne lykeinge in earthe, then to thy greate tormentes leade Apes in Hell. Be bolde therefore to make me partner of thy desire, whiche will be partaker of thy dysease, yea, and a furtherer of thy delights, as farre as either my friendes, or my landes, or my life will stretch.

Lucilla perceiuinge the drifte of the olde Foxe hir Father, wayed with hir selfe what was beste to be done, at the laste not wayinge hir Fathers yll wyll, but encouraged by loue, shaped hym an aunswere whiche pleased *Ferardo* but a little, and pinched *Philautus* on the parsons side on thys manner.

¶ Deere Father *Ferardo*, althoughe I see the bayte you laye to catche me, yet I am content to swallowe the hooke, neyther are you

1 bondes *C rest* (1623 *misprints* bones) 4 slight *T rest* 7 a *om. E rest* 8–9 bycause . . . good] for it beareth no *E rest* 15 thy[1]] the *C rest* that] y[t] *E*: y[e] *F* 1613: the 1617 *rest* 20 shall *G rest* 22 may] shall *G rest* 26 partner *ATE*[1]: partaker *ME*[2] *rest*: pertener *C*: partener *G* 31 the *before* beste *TMC* 34 persons *T–E*[1] 1631

more desirous to take me nappinge, then I willinge to confesse my meaninge. So it is that loue hath as well inueigled me as others, which make it as straunge as I. Neyther doe I loue hym so meanely that I should be ashamed of his name, neyther is hys personage so meane that I shoulde loue hym shamefullye: It is *Euphues* that lately arryued heere at *Naples*, that hath battered the bulwarke of my breste, and shall shortly enter as conquerour into my bosome: What his wealth is I neither know it nor waye it, what his wit is all *Naples* doth knowe it, and wonder at it, neyther haue I bene curious to enquire of his progenitors, for that I knowe so noble a minde could take no Originall but from a noble man, for as no birde can looke againe the Sunne, but those that bee bredde of the Eagle, neyther any Hawke soare so hie as the broode of the Hobbie, so no wight can haue suche excellent qualities excepte hee descend of a noble race, neyther be of so highe capacitie, vnlesse hee issue of a high progenie. And I hope *Philautus* wyll not bee my foe, seeinge I haue chosen his deere friende, neither you Father bee displeased in that *Philautus* is displaced. You neede not muse that I shoulde so sodeinely bee intangled, loue giues no reason of choice, neither will it suffer anye repulse. *Mirha* was enamoured of hir naturall Father, *Biblis* of hir brother, *Phædra* of hir sonne in lawe: If nature can no way resist the fury of affection, howe should it be stayed by wisdome?

Ferardo interrupting hir in the middle of hyr discourse, although he were moued with inward grudge, yet he wisely repressed his anger, knowing that sharpe wordes would but sharpen hir froward wil, and thus answered hir briefly.

Lucilla, as I am not presently to graunt my good will, so meane I not to reprehende thy choyce, yet wisdome wylleth mee to pawse, vntill I haue called what maye happen to my remembraunce, and warneth thee to bee circumspecte, leaste thy rashe conceyte bringe a sharpe repentaunce. As for you *Philautus* I woulde not haue you dispaire seeinge a woman dothe oftentimes chaunge hir desire. Unto whome *Philautus* in fewe woordes made aunswere.

Certeinely *Ferardo* I take the lesse griefe in that I see hir so greedy after *Euphues*, and by so much the more I am content to leaue my sute, by how much the more she seemeth to disdayne my

12 against *T rest* the²] an *F* 14 descended E^2–1613 15 issue] be *E rest* 25 was *F* 28 my] thy *F* 30 what maye happen *in parenthesis E rest* 33 seeing that *E rest*

seruice, but as for hope bicause I woulde not by any meanes tast one dramme thereoff, I will abiure all places of hir abode and loath hir company, whose countenaunce I haue so much loued, as for *Euphues*, and there staying his speache, hee flange out of the dores and repairing to his lodginge vttered these words.

Ah most dissembling wretch *Euphues*, O counterfayte companion, couldest thou vnder the shewe of a stedfast friende cloake the mallice of a mortall foe? vnder the coulour of simplicitie shrowd the Image of deceit? Is thy *Liuia* tourned to my *Lucilla*, thy loue to my louer, thy deuotion to my Sainct? Is this the curtesie of *Athens*, the cauillyng of schollers, the craft of *Grecians?* Couldest thou not remember *Philautus* that *Greece* is neuer without some wily *Vlisses*, neuer void of some *Synon*, neuer to seeke of some deceitfull shifter? Is it not commonly saide of *Grecians* that crafte commeth to them by kinde, that they learne to deceiue in their cradell? Why then did his pretended curtesie bewitch thee with such credulytie? shall my good will bee the cause of his ill wil? bicause I was content to be his friende, thought he mee meete to be made his foole? I see now that as the fish *Scolopidus* in the floud *Araris* at the waxinge of the Moone is as white as the driuen snow, and at the wayning as blacke as the burnt coale, so *Euphues*, which at the first encreasing of our familyaritie, was very zealous, is nowe at the last cast become most faythlesse. But why rather exclaime I not agaynst *Lucilla*, whose wanton lookes caused *Euphues* to vyolate his plyghted fayth? Ah wretched wenche canst thou be so lyght of loue, as to chaunge with euery winde? so vnconstant as to preferre a new louer before thine olde friende? Ah well I wotte that a newe broome sweepeth cleane, and a new garment maketh thee leaue off the olde thoughe it be fitter, and newe wine causeth thee to forsake the olde though it be better, much lyke to the men in the Ilande *Scyrum*, which pull upp the olde tree when they se the young beginne to spring, and not vnlike vnto the widow of *Lesbos*, which changed all hir olde golde for new glasse, haue I serued thee three yeares faithfully, and am I serued so vnkindely? shall the fruite of my desire be tourned to disdayne? But vnlesse *Euphues* had inueigled thee thou haddest yet bene constant, yea but if *Euphues* had not seene thee willyng to be wonne, he would neuer haue woed thee, but had not *Euphues*

4 flang *T rest* 5 *after* these *add* or the like E^2 *rest* 9 to^1] vnto *E rest* 27 thine] an *G rest* 29 fitte E^2 *rest* 30 who *G rest* 31 trees *E rest* 32 to E^2 *rest*

enticed thee with faire wordes, thou wouldest neuer haue loued him, but haddest thou not giuen him faire lookes, he would neuer haue lyked thee: I, but *Euphues* gaue the onset, I, but *Lucilla* gaue the occasion, I, but *Euphues* first brake his minde, I, but *Lucilla* first bewrayed hir meaning. Tush why go I about to excuse any of them, seeing I haue iuste cause to accuse them both? Neyther ought I to dispute which of them hath proffered me the greatest villanye, sith that eyther of them hath committed periurie. Yet although they haue founde me dull in perceiuing theire falshood, they shall not finde me slacke in reuēging their folly. As for *Lucilla* seeing I meane altogether to forgette hir, I meane also to forgiue hir, least in seeking meanes to be reuenged, mine olde desire be renewed. *Philautus* hauing thus discoursed with himselfe, began to write to *Euphues* as followeth.

ALthoughe hetherto *Euphues* I haue shrined thee in my heart for a trustie friende, I will shunne thee heerafter as a trothles foe, and although I cannot see in thee lesse witte then I was wont, yet doe I finde lesse honestie, I perceiue at the last (although beeing deceiued it be to late) that Muske although it be sweet in the smell, is sower in the smacke, that the leafe of the *Cedar* tree though it be faire to be seene, yet the siroppe depriueth sight, that friendshippe though it be plighted by shaking the hande, yet it is shaken off by fraude of the hearte. But thou hast not much to boaste off, for as thou hast wonne a fickle Lady, so hast thou lost a faythfull friende. How canst thou be secure of hir constancie when thou hast had such tryall of hir lyghtenesse?

Howe canst thou assure thy selfe that she will be faithfull to thee, which hath bene faithlesse to mee? Ah *Euphues*, let not my credulytie be an occasion heereafter for thee to practise the lyke crueltie. Remember this that yet ther hath neuer bene any faithles to his friend, that hath not also bene fruitelesse to his God. But I waye this trechery the lesse, in that it commeth from a *Grecian* in whome is no trothe. Thoughe I be to weake to wrastle for a reuenge, yet God who permitteth no guyle to be guyltlesse, will shortely requite this iniury, thoughe *Philautus* haue no pollycie to vnder-

2 not thou *G rest* 4 Lncilla *A* 8 haue *F* 12 to *before* be² E^1 16 for] as *G rest* 19 though *T rest* the *om.* E^2 *rest* 22 of *before* the *E rest* 28 thy *E rest* 29 for thee heereafter *G rest* 30 neuer hath E^2 *rest* 31 faithlesse E^2 *rest* to²] vnto *F* 32 this] the *T rest* 33 trouth *TMG*: troth *C*: truth *E rest*

mine thee, yet thine owne practises will be sufficient to ouerthrow thee.

Couldest thou *Euphues* for the loue of a fruitelesse pleasure, vyolate the league of faythfull friendeshippe? Diddest thou waye more the entising lookes of a lewd wenche, then the entyre loue of a loyall friende? If thou diddest determine with thy selfe at the firste to be false, why diddest thou sweare to bee true? If to bee true, why arte thou false? If thou wast mynded both falselye and forgedlye to deceiue mee, why diddest thou flatter and dissemble with mee at the firste? If to loue me, why doest thou flinche at the last? If the sacred bands of amitie did delyght thee, why diddest thou breake them? if dislyke thee, why diddest thou prayse them? Dost thou not know that a perfect friende should be lyke the Glazeworme, which shineth most bright in the darke? or lyke the pure Franckencense which smelleth most sweete when it is in the fire? or at the leaste not vnlyke to the Damaske Rose which is sweeter in the still then on the stalke? But thou *Euphues*, dost rather resemble the Swallow which in the Summer creepeth vnder the eues of euery house, and in the Winter leaueth nothing but durte behinde hir, or the humble Bee which hauing sucked honny out of the faire flower doth leaue it & loath it, or the Spider which in the finest webbe doth hang the fairest Fly. Dost thou thinke *Euphues* that thy crafte in betraying me, shall any whit coole my courage in reuenging thy villany? or that a Gentleman of *Naples* will put vpp such an iniury at the hands of a Scholler? And if I doe, it is not for want of strengthe to maynteyne my iust quarrell, but of will which thinketh scorne to gette so vayne a conquest. I know that *Menelaus* for his tenne yeares warre endured ten yeares woe, that after all his strife he wan but a Strumpet, that for all his trauails he reduced (I cannot say reclaymed) but a straggeler: which was as much in my iudgement, as to striue for a broken glasse which is good for nothing. I wish thee rather *Menelaus* care, then my selfe his conquest, that thou beeing deluded by *Lucilla* maist rather know what it is to be deceiued, then I hauinge conquered thee should prooue what it were to bring backe a dissembler. Seeing therefore there can no greater reuenge lyghte vppon thee, then that as thou hast reaped where an other hath sowen, so an

1 praises E^2F shall *E rest* 11 sacred] arched *E rest, except* arcted *F* 12 dislyke] they dislike *E rest* 14 Glasse-worme *E rest* 26 strengthe] courage *G rest* 29 wan *so all* 30 trauayle *T*–1623: trauell 1631–6

other may thresh y^t which thou hast reaped: I will pray that thou mayst be measured vnto with the lyke measure that thou hast meaten vnto others: that as thou hast thought it no conscience to betray me, so others may deeme it no dishonestie to deceiue thee, that as *Lucilla* made it a lyght matter to forsweare hir olde friend *Philautus*, so she may make it a mocke to forsake hir new pheere *Euphues*. Which if it come to passe as it is lyke by my compasse, then shalt thou see the troubles, & feele the torments which thou hast already thrown into the harts and eyes of others. Thus hoping shortly to see thee as hopelesse, as my selfe is haplesse, I wish my wish were as effectually ended as it is heartely looked for. And so I leaue thee.

Thine once
Philautus.

Philautus dispatching a messenger with this letter speedely to *Euphues*, went into the fields to walke ther eyther to digeste his choler or chew vppon his melancholy. But *Euphues* hauing reade the contents was well content, setting his talke at naughte and aunswering his taunts in these gibing tearmes.

I Remember *Philautus* how valyauntly *Aiax* boasted in the feats of armes, yet *Vlysses* bare away the armour, and it may be that though thou crake of thine own courage, thou mayst easely lose the conquest. Dost thou thinke *Euphues* such a dastarde that he is not able to withstande thy courage, or such a dullarde that he cannot descry thy crafte. Alas good soule. It fareth with thee as with the Henne, which when y^e Puttocke hath caught hir Chicken beginneth to cackle: and thou hauing lost thy louer beginnest to prattle. Tush *Philautus*, I am in this poynt of *Euripides* his minde, who thinkes it lawfull for the desire of a kingdome to transgresse the bounds of honestie, and for the loue of a Lady to violate and breake the bands of amitie.

The friendshippe betweene man and man as it is common so is it of course, betweene man and woman, as it is seldome so is it sincere, the one proceedeth of the similitude of manners, y^e other of the

3 meeten 1631–6 is, *before* as *G rest* 6 it *om. F* 11 as[1] *om. F* affectually *M* 16 disgest *CGE*[1] 17 to *before* chew *E*[2] *rest* 19 aunswered *E rest* 22 crake *so all* 30 bounds *AE rest*: bonds *T–G* 31 bonds *T rest* honesty *E*[2] *rest* 32 is it] it is *E rest*

sinceritie of the heart: if thou haddest learned the first poynt of hauking thou wouldst haue learned to haue held fast, or the first noat of Deskant thou wouldest haue kept thy *sol. fa.* to thy selfe.

But thou canst blame me no more of folly in leauing thee to loue *Lucilla*, then thou mayst reproue him of foolishnesse that hauing a Sparrowe in his hande letteth hir go to catch the Phesaunt, or him of vnskilfulnesse that seeing the Heron, leaueth to leauell his shoot at the Stockedoue, or that woman of coynesse that hauing a deade Rose in hir bosome, throweth it away to gather the fresh Uiolette. Loue knoweth no lawes: Did not *Iupiter* transforme himselfe into the shape of *Amphitrio* to imbrace *Alcmæna?* Into the forme of a Swan to enioye *Læda?* Into a Bull to beguyle *Iò?* Into a showre of golde to winne *Danae?* Did not *Neptune* chaunge himselfe into a Heyfer, a Ramme, a Floude, a *Dolphin*, onelye for the loue of those he lusted after? Did not *Apollo* conuerte himselfe into a Shepheard, into a Birde, into a Lyon, for the desire he had to heale hys disease? If the Gods thoughte no scorne to become beastes, to obtayne their best beloued, shall *Euphues* be so nyce in chaunging his coppie to gayne his Lady? No, no: he that cannot dissemble in loue, is not worthy to liue. I am of this minde, that both might and mallice, deceite and treacherie, all periurie, anye impietie may lawfully be committed in loue, which is lawlesse. In that thou arguest *Lucilla* of lyghtnesse, thy will hangs in the lyghte of thy witte: Dost thou not know that the weake stomacke if it be cloyed with one dyet doth soone surfet? That the clownes Garlike cannot ease the courtiers disease so well as the pure Treacle? that farre fette and deare bought is good for Ladies? That *Euphues* being a more dayntie morsell then *Philautus*, oughte better to be accepted? Tush *Philautus* sette thy heart at rest, for thy happe willeth thee to giue ouer all hope both of my friendship, and hir loue, as for reuenge thou arte not so able to lende a blowe as I to ward it, neyther more venterous to challenge the combatte, then I valyaunt to aunswer the quarrel. As *Lucilla* was caught by frawde so shall she be kept by force, and as thou wast too simple to espye my crafte, so I thinke thou wilt be too weake to withstande my courage, but if thy reuenge stande onely vppon thy wish, thou shalt neuer lyue to see my woe, or to haue thy wil, and so farewell.

Euphues.

1 poynt] parte *G rest* 2 fast] frst *A* 7 seeth *E* 8 that[1]] the *G rest* 21 anye] and *F* 1631, 1636 25 soonest *C rest* 35 courage, but] courage: *C rest*

This letter beinge dispatched, *Euphues* sent it and *Philautus* read it, who disdayning those proud termes, disdayned also to aunswere them, being ready to ride with *Ferardo*.

Euphues hauing for a space absented himselfe from the house of *Ferardo*, bicause he was at home, longed sore to see *Lucilla* which now opportunite offered vnto him, *Ferardo* being gone agayne to *Venice* with *Philautus*, but in his absence one *Curio* a gentleman of *Naples* of lyttle wealth and lesse witte haunted *Lucilla* hir company, & so enchaunted hir, yᵗ *Euphues* was also cast off with *Philautus* which thing being vnknowne to *Euphues*, caused him yᵉ sooner to make his repaire to the presence of his Lady, whom he finding in hir muses began pleasauntly to salute in this manner.

Mistresse *Lucilla*, although my long absence might breede your iust anger, (for yᵗ louers desire nothing so much as often meeting) yet I hope my presence will dissolue your choler (for yᵗ louers are soone pleased when of their wishes they be fully possessed.) My absence is the rather to be excused in yᵗ your father hath ben alwaies at home, whose frownes seemed to threaten my ill fortune, and my presence at this present the better to bee accepted in that I haue made such speedye repayre to your presence.

Unto whom *Lucilla* aunswered with this glyeke.

Truely *Euphues* you haue miste the cushion, for I was neyther angrie with your longe absence, neyther am I well pleased at your presence, the one gaue me rather a good hope heereafter neuer to see you, the other giueth me a greater occasion to abhorre you.

Euphues being nipped on the head, with a pale countenaunce, as though his soule had forsaken his body replyed as followeth.

If this sodayne change *Lucilla*, proceede of any desert of mine, I am heere not only to aunswere the fact, but also to make amends for my faulte: if of any new motion or minde to forsake your new friend, I am rather to lament your inconstancie then reuenge it, but I hope that such hot loue cannot be so soone colde, neyther such sure faith, be rewarded with so sodeyne forgetfulnesse.

Lucilla not ashamed to confesse hir folly, aunswered him with this frumpe.

Sir whether your deserts or my desire haue wrought this chaunge, it will boote you lyttle to know, neyther doe I craue amends, neyther

7 this *before* his *TM* to *before* reuenge *E rest* *G rest* 12 to salute *om. E rest* 33 sure *om. E rest* 21 glicke *G rest* be *om. G rest* 31 so] such

feare reuenge, as for feruent loue, you knowe there is no fire so hotte but it is quenched with water, neyther affection so strong but is weakened with reason, lette this suffice thee that thou know I care not for thee.

In deede (sayd *Euphues*) to know the cause of your alteration would boote me lyttle seeing the effect taketh such force. I haue hearde that women eyther loue entirely or hate deadly, and seeing you haue put me out of doubt of the one, I must needes perswade my selfe of the other. This chaunge will cause *Philautus* to laugh me to scorne, & double thy lightnesse in turning so often. Such was the hope that I conceiued of thy constancie, y^t^ I spared not in al places to blaze thy loialtie, but now my rash conceite will proue me a lyer, and thee a light huswife.

Nay (sayd *Lucilla*) nowe shalt not thou laugh *Philautus* to scorne, seeing you haue both druncke of one cup, in miserie *Euphues* it is a great comfort to haue a companion. I doubt not, but that you wil both conspire against me to worke some mischiefe, although I nothing feare your mallice: whosoeuer accompteth you a lyar for praising me, may also deeme you a letcher for being enamoured of me, and whosoeuer iudgeth mee light in forsaking of you, may thincke thee as lewde in louing of me, for thou that thoughtest it lawfull to deceiue thy friende, must take no scorne to be deceiued of thy foe.

Then I perceiue *Lucilla* (sayd he) that I was made thy stale, and *Philautus* thy laughinge stocke: whose friendship (I must confesse in deede) I haue refused to obteine thy fauour: and sithens an other hath won that we both haue lost, I am content for my part, neyther ought I to be grieued seing thou art fickle.

Certes *Euphues* (said *Lucilla*) you spend your winde in wast for your welcome is but small, & your chere is like to be lesse, fancie giueth no reason of his chaunge neither wil be cõtrolled for any choice, this is therfore to warne you, y^t^ from hencefoorth you neither sollicite this suite neither offer any way your seruice, I haue chosen one (I must needs confesse) neither to be compared to *Philautus* in wealth, nor to thee in wit, neither in birth to the worst of you both, I thinck God gaue it me for a iust plague, for renouncing *Philautus*, & choosing thee, and sithens I am an

1 a *before* reuenge *E rest* 3 it *before* is *C rest* knowest *E rest* 10 doubt *E rest* 14 thou not *T rest* 15 drunke both *E rest* 16 a[1] *om. T*–1623 18 you] thee *E rest* 25 sithence *E*[1]–1613: since 1617 *rest* 30 his] her *G rest* 32 neither[1]] neuer *G rest* 36 for] in *G rest* sithens *AE*[1]: sithence *T*–*GE*[2] *rest*

ensample to all women of lightnesse, I am lyke also to be a myrrour to them all of vnhappinesse, which ill lucke I must take by so much the more patiently, by howe much the more I acknowledge my selfe to haue deserued it worthely. Well *Lucilla* (aunswered *Euphues*) this case breedeth my sorrowe the more, in that it is so sodeine, and by so much the more I lament it, by howe muche the lesse I looked for it. In that my welcome is so colde and my cheere so simple, it nothing toucheth me, seeinge your furye is so hotte, and my misfortune so greate, that I am neither wyllinge to receiue it, nor you to bestowe it: if tract of time, or want of tryall had caused this *Metamorphosis* my griefe had bene more tollerable, and your fleetinge more excusable, but comming in a moment vndeserued, vnlooked for, vnthoughte off, it encreaseth my sorrowe and thy shame.

Euphues (quoth shee) you make a longe haruest for a little corne, and angle for the fishe that is already caught. *Curio*, yea, *Curio*, is he that hath my loue at his pleasure, and shall also haue my life at his commaundement, and although you deeme him vnworthy to enioye that which earst you accompted no wight worthy to embrace, yet seeinge I esteeme him more worth then any, he is to be reputed as chiefe. The Wolfe chooseth him for hir make, that hath or doth endure most trauaile for hir sake. *Venus* was content to take the black Smith with his powlt foot. *Cornelia* here in *Naples* disdained not to loue a rude Miller. As for chaunging, did not *Helen* y^e^ pearle of *Greece* thy countriwoman first take *Menelaus*, then *Theseus*, and last of all *Paris*? if brute beastes giue vs ensamples that those are most to be lyked, of whome we are best beloued, or if the Princesse of beautye *Venus*, and hir heyres *Helen*, and *Cornelia*, shewe that our affection standeth on our free wyll: then am I rather to bee excused then accused. Therefore good *Euphues* bee as merrye as you maye bee, for time maye so tourne that once agayne you maye bee.

Nay *Lucilla* (sayd he) my haruest shall cease, seeing others haue reaped my corne, as for anglinge for the fishe that is alreadye caught, that were but meere folly. But in my minde if you bee a fishe you are either an Ele which as soone as one hathe holde of hir taile, will slippe out of his hand, or else a Mynnowe which will be nibbling at euery baite but neuer biting: But what fishe soeuer you bee you

2 all them *E rest* 5 cause *EF*: change 1613 *rest* 7 not *before* for *E rest* 16 his *om. F* 20 mate *F* 1617 *rest* 21 trauell *E rest* 23 y^e^] y^t^ *M*: that *T*: the *C rest* 33 as *om. MC* 35 of] on *T rest*

haue made both mee and *Philautus* to swallow a Gudgen. If *Curio* bee the person, I would neither wishe thee a greater plague, nor him a deadlyer poyson. I for my part thincke him worthy of thee, and thou vnworthy of him, for although hee bee in bodye deformed, in minde foolishe, an innocent borne, a begger by misfortune, yet doth hee deserue a better then thy selfe, whose corrupt manners haue staynde thy heauenly hewe, whose light behauiour hath dimmed the lightes of thy beautie, whose vnconstant mynde hath betrayed the innocencie of so many a Gentleman. And in that you bringe in the example of a beast to confirme your folly, you shewe therein your beastly disposition, which is readie to followe suche beastlinesse. But *Venus* played false: and what for that? seeinge hir lightnesse serueth for an example, I woulde wishe thou mightest trye hir punishment for a reward, that beeing openly taken in an yron net al the world might iudge whether thou be fish or flesh, and certes in my minde no angle will holde thee, it must be a net. *Cornelia* loued a Miller, and thou a miser, can hir folly excuse thy fault? *Helen* of *Greece* my countriewoman borne, but thine by profession, chaunged and rechaunged at hir pleasure I graunte. Shall the lewdenesse of others animate thee in thy lightnesse? why then dost thou not haunt the stewes bicause *Lais* frequented them? why doest thou not loue a Bull seeing *Pasiphae* loued one? why art thou not enamoured of thy father knowing yᵗ *Mirha* was so incensed? these are set down that we viewing their incontinencie, should flye yᵉ like impudencie, not follow the like excesse, neither can they excuse thee of any inconstancie. Merrie I will be as I may, but if I may heereafter as thou meanest, I will not, and therefore farewell *Lucilla*, the most inconstant that euer was nursed in *Naples*, farewell *Naples* the most cursed towne in all *Italy*, and women all farewell.

Euphues hauing thus gyuen hir his last farewell, yet beeing solitary began a fresh to recount his sorrow on this manner.

Ah *Euphues* into what a quandarie art thou brought? in what sodeine misfortune art thou wrapped? it is like to fare with thee as with the Eagle, which dyeth neither for age, nor with sickenesse, but wyth famine, for although thy stomacke hunger yet thy heart will not suffer thee to eate. And why shouldest thou torment thy selfe for one in whome is neyther fayth nor feruencie? O the counterfaite loue of women. Oh inconstant sex. I haue lost *Philautus*, I haue

6 hath *CGEF* 13 serueth *AT*: serued *M rest* 31 in *E rest* 32 a quandarie] misfortune *T rest* 33 miserye *T rest* 37 the *om. C rest*

lost *Lucilla*, I haue lost that which I shall hardlye finde againe, a faythfull friende. A foolishe *Euphues*, why diddest thou leaue *Athens* the nourse of wisdome, to inhabite *Naples* the nourisher of wantonnesse? Had it not bene better for thee to haue eaten salt with the Philosophers in *Greece*, then sugar with the courtiers of *Italy*? But behold the course of youth which alwayes inclyneth to pleasure, I forsooke mine olde companions to search for new friends, I reiected the graue and fatherly counsayle of *Eubulus*, to follow the brainesicke humor of mine owne will. I addicted my selfe wholy to the seruice of women to spende my lyfe in the lappes of Ladyes, my lands in maintenance of brauerie, my witte in the vanities of idle Sonnets. I had thought that women had bene as we men, that is true, faithfull, zealous, constant, but I perceiue they be rather woe vnto men, by their falshood, gelousie, inconstancie. I was halfe perswaded that they were made of the perfection of men, & would be comforters, but now I see they haue tasted of the infection of the Serpent, and will be corasiues. The Phisition saythe it is daungerous to minister Phisicke vnto the patient that hath a colde stomacke and a hotte lyuer, least in giuing warmth to the one he inflame the other, so verely it is harde to deale with a woman whose wordes seeme feruent, whose heart is congealed into harde yce, least trusting their outwarde talke, he be betraied with their inwarde trechery. I will to *Athens* ther to tosse my bookes, no more in *Naples* to lyue with faire lookes. I will so frame my selfe as al youth heereafter shal rather reioice to se mine amendemēt then be animated to follow my former lyfe. Philosophie, Phisicke, Diuinitie, shal be my studie. O ye hidden secrets of Nature, the expresse image of morall vertues, the equall ballaunce of Iustice, the medicines to heale all diseases, how they beginne to delyght me. The *Axiomaes* of *Aristotle*, the *Maxims* of *Iustinian*, the *Aphorismes* of *Galen*, haue sodaynelye made such a breache into my minde that I seeme onely to desire them which did onely earst detest them. If witte be employed in the honest study of learning what thing so pretious as witte? if in the idle trade of loue what thing more pestilent then witte? The proofe of late hath bene verefied in me, whome nature hath endued with a lyttle witte, which I haue abused with an obstinate will, most true it is that the thing ye better it is the greater is

2 A] Ah *C rest* 13 and *before* constant *E rest* 14 and inconstancye *C rest* 23 tosse *so all* 25 my *E. rest* 29 Aximoaes *G*: Axiomas 1631: Axiomes 1636 30 Maxinis *A* 33 in] to *E rest*

the abuse, and that ther is nothing but through the mallice of man may be abused.

Doth not ye fire (an element so necessarie that without it man cannot lyue) as well burne ye house as burne in the house if it be abused? Doth not Treacle as wel poyson as helpe if it be taken out of time? Doth not wine if it be immoderately taken kill the stomacke, enflame the lyuer, murther the droncken? Doth not Phisicke destroy if it be not well tempred? Doth not law accuse if it be not ryghtly interpreted? Doth not diuinitie condemne if it be not faythfully construed? Is not poyson taken out of the Honny-suckle by the Spider, venime out of the Rose by the Canker, dunge out of the Maple tree by the Scorpion? Euen so the greatest wickednesse is drawne out of the greatest wit, if it bee abused by will, or entangled with the world, or inueigled with women.

But seeinge I see mine owne impietie, I wyll endeuoure my selfe to amende all that is paste, and to be a myrrour of godlynes heereafter. The Rose though a lyttle it be eaten with the Canker yet beeing distilled yeeldeth sweete water, the yron thoughe fretted with the ruste yet beeing burnte in the fire shyneth brighter, and witte although it hath bene eaten with the canker of his owne conceite, and fretted with the rust of vaine loue, yet beeinge purified in the still of wisedome, and tryed in the fire of zeale, will shine bright and smell sweete in the nosethrilles of all young nouises.

As therefore I gaue a farewell to *Lucilla*, a farewell to *Naples*, a farewell to woemen, so now doe I giue a farewell to the worlde, meaning rather to macerate my selfe with melancholye then pine in follye, rather choosinge to dye in my studye amiddest my bookes, then to courte it in *Italy*, in the company of Ladyes.

[*Euphues* hauing thus debated with himselfe, went to his bed, ther either wt sleepe to deceiue his fancye, or with musing to renue his ill fortune, or recant his olde follyes.

But] It happened immediatly *Ferardo* to retourne home, who hearing this straunge euent was not a lyttle amazed, and was nowe more readye to exhorte *Lucilla* from the loue of *Curio*, then before to the lykinge of *Philautus*. Therefore in all haste, with watrye eyes, and a wofull heart, began on this manner to reason with his daughter.

2 it *before* may E^2 *rest* 7 murther] mischiefe *T rest* 14 inueig- *A* 18 the^2 *om. E rest* 19 bright *E rest* 21 fretted] fettered *EF*: festered 1613 *rest* 23 all *om. E rest* 25 I doe *CGE*^{1}: doe *om.* E^2 *rest* 26 selfe] lyfe *E rest* 29–32 Euphues . . . But (3 *lines*) *added T rest* 31 olde] owne *F*

Lucilla (daughter I am ashamed to call thee, seeing thou hast neyther care of thy fathers tender affection, nor of thine owne credite) what sprite hath enchaunted thy spirite that euery minute thou alterest thy minde? I had thought that my hoary haires should haue found comforte by thy golden lockes, and my rotten age greate ease by thy rype yeares. But alas I see in thee neyther witte to order thy doinges neyther will to frame thy selfe to discretion, neither the nature of a child, neyther the nurture of a mayden, neyther (I cannot without teares speake it) any regarde of thine honour, neyther any care of thine honestie.

I am nowe enforced to remember thy mothers deathe, who I thincke was a Prophetesse in hir lyfe, for oftentimes shee woulde saye that thou haddest more beautie then was conuenient for one that shoulde bee honeste, and more cockering then was meete for one that shoulde bee a Matrone.

Woulde I had neuer lyued to bee so olde or thou to bee so obstinate, eyther woulde I had dyed in my youthe in the courte, or thou in thy cradle, I woulde to God that eyther I had neuer bene borne, or thou neuer bredde. Is this the comfort that the parent reapeth for all his care? Is obstinacie payed for obedience, stubbernnesse rendred for duetie, mallitious desperatenesse, for filiall feare? I perceiue now that the wise Paynter saw more then ye foolish parent can, who paynted loue going downeward, saying it might well descend, but ascende it coulde neuer. *Danaus* whome they reporte to bee the father of fiftie children, had amonge them all but one that disobeyed him in a thinge most dishonest, but I that am father to one more then I would be although one be all, haue that one most disobedient to me in a request lawfull and reasonable. If *Danaus* seeing but one of his daughters without awe became himselfe without mercie, what shall *Ferardo* doe in this case who hath one and all most vnnaturall to him in a most iust cause? Shall *Curio* enioy ye fruite of my trauailes, possesse the benefite of my labours, enherit the patrimony of mine auncestors, who hath neither wisedome to increase thē, nor wit to keepe thē? wilt thou *Lucilla* bestow thy self on such an one as hath neither comlines in his body, nor knowledge in his minde, nor credite in his countrey. Oh I would thou haddest eyther bene euer faithfull to *Philautus*, or neuer faithlesse to *Euphues*, or would thou wouldest be more fickle to

3 sprite] spirite *C rest* 4 had *om. C rest* 8 nurture] nature *E rest*
9 of] to *E rest* 32 trauels 1631–6 38 most *T–E*

Curio. As thy beautie hath made thee blaze of *Italy*, so will thy lyghtnes make thee the bye word of ye world. O *Lucilla*, *Lucilla*, woulde thou wert lesse fayre or more fortunate, eyther of lesse honour or greater honestie? eyther better minded, or soone buryed. Shall thine olde father lyue to see thee match with a younge foole? shall my kinde hearte be rewarded with such vnkinde hate? Ah *Lucilla* thou knowest not the care of a father, nor the duetie of a childe, and as farre art thou from pietie, as I from crueltie.

Nature will not permitte me to disherit my daughter, and yet it will suffer thee to dishonour thy father. Affection causeth me to wishe thy life, and shall it entice thee to procure my death? It is mine onely comfort to see thee florishe in thy youth, and is it thine, to see me fade in mine age? to conclude, I desire to liue to see thee prosper, & thou to see me perish. But why cast I the effect of this vnnaturalnesse in thy teeth, seeing I my selfe was the cause? I made thee a wanton and thou hast made mee a foole, I brought thee vpp lyke a cockney, and thou hast handled mee lyke a cockescombe (I speake it to mine owne shame) I made more of thee then became a Father, & thou lesse of me then beseemed a childe. And shal my louing care be cause of thy wicked crueltie? yea, yea, I am not the first that hath bene too carefull, nor the last that shall bee handled so vnkindely, it is common to see Fathers too fonde, and children to frowarde. Well *Lucilla* the teares which thou seest trickle downe my cheekes and the droppes of bloude (whiche thou canst not see) that fall from my heart, enforce me to make an ende of my talke, and if thou haue any duetie of a childe, or care of a friende, or courtesie of a straunger, or feelinge of a Christian, or humanitie of a reasonable creature, then release thy Father of gryefe, and acquite thy selfe of vngratefulnesse, otherwyse thou shalte but hasten my deathe, and encrease thine owne defame, which if thou doe the gaine is mine, and the losse thine, and both infinite.

Lucilla eyther so bewitched that shee coulde not relente or so wicked that shee woulde not yelde to hir Fathers request aunswered him on this manner.

Deere Father as you woulde haue mee to shewe the duetie of a childe, so ought you to shewe the care of a parent, and as the one

1 the *before* blaze *T rest* 3 wast *E rest* or] and *C–F* 8 farre art thou] farre art *C*: far thou art *G rest* 12 it is *C rest* 14 this] his *F* 1613 17 cockney] Coakes E^2–1623: Cokes 1631–6 24 the] my *T rest* 27 humilitie *E rest* 30 thine] thy *F rest* 33 could *F*–1623 36 you ought *GE* and] for *T rest*

standeth in obedience so the other is grounded vpon reason. You would haue me as I owe duetie to you to leaue *Curio*, and I desire you as you owe mee any loue, that you suffer me to enioye him. If you accuse mee of vnnaturalnesse in that I yelde not to your request, I am also to condemne you of vnkindenesse, in that you graunt not my petition. You obiecte I knowe not what to *Curio*, but it is the eye of the maister that fatteth the horse, and the loue of the woman, that maketh the man. To giue reason for fancie were to weighe the fire, and measure the winde. If therefore my delight bee the cause of your death, I thincke my sorrowe would bee an occasion of your solace. And if you be angrye bicause I am pleased, certes I deeme you woulde be content if I were deceased : which if it be so that my pleasure breede your paine, and mine annoy your ioye, I may well say that you are an vnkinde Father, and I an vnfortunate childe. But good Father either content your selfe wyth my choice, or let me stand to the maine chaunce, otherwise the griefe will be mine, and the fault yours and both vntollerable.

Ferardo seeinge his daughter, to haue neither regarde of hir owne honour nor his request, conceyued such an inwarde gryefe, that in short space hee dyed, leauing *Lucilla* the onely heire of his landes, and *Curio* to possesse them : but what ende came of hir, seeing it is nothing incident to the history of *Euphues*, it were superfluous to insert it, and so incredible that all women would rather wonder at it then beleeue it, which euent beeing so straũge, I had rather leaue them in a muse what it should bee, then in a maze in telling what it was.

Philautus hauing intelligence of *Euphues* his successe, and the falshoode of *Lucilla*, although he began to reioyce at the miserye of his fellowe, yet seeinge hir ficklenesse coulde not but lamente hir follye, and pittie his friendes misfortune. Thinckinge that the lightnesse of *Lucilla* enticed *Euphues* to so great liking.

Euphues and *Philautus* hauing conference betweene themselues, castinge discourtesie in the teeth each of the other, but chiefly noting disloyaltie in the demeanor of *Lucilla*, after much talke renewed their olde friendship both abandoning *Lucilla* as most abhominable. *Philautus* was earnest to haue *Euphues* tarrie in *Naples*, and *Euphues* desirous to haue *Philautus* to *Athens*, but the one was so addicted

3 good *before* loue *E rest* 6 to *before* my *E rest* 10 an *om.* E^2–1613 : the 1617 *rest* 12 diseased E^2 *rest, perhaps rightly*; *cf. pp.* 230, *l.* 27, 236, *l.* 16 17 intollerable *G rest* 18 owne *om. C rest* 33 of] to *E rest* 35 abominable 1617, 1631, 1636

to the court, the other so wedded to the vniuersitie, that each refused yᵉ offer of the other, yet this they agreed betweene themselues that though their bodyes were by distaunce of place seuered, yet the coniunction of their mindes shoulde neither bee seperated, by the length of time, nor alienated by chaunge of soyle. I for my parte sayde *Euphues* to confirme thys league gyue thee my hand and my heart, and so likewise did *Philautus*, and so shaking handes they bid each other farewell.

Euphues to the intent hee might bridell the ouerlashing affections of *Philautus*, conuayed into his studye, a certeyne pamphlet which hee termed a coolinge carde for *Philautus*, yet generallye to be applyed to all louers which I haue inserted as followeth.

¶ *A cooling Carde for Philautus and all fond louers.*

MUsing with my selfe beeing idle howe I myght be well imployed (friend *Philautus*) I could finde nothing either more fitte to continue our friendshippe, or of greater force to dissolue our follye, then to write a remedy for that which many iudge past cure, for loue (*Philautus*) with yᵉ which I haue bene so tormented, that I haue lost my time, thou so troubled that thou hast forgot reason, both so mangled with repulse, inueigled by deceite, and almost murthered by dysdain, that I can neither remember our miseries without griefe, nor redresse our mishaps without groanes. How wantonly, yea, and howe willingly haue wee abused our golden time, and mispent our gotten treasure? How curious were we to please our Lady, how carelesse to displease our Lord? How deuoute in seruing our Goddesse, howe desperate in forgetting our God? Ah my *Philautus* if the wasting of our money might not dehort vs, yet the wounding of our mindes should deterre vs, if reason might nothing perswade vs to wisdome, yet shame should prouoke vs to wyt. If *Lucilla* reade this trifle, she will straight proclaime *Euphues* for a traytour, and seeing mee tourne my tippet will either shut mee out for a Wrangler, or cast me off for a Wiredrawer: either conuince mee of mallice in bewraying their sleightes, or condemne me of mischiefe in arming

5 or *C rest* 8 bid] did bidde *GE* 15 well be *C rest* 18 pastsure *G*
22 miserie *E rest* 28 dehort *so all* 34 slights *EF*

younge men against fleetinge minions. And what then? Though *Curio* bee as hotte as a toast, yet *Euphues* is as colde as a clock, though he be a Cocke of the game, yet *Euphues* is content to bee crauen and crye creeke, though *Curio* bee olde huddle and twange, *ipse*, hee, yet *Euphues* had rather shrinke in the weeting, then wast in the wearing. I knowe *Curio* to be steele to the backe, standerd bearer in *Venus* campe, sworne to the crewe, true to the crowne, knight marshall to *Cupid*, and heire apparaunt to his kingdome. But by that time that he hath eaten but one bushell of salt wyth *Lucilla*, he shall taste tenne quarters of sorrow in his loue, then shall he finde for euery pynte of honnye a gallon of gall, for euerye dramme of pleasure, an ounce of payne, for euery inche of mirth, an ell of moane. And yet *Philautus* if there be any man in despayre to obtayne his purpose, or so obstinate in his opinion that hauing lost his fredome by folly, would also lose his lyfe for loue, lette him repaire hether, and hee shall reape suche profite, as will eyther quenche his flames or asswage his furye, eyther cause him to renounce his Ladye as most pernicious, or redeeme his lybertie as most pretious. Come therefore to me all ye louers that haue bene deceiued by fancie, the glasse of pestilence, or deluded by woemen the gate to perdition: be as earnest to seeke a medicine, as you wer eager to runne into a mischiefe: ye earth bringeth forth as well Endyue to delyght the people, as Hemlocke to endaunger the patient, as well the Rose to distill as the Nettle to sting, as well the Bee to giue honny, as the Spider to yeeld poyson.

If my lewde lyfe Gentlemen haue giuen you offence, lette my good counsayle make amendes, if by my folly any be allured to lust, let them by my repentaunce be drawne to continencie. *Achilles* speare could as well heale as hurte, the Scorpion though he sting, yet hee stints ye paine, though ye hearb *Nerius* poyson ye Sheepe, yet is it a remedie to man agaynst poyson, though I haue infected some by example, yet I hope I shall comforte many by repentaunce. Whatsoeuer I speake to men, the same also I speke to women, I meane not to runne with the Hare and holde with the Hounde, to carrye fire in the one hande and water in the other, neyther to flatter men as altogether faultlesse, neyther to fall out with woemen as altogether

2 as a clock *ATC*–1613: as clocke *M*: as a clod 1617–36 3 be *om. G* 4 a *before* crauen *E rest* creake *T rest* twang *T rest* 5 wetting *T rest* 7 in] to *T rest* 20 to] of *E rest* 21 a[2] *om. E rest* 26 good *om. E rest* 27 amendes] you amends *E rest* 30 it *om. ATM*, *G rest read* it is

guyltie, for as I am not minded to picke a thancke with the one, so am I not determined to picke a quarrell with the other, if women be not peruerse they shall reape profite, by remedye of pleasure. If *Phillis* were now to take counsayle, shee would not be so foolish to hang hir selfe, neyther *Dido* so fonde to dye for *Aeneas*, neyther *Pasiphae* so monstrous to loue a Bull, nor *Phedra* so vnnaturall to be enamoured of hir sonne.

This is therefore to admonish all young Impes and nouises in loue, not to blow the coales of fancie wyth desire, but to quench them with disdayne. When loue tickleth thee decline it lest it stiffle thee, rather fast then surfette, rather starue then striue to exceede. Though the beginning of loue bring delyght, the ende bringeth destruction. For as the first draught of wine doth comfort the stomacke, the seconde inflame the lyuer, the thirde fume into the heade, so the first sippe of loue is pleasaunt, the seconde perilous, the thirde pestilent. If thou perceiue thy selfe to be entised with their wanton glaunces, or allured with their wicked guyles, eyther enchaũted with their beautie or enamoured with their brauerie, enter with thy selfe into this meditation. What shall I gayne if I obtayne my purpose? nay rather what shall I loose in winning my pleasure? If my Lady yeelde to be my louer is it not lykely she will bee an others lemman? and if she be a modest matrone my labour is lost. This therfore remayneth that eyther I must pine in cares, or perish with curses.

If she be chaste then is she coy, if lyght then is shee impudent, if a graue Matrone, who can woe hir? if a lewde minion, who woulde wedde hir? if one of the Uestall Uirgins, they haue vowed virginitie, if one of *Venus* courte they haue vowed dishonestie. If I loue one that is fayre, it will kindle gelousie, if one that is fowle it will conuerte me into phrensie. If fertile to beare children my care is increased, if barren my curse is augmented. If honest I shall feare hir death, if immodest, I shall be weary of hir lyfe.

To what ende then shall I lyue in loue, seeing alwayes it is a lyfe more to be feared then death? for all my time wasted in sighes, and worne in sobbes, for all my treasure spente on Iewells, and spilte in iollytie, what recompence shall I reape besides repentaunce? What other rewarde shall I haue then reproch? What other solace then

7 of] to loue *E rest* 11 striue] straine E^2 *rest* 19 I shall *G* 31
course *E*: griefe *F rest* shall *om. E rest* 32 hir] my *G rest* 35
spilte] spent *EF*

endles shame? But happely thou wilt say if I refuse their courtesie I shal be accõpted a Mecocke, a Milkesoppe, taunted and retaunted, with check and checkemate, flowted and reflowted with intollerable glee.

Alas fonde foole arte thou so pinned to theire sleeues that thou regardest more their babble then thine owne blisse, more their frũpes then thine own welfare? Wilt thou resemble the kinde Spaniell, which the more he is beaten the fonder he is, or the foolish Eiesse, which will neuer away? Dost thou not knowe that woemen deeme none valyaunt, vnlesse he be too venturous? That they accompte one a dastarde, if he be not desperate, a pinche penny, if he be not prodigall, if silente a sotte, if full of wordes a foole? Peruersly do they alwayes thinck of their louers, and talke of them scornfully, iudging all to be clownes, which be no courtiers, and all to be pinglers, that be not coursers.

Seeing therefore the very blossome of loue is sower, the budde cannot be sweete. In time preuent daunger, least vntimelye thou runne into a thousande perrills. Searche the wounde while it is greene, to late commeth the salue when the sore festereth, and the medicine bringeth dubble care, when the maladye is past cure.

Beware of delayes. What lesse then the grayne of Mustardeseede, in time almost what thing is greater then the stalke thereoff? The slender twigge groweth to a stately tree, and that which with the hand might easely haue bene pulled upp, will hardly with the axe be hewen downe. The least sparke, if it bee not quenched will burst into a flame, the least Moth in time eateth the thickest clothe, and I haue reade that in a shorte space, there was a Towne in *Spayne* vndermined with Connyes, in *Thessalia*, with Mowles, with Frogges in *Fraunce*, in *Africa* with Flyes. If these silly Wormes in tracte of time ouerthrowe so statelye Townes, how much more will loue, which creepeth secretly into the minde, (as the rust doth into the yron and is not perceiued) consume the body, yea and confound the soule. Defer not from houre to day, from day to month, from month to yeare, and alwayes remayne in misery.

He that to day is not willyng will to morrowe bee more wilfull. But alas it is no lesse common then lamentable to beholde the tottering estate of louers, who thinke by delayes to preuente daungers,

8 Eiesse *A*–1613 : Elesse 1617 *rest*. *Cy*. ? Giesse *as Landmann* 14 be no] be not *G* : are not *E rest* 15 be] are 1617 *rest* 16 bosome *GE*^{1} 27 a^{1} *om*. *E*^{2} *rest* 28 Cunnies *G* : Conies 1617 *rest* 30 ouerthrewe *G rest* 36 is no more *G* : is more *E rest*

with oyle to quench fire, with smoke to cleare the eye sight. They flatter themselues with a faynting farewell, deferring euer vntill to morrow, when as their morrow doth alwayes encrese their sorrow. Lette neyther their amyable countenances, neyther their painted protestacions, neyther their deceitfull promises, allure thee to delaies. Thinke this with thy selfe, that the sweete songes of *Calipso*, were subtill snares to entice *Vlysses*, that the Crabbe then catcheth the Oyster, when the Sunne shineth, that *Hiena*, when she speaketh lyke a man deuiseth most mischiefe, y^t^ women when they be most pleasaunt, pretend most trecherie.

Follow *Alexander* which hearing the commendation and singular comelynesse of the wife of *Darius*, so couragiously withstood the assaultes of fancie, that hee would not so much as take a viewe of hir beautie: Imitate *Cyrus*, a king indued with such continencie, y^t^ hee loathed to looke on the heauenly hewe of *Panthea*, and when *Araspus* tolde him that she excelled all mortall wightes in amiable shewe, by so much the more (sayde *Cyrus*) I ought to absteine from hir sight, for if I follow thy counsayle in going to hir, it maye bee, I shall desire to continue with hir, and by my lyght affection, neglect my serious affaires. Learne of *Romulus* to refraine from wine, be it neuer so delicate, of *Agesilaus* to despise costly apparell, be it neuer so curious, of *Diogenes* to detest women bee they neuer so comely. Hee that toucheth pitche shall be defiled, the sore eye infecteth the sounde, the societie with women breedeth securitie in the soule, and maketh all the sences sencelesse. Moreouer take this counsaile, as an article of thy Creede, which I meane to follow as the chiefe argument of my faith, that idlenes is the onely nourse and nourisher of sensual appetite, the sole maintenance of youthfull affection, the first shaft that *Cupide* shooteth into the hot liuer of a heedlesse louer. I woulde to God I were not able to finde this for a truth, by mine owne tryall, & I would the example of others idlenesse had caused me rather to auoid y^t^ fault, then experience of mine owne folly. Howe dissolute haue I bene in striuing against good counsayle, howe resolute in standing in mine owne conceite? howe forwarde to wickednesse, howe frowarde to wisedome, howe wanton with too much cockeringe, howe waywarde in hearing correction? Neyther was I much vnlike these Abbaie lubbers in my lyfe (though farre vnlike them in

2 euer] ouer *G rest* 3 their[2]] thy *E*[1] 4 countenaunce *G rest* 10 mischiefe *G rest* 15 heauenly *om. E rest* 17 refraine *G rest* 20 abstaine *G rest* 28 youthly *G rest* 29 into *AT*: in *M rest* 37 those 1613 *rest* thought *E*[1]

beliefe) which laboured till they were colde, eat til they sweate, and lay in bed till their boanes aked. Heereof commeth it gentlemen, that loue creepeth into the minde by priuie crafte, and keepeth his holde by maine courage.

The man beeing idle the minde is apte to all vncleanenesse, the minde being voide of exercise the man is voide of honestie. Doth not the rust fret the hardest yron if it bee not vsed? Doth not the Moath eate the finest garment, if it bee not worne? Doth not Mosse growe on the smothest stone if it be not stirred? Doth not impietie infect the wisest wit, if it be giuen to idlenesse? Is not the standinge water sooner frosen then the running streame? Is not he that sitteth more subiect to sleepe then he that walketh? Doth not common experience make this common vnto vs, that the fattest grounde bringeth foorth nothing but weedes if it be not well tilled? That the sharpest wit enclineth onely to wickednesse, if it bee not exercised? Is it not true which *Seneca* reporteth, that as to much bendinge breaketh the bowe, so to much remission spoyleth the minde? Besides this immoderate sleepe, immodest play, vnsatiable swilling of wine, doth so weaken the sences, and bewitch the soule, that before we feele the motion of loue, wee are resolued into lust. Eschewe idlenesse my *Philautus*, so shalt thou easily vnbende the bowe and quenche the brandes of *Cupide*. Loue giues place to laboure, laboure and thou shalt neuer loue. *Cupide* is a craftie childe following those at an ynche that studye pleasure, and flyinge those swyftlye that take paines. Bende thy minde to the lawe whereby thou mayst haue vnderstanding of olde and auncient customes, defende thy clientes, enriche thy cofers, and carry credite in thy Countrey. If lawe seeme loathsome vnto thee, searche the secretes of phisicke, whereby thou maist know the hidden natures of hearbes, whereby thou maiste gather profite to thy purse, and pleasure to thy minde. What can be more exquisite in humaine affaires then for euery feuer bee it neuer so hot, for euery palsey be it neuer so colde, for euery infection be it neuer so straunge, to giue a remedy? The olde verse standeth as yet in his olde vertue: That *Galen* gyueth goods, *Iustinian* honors. If thou bee so nice that thou canst no waye brooke the practise of Phisicke, or so vnwise that thou wilt not beate thy braynes about the institutes of the lawe, conferre all thy study all thy time, all thy treasure to the attayning of the sacred and

1 who *G rest* 15 it *om. A* 20 into] to *E rest* 26 custome *CG*
29 nature *E rest* 31 exquisite to *EF*: requisite to 1613 *rest*

sincere knowledge of diuinitie, by this maist thou bridle thine incontinencie, raine thine affections, restrayne thy lust. Heere shalt thou beholde as it were in a glasse, that all the glorye of man is as the grasse, that all thinges vnder heauen are but vaine, that our lyfe is but a shadowe, a warfare, a pilgrimage, a vapor, a bubble, a blast, of such shortnesse that *Dauid* sayth it is but a spanne long, of such sharpnesse, that *Iob* noteth it replenished with all miseries, of suche vncerteintie, that we are no sooner borne, but wee are subiecte to death, the one foote no sooner on the grounde, but the other ready to slippe into the graue. Heere shalt thou finde ease for thy burden of sinne, comfortè for the conscience pined wyth vanitie, mercy for thine offences by the martirdome of thy sweete Sauiour. By this thou shalt be able to instruct those that be weake, to confute those that bee obstinate, to confounde those that be erronious, to confirme the faythfull, to comfort the desperate, to cutte off the presumptious, to saue thine owne soule by thy sure faith, and edifie the hearts of many by thy sound doctrine. If this seeme to straight a dyet for thy strainінge disease, or to holy a profession, for so hollow a person, then employ thy selfe to martial feats, to iusts, to turrnayes, yea, to al tormẽts rather then to loiter in loue, & spend thy life in yᵉ laps of Ladyes: what more monstrous can there be, then to see a younge man abuse those giftes to his owne shame which God hath giuen him for his owne preferment? What greater infamye, then to conferre the sharpe wit to yᵉ making of lewde Sonnets, to the idolatrous worshipping of their Ladies, to the vaine delights of fancie, to all kinde of vice as it were against kinde & course of nature? Is it not folly to shewe wit to women which are neither able nor willinge to receyue fruite thereoff? Doest thou not knowe that the tree *Siluacenda* beareth no fruite in *Pharo?* That the *Persian* trees in *Rhodes* doe onely waxe greene, but neuer bringe foorth apple?

That *Amomus*, and *Nardus* will onely growe in *India*, *Balsamum* onely in *Syria*, that in *Rhodes* no Eagle will builde hir neast, no Owle liue in *Crete*, no wit springe in the will of women? Mortifie therefore thy affections, and force not Nature against Nature to striue in vaine. Goe into the countrey looke to thy grounds, yoke thine Oxen, follow thy Plough, graft thy trees, beholde thy Cattel,

2 thine] thy *T rest* 7 all] many *E rest* 11 the] thy *T rest* 12 sweete *om. E rest* 18 straying *TM*: straunge *C*-1623: strong 1631–6 30 tree *G* 32 Amomus *all preceding eds. misprint* Amonius 37 thy[1]] the *T rest*

and deuise with thy selfe how the encrease of them may encrease thy profite. In *Autumne* pull thine apples, in Sommer ply thy haruest, in the Springe trimme thy gardens, in the Winter, thy woodes, and thus beginninge to delight to be a good husband, thou shalt begin to detest to be in loue with an idle huswife, when profite shall begin to fill thy purse with golde, then pleasure shall haue no force to defile thy minde wyth loue. For honest recreation after thy toyle, vse hunting or haukeing, either rowse the Deere, or vnperch the Phesaunt, so shalt thou roote out the remembraunce of thy former loue, and repent thee of thy foolishe lust. And although thy sweete heart binde thee by othe alwaye to holde a candle at hir shrine, & to offer thy deuotyon to thine owne destruction, yet goe, runne, flye, into the countrey, neither water thou thy plantes, in that thou departest from thy Pigges nye, neither stand in a mammering whether it be best to departe or not, but by how much the more thou arte vnwillyng to go, by so much the more hasten thy steppes, neyther fayne for thy selfe any sleeuelesse excuse whereby thou mayste tarry. Neyther lette rayne nor thunder, neyther lyghtening nor tempest, stay thy iourney, and recken not with thy selfe how many myles thou hast gone, that sheweth wearinesse, but how many thou hast to go, that proueth manlynesse. But foolysh & franticke louers, wyll deeme my precepts hard, and esteeme my perswasions haggarde: I must of force confes, that it is a corasiue to the stomacke of a louer, but a comforte to a godly lyuer, to runne through a thousande pykes, to escape ten thousand perills. Sowre potions bringe sounde health, sharpe purgations make shorte diseases, and the medicine y^e^ more bitter it is, y^e^ more better it is in working. To heale the body we trye Phisicke, search cunninge, proue sorcery, venture through fire and water, leauing nothing vnsought, that may be gotten for money, bee it neuer so much, or procured by any meanes, bee they neuer so vnlawfull. Howe much more ought wee to hazarde all thinges, for the sauegarde of minde, and quiet of conscience? And certes easier will the remedy bee when the reason is espyed, doe you not know the Nature of women which is grounded onely vpon extremities?

Do they thinke any man to delyght in them, vnles he doate on them? Any to be zealous, excepte they bee gelous? Any to be

2 ply] pile *E rest* 3 Garden *G rest* the[2] *om. E rest* 10 thy[1]] such *E rest* 13 the] thy E^2 *rest* 16 willing *C–F* 21 procureth *E rest* 36 in *om. EF* 37 Any to be . . . gelous? *om. E rest*

feruente in case he be not furious? If he be cleanly, then terme they him proude, if meane in apparel, a slouen, if talle, a longis, if shorte, a dwarfe, if bolde, blunte, if shamefaste, a cowarde. Insomuch, as they haue neyther meane in theire frumpes, nor measure in theire follye. But at the firste the Oxe weildeth not the yoke, nor the Colte the snaffle, nor the louer good counsell, yet time causeth the one to bende his necke, the other to open his mouth, and shoulde enforce the thirde to yeelde his ryght to reason. Laye before thine eyes the slights and deceits of thy Lady, hir snatching in iest, and keeping in earnest, hir periurie, hir impietie, the counten- aunce she sheweth to thee of course, the loue she beareth to others of zeale, hir open mallice, hir dissembled mischiefe.

O I woulde in repeating their vices thou couldest be as eloquent, as in remembring them thou oughtest to be penitent: be she neuer so comely call hir counterfaite, be she neuer so strayght thinke hir crooked. And wreste all partes of hir bodye to the worste be she neuer so worthye. If she be well sette, then call hir a Bosse, if slender, a Hasill twigge, if Nutbrowne, as blacke as a coale, if well couloured, a paynted wall, if she be pleasaunt, then is she a wanton, if sullemne, a clowne, if honeste, then is she coye, if impudent, a harlotte.

Searche euery vayne and sinew of their disposition, if she haue no sighte in deskante, desire hir to chaunte it, if no cunning to daunce request hir to trippe it, if no skill in Musicke, profer hir the Lute, if an ill gate, then walke with hir, if rude in speach, talke with hir, if she be gagge toothed, tell hir some merry ieste to make hir laughe, if pinke eyed, some dolefull Historye, to cause hir weepe, in the one hir grinning will shewe hir deformed, in the other hir whininge, lyke a Pigge halfe rosted.

It is a worlde to see how commonly we are blynded with the collusions of woemen, and more entised by their ornaments being artificiall, then their proportion beeing naturall. I loathe almoste to thincke on their oyntments, and Apoticarie drugges, the sleeking of theire faces, and all their slibber sawces, which bring quesinesse to the stomacke, and disquyet to the minde.

Take from them their periwiggs, their payntings, their Iewells, their fowles, their boulsterings, and thou shalt soone perceiue that a woman is the least parte of hir selfe. When they be once robbed

2 lungis *T rest, except* E^1 lunges their *E rest* 33 sliking *E rest* 6 good] his *E rest* 13 of *before* 34 quasinesss *A* : queasines *E rest*

of their robes, then will they appeare so odious, so vgly, so monstrous, yᵗ thou wilt rather thinke thē Serpents then Saynts, & so lyke Hags, yᵗ thou wilt feare rather to be enchanted then enamoured. Looke in their closets, and there shalt thou finde an Apoticaries shoppe of sweet confections, a Surgions boxe of sundrye salues, a Pedlars packe of new fangles. Besides all this their shadows, their spottes, their lawnes, their leefekyes, their ruffes, their rings, shew thē rather Cardinals curtisans, then modest Matrones, and more carnally affected, then moued in conscience. If euery one of these things seuerally be not of force to moue thee, yet all of them ioyntly should mortefie thee.

Moreouer to make thee yᵉ more stronger, to striue agaynst these *Syrenes*, and more subtill to deceiue these tame Serpents, my counsayle is that thou haue more strings to thy bow then one, it is safe riding at two ancres, a fire deuided in twayne burneth slower, a fountayne running into many riuers, is of lesse force, the minde enamoured on two women, is lesse affected with desire, and lesse infected with despaire, one loue expelleth an other, and the remembraunce of the latter quencheth the concupiscence of the first.

Yet if thou bee so weake being bewitched with their wiles that thou hast neyther will to eschue, nor wit to auoyde their cõpany, if thou be eyther so wicked yᵗ thou wilt not, or so wedded that thou canst not abstaine from their glaunces, yet at the leaste dissemble thy griefe: If thou be as hot as the mount *Aetna*, faine thy self as colde as yᵉ hil *Caucasus*, carry two faces in one hood, couer thy flaming fancie with fained ashes, shew thy selfe sounde when thou art rotten, lette thy hew be merrye, when thy heart is melancholy, beare a pleasaunt countenaunce, with a pyned conscience, a paynted sheathe with a leaden dagger: Thus dissembling thy griefe, thou maist recure thy disease. Loue crepeth in by stealth and by stealth slydeth away.

If she breake promise with thee in the nighte, or absent hir selfe in the daye, seeme thou carelesse and then will she be carefull, if thou languish, then will she bee lauish of hir honour, yea & of the other straunge beast hir honestie. Stande thou on thy pantuffles, and shee will vayle bonnet. lye thou aloofe, and she will ceaze on the lure, if thou passe by hir dore and be called backe, either seeme

11 mollifie *E rest* 12. yᵉ more] the *E rest* 17 on] of *E rest* 19 later *E* 1613–23

deafe and not to heare, or desperate, and not to care. Fly the places, the parlours, the portalles, wherein thou hast bene conuersaunt with thy Lady, yea *Philautus* shunne the streete where *Lucilla* doth dwell, least the sighte of hir window, renew the summe of thy sorrow.

Yet although I woulde haue thee precise, in keeping these precepts, yet woulde I haue thee to auoyde sollytarinesse, that breedes melancholy, melancholy, madnesse, madnesse mischiefe and vtter desolation: haue euer some faithfull pheere, with whome thou mayst communicate thy coũcells, some *Pilades* to encourage *Orestes*, some *Damon* to release *Pithias*, some *Scipio* to recure *Lælius*. *Phillis* in wandringe the woodes hanged hir selfe: *Asiarchus* forsakinge companye, spoyled himselfe with his own bodkin: *Biarus* a *Romaine*, more wise thẽ fortunate, beeing alone destroyed himselfe with a potsherd. Beware solitarines. But although I would haue thee vse companye for thy recreation, yet woulde I haue thee alwaies to leaue the company of those y^t^ accõpany thy Lady, yea, if she haue any iewel of thine in hir custody, rather loose it, then go for it, least in seeking to recouer a trifle, thou renewe thine olde trouble. Be not curious to curlle thy haire, nor carefull to be neate in thine apparell, bee not prodigal of thy golde, nor precise in thy goinge, bee not like the Englishman whiche preferreth euery straunge fashion, before the vse of his countrey, bee thou dissolute, least thy Lady thincke thee foolish in framing thy selfe to euery fashion for hir sake. Beleeue not their othes & solemne protestations, their exorcismes & coniurations, their tears which they haue at commaundement, their alluring lookes, their treading on the toe, their vnsauerie toyes.

Let euery one loath his Ladye, and bee ashamed to bee hir seruaunt. It is riches and ease that nourisheth affection, it is play, wine, and wantonnesse, that feedeth a louer as fat as a foole, refraine from all such meates as shall prouoke thine appetite to lust, and all such meanes, as may allure thy minde to folly. Take cleere water for stronge wine, browne bread for fine manchet, beefe and brewys, for Quailes & Partridge, for ease, labour, for pleasure, paine, for surfetting, hunger, for sleepe, watching, for the fellowshippe of Ladyes, the companie of Philosophers. If thou saye to mee, Phisition heale thy selfe, I aunswere, that I am meetly well purged of that disease, and

1 deafe . . . to[1]] thou deafe, and not to *G*: thou deafe and doo not *E rest* 2 place *E rest* 15 of *after* Beware *G rest* 17 company *F* 20 thine] thy *G rest* 23 dessolute *C. Qy.* ?ressolute *i.e.* unchanging *but F* Be not dissolute *perh. rightly* 32 thy] the *C rest*

yet was I neuer more willing to cure my selfe then to comfort my friend. And seeing the cause that made in mee so colde a deuotion, shoulde make in thee also as frosen a desire, I hope thou wilt be as ready to prouide a salue as thou wast hastie in seeking a sore. And yet *Philautus* I woulde not that all women shoulde take pepper in the nose, in that I haue disclosed the legerdemaines of a fewe, for well I knowe none will winch excepte she bee gawlded, neither any bee offended vnlesse shee be guiltie. Therefore I earnestly desire thee, that thou shewe this cooling carde to none, except thou shew also this my defence to them all. For although I waye nothing the ill will of light huswiues, yet woulde I bee loath to loose the good will of honest matrones. Thus beeing ready to goe to *Athens* and readie there to entertaine thee, whensouer thou shalte repayre thether. I bidde thee farewell, and flye women.

¶ *Thine euer*
Euphues.

¶ *To the graue Matrones and honest Maydens of Italy.*

GEntlewomen bicause I would neither bee mistaken of purpose, neyther misconstrued of mallice, least either the simple should suspect me of folly, or the subtill condemne me of blasphemye against the noble sexe of women, I thought good that this my faythe shoulde be set downe to finde fauour with the one, and confute the cauils of the other. Beleeue me gentlewomen, although I haue ben bolde to inuay agayne many, yet am I not so brutish to enuy them all, though I seeme not so gamesome as *Aristippus* to play with *Lais*, yet am I not so dogged as *Diogenes* to abhorre all Ladyes, neither would I you should thincke me so foolish (although of late I haue bene very fantasticall) that for the light behauiour of a fewe, I shoulde call in question the demeanour of all. I know that as ther hath bene an vnchast *Helen* in *Greece*, so there hath bene also a chast *Penelope*, as there hath bene a prodigious *Pasiphae*, so there hath bene a godly *Theocrita*, though many haue desired to be beloued as *Iupiter* loued *Alcmæna*, yet some haue wished to be embraced as *Phrigius* embraced *Pieria*, as ther hath raigned a wicked *Iesabel*, so hath there

1 I was *G rest* 4 seeing *T* 7 gauled *E rest*; *exc.* 1623 galled 9 this[2] *om. E rest* 13 whensoeuer *T rest* 24 to *before* confute *E rest* 26 against *T rest* I am *E rest* 35 Alcmena *G rest* 36 Piera *E rest*

ruled a deuoute *Debora*, though many haue bene as fickle as *Lucilla*, yet hath there many bene as faithful as *Lucretia*. Whatsoeuer therfore I haue spoken of the spleene against ye slights and subtilties of women, I hope ther is none wil mislike it if she be honest, neither care I if any doe if shee be an harlot. The sowre crab hath the shewe of an apple as well as the sweet pyppin, the black Rauen the shape of a birde as well as the white Swanne, ye lewde wight the name of a woman as wel as the honest Matrone. There is great difference betweene ye standing puddle, and the running streame, yet both water, great ods betweene the Adamant and the Pommice, yet both stones, a great distinction to be put betweene *Vitrum* and the Christall, yet both glasse, greate contrarietie betweene *Lais* and *Lucretia*, yet both women. Seeing therfore one maye loue the cleere Conduit water, though he loath the muddie ditch, and weare the precious Diamonde, though he dispise the ragged bricke, I thincke one may also with safe conscience reuerence the modest sex of honest maydens, though he forsweare the lewde sort of vnchast minions. *Vlysses* though he detested *Calipso* wt hir sugered voice, yet he imbraced *Penelope* with hir rude distaffe. Though *Euphues* abhorre ye beautie of *Lucilla*, yet wil he not absteine from ye company of a graue maiden. Though ye teares of the Hart be salt, yet the tears of ye Bore be sweet, though ye teares of some women be counterfaite to deceiue, yet ye tears of many be currãt to try their loue. I for my part wil honour those alwaies yt be honest, & worship thẽ in my life whõ I shall know to be worthy in their liuing, neither cañ I promise such precisenes yt I shall neuer be caught againe with ye bayte of beautie, for although the falshood of *Lucilla* haue caused me to forsake my wonted dotage, yet the faith of some Ladye may cause me once againe to fall into mine olde disease. For as the fire stone in *Liguria* though it bee quenched with milke, yet againe it is kindled with water, or as the rootes of *Anchusa*, though it bee hardned with water, yet it is againe made soft with Oyle, so the heart of *Euphues* enflamed earst with loue, although it bee cooled with the deceites of *Lucilla*, yet will it againe flame with the loyaltie of some honest Ladye, and though it bee hardned with the water of wilynesse, yet will it bee mollified with the Oyle of wisedome. I presume therfore so much vpon the discretion of you gentlewomen that

2 beene many *C rest* 11 Vitrem *A* 29 my *F rest* 31 againe it] again *C rest* as *om. C rest* roote 1613 *rest* 32 againe it is *G rest* 35 although *E rest*

you wil not thinck the worse of me, in yᵗ I haue thought so ill of some women, or loue mee the worse in that I loath some so much. For this is my faith that some one Rose will be blasted in yᵉ bud, some other neuer fall from the stalke, that the Oke wil soone be eaten with the worme, the Walnut-tree neuer, that some women will easily be entised to folly, some other neuer allured to vanitie. You ought therefore no more to bee agrieued with that which I haue sayde, then the mint Maister to see the coyner hanged, or the true subiect the false traytour araigned, or the honest man the theefe condemned. *And so farewell.*

You haue hearde (Gentlemen) howe soone the hot desire of *Euphues* was turned into a cold deuotion, not that fancie caused him to chaunge, but that the ficklenesse of *Lucilla* enforced him to alter his minde. Hauing therfore determined with himselfe, neuer againe to be entangled with such fonde delightes, accordinge to the appointment made with *Philautus*, he immediately repaired to *Athens*, ther to followe his owne priuate study: And callyng to minde his former losenes, & how in his youth, he had mispent his time, he thought to giue a Caueat to all parents, how they might bring their children vp in vertue, and a commaundement to al youth, how they should frame themselues to their fathers instructions: in the which is plainly to be seene, what wit can, & will do, if it be well employed, which discourse following, although it bring lesse pleasure to your youthfull mindes thē his first course, yet will it bring more profite, in the one being conteined the race of a louer, in the other, the reasons of a Philosopher.

7 greeued E^2 *rest* 20 vp their childrē *C rest* 22 instruction E^2 *rest* the *om. T rest* 25 followeth: *E rest* 27 discourse *G rest*

Euphues and his Ephœbus.

[*Lyly's addition (all this section)* . . .

IT is commonly sayd, yet doe I thinke it a common lye, that Experience is the Mistresse of fooles, for in my opinion they be most fooles that want it. Neyther am I one of y^e least that haue tryed this true, neither he onely that heretofore deemed it to be false. I was heereof a studente of great wealth, of some wit, of no smal acquayntance, yet haue I learned that by Experience, that I shoulde hardly haue seene by learning. I haue thorowly sifted the disposition of youth, wherein I haue founde more branne then meale, more dowe then leauen, more rage then reason. He that hath bene burned knoweth the force of the fire, he that hath bene stoung, remembreth the smarte of the Scorpion, he that hath endured the brunts of fancie, knoweth best how to eschew y^e broyles of affection. Let therefore my counsayle be of such aucthoritie as it may commaund you to be sober, your conuersation of such integritie, as it may encourage mee to go forwarde in that which I haue taken in hande: the whole effect shall be to sette downe a young man so absolute as that nothing may be added to his further perfection. And although *Plato* hath ben so curious in his common weale, *Aristotle* so precise in his happy man, *Tullie* so pure in his orator, that we may well wish to see them, but neuer haue anye hope to enioy them, yet shall my young Impe be such an one as shall be perfect euery way and yet common, if dilygence and industrie be imployed to the attayning of such perfection. But I would not haue young men slowe to followe my precepts, or idle to defer the time lyke Saint *George*, who is euer on horse backe yet neuer rideth.

If my counsell shal seeme rigorous to fathers to instructe their children, or heauie for youth to follow their parents will: Let them both remember that the *Estrich* disgesteth harde yron to preserue his healthe, that the souldiour lyeth in his harnesse to atchieue conquest, that the sicke patient swalloweth bitter pilles to be eased

1 and] to *E rest* 5 thought *T rest* 6 was heereof] have ben heere *T rest*
22 an] a *E rest* 24 could E^1 29 digesteth E^2 *rest* 30 hardnesse E^1

of his griefe, that youth shoulde indure sharpe stormes to finde reliefe.

I my selfe had bene happye if I had bene vnfortunate, wealthy if lefte meanely, better learned if I had bene better lyued, we haue an olde (Prouerb) youth will haue his course. Ah gentlemen it is a course which we ought to make a course accompte off, replenished with more miseries thẽ olde age, with more sinnes then commõ cutthroats, with more calamities thẽ yᵉ date of *Priamus*: we are no sooner out of the shell but we resemble the *Cocyx* which destroyeth it selfe thorowe selfe will, or the *Pellican* which pearceth a wounde in hir owne breast: we are eyther leade with a vayne glorye of our proper personage, or with selfe loue of our sharpe capacitie, either entangled with beautie, or seduced by idle pastimes, eyther witcht with vicious company of others, or inueigled with our owne conceits, of all these things I may the bolder speake, hauing tryed it true to mine owne trouble.

To the entente therefore that all younge gentlemen might shunne my former losenesse I haue set it downe, and that all might follow my future lyfe, I meane heere to shewe what fathers shoulde doe, what children shoulde followe, desiring them both not reiecte it bicause it proceedeth from one which hath bene lewde, no more then if they woulde neglect the golde bycause it lyeth in the durtye earthe or the pure wyne for that it commeth out of an homely presse, or the precious stone *Aetites* which is founde in the filthy neastes of the *Eagle*, or the precious gemme *Draconites* that is euer taken out of the heade of the poysoned Dragon. But to my purpose. . . .]

¶ *That the childe shoulde be true borne, no bastarde.*

FIrst touching their procreation, it shall seeme necessarie to entreate off who so euer he be yᵗ desireth to be the Sire of an happy sonne, or the father of a fortunate childe, lette him abstaine from those women which be eyther base of birth, or bare of honestie: for if yᵉ mother be noted of incontinencie, or the father of vice, the [*Plut. c.* 2.]

5 (Prouerb) *the marks of parenthesis transferred to* 'youth . . . course' *in* 1617 [1623], *om.* 1631, 1636 6 a² *om. C rest* 9 Cocix *E rest* 10 it] her *G rest* 12 sharpe] owne *G rest* 20 to *before* reiect *C rest* 23 an] a *TME rest*: the *CG* 25 Dacromtes *TM*: Droconites *E*² *rest* 26 our *C rest* 28 shoulde *om. G rest* 30 the *G rest* 31 *E rest, mistaking sense, place colon at* intreate of *instead of comma of A–G*

childe will eyther during lyfe, be infected with the like crime, or the trecheries of his parents as ignomye to him will be cast in his teeth: For we commonlye call those vnhappy children, which haue sprong from vnhonest parents. It is therefore a great treasure to the father and tranquilitie to the minde of the childe, to haue that lybertie, which both nature, law, and reason hath sette downe.

The guyltie conscience of a father that hath troden awry, causeth him to thinke and suspect that his father also went not right, wherby his owne behauiour is as it were a witnesse, of his owne basenesse. Euen as those that come of a noble progenie boast of their gentrye. Heerevppon it came that *Diophantus*, *Themistocles* his sonne woulde often and that openly saye in a great multitude, that what soeuer he shoulde seeme to request of the *Athenians*, he should be sure also to obtayne, for sayth hee, what soeuer I will that wil my mother, and what my mother sayth my father sootheth, and what my father desireth that the *Athenians* will graunt most willingly. The bolde courage of the *Lacedemonians* is to be praysed, which sette a fine on the heade of *Archidamius* their king, for y^t^ he had married a woman of a small personage, saying he minded to begette Queenes, not [*Plut. c.* 3.] Kinges to succeede him. Lette vs not omitte that which our Aunces- tours were wont precisely to keepe that men shoulde either bee sober, or drincke little wine, that woulde haue sober and discrete children, for that the fact of the father woulde bee figured in the infant. *Diogenes* therefore seeing a younge man either ouercome with drincke or bereued of hys wits, cryed with a lowde voice, youth, youth, thou hadst a dronken Father. And thus muche for procreation, nowe howe the life shoulde bee ledde I will shewe briefly.

¶ *Howe the life of a younge man should be lead.*

[*Plut, c.* 4.] THere are three thinges whiche cause perfection in man, Nature, Reason, Use. Reason I call discipline, Use exercise, if any one of these braunches want, certeinely the tree of vertue must needes wither. For Nature without discipline is of small force, and discipline without Nature more feeble: if exercise or study be voide of any of these, it auayleth nothing. For as in tilling of the grounde and husbandry, there is first chosen a fertil soyle, then

2 treacherie *F rest* his] the *E rest* ignominie *F rest* his] the *F rest* 15 what'] that *E rest* 18 Archidamus *T rest* 19 get *E rest* 30 a *before* man *E rest*

a cunning sower, then good seede, euen so must wee compare Nature to the fatte earthe, the expert husbandman to the Schoolemaister, the faculties and sciences to the pure seedes. If this order had not bene in our predecessors, *Pithagoras*, *Socrates*, *Plato*, and whosoeuer was renowmed in *Greece* for the glorie of wisdome: they had neuer bene eternished for wise men, neither cannonished as it were for Saincts amonge those that studye sciences. It is therefore a most euident signe of Gods singuler fauour towardes him that is endued with all these qualities, without the least of the which man is most miserable. But if there be any one that deemeth wit not necessary to the obtayninge of wisedome, after hee hath gotten the waye to vertue by industrye and exercise, hee is an heriticke, in my opinion touching the true faith of learning, for if Nature playe not hir parte, in vayne is laboure, and as I sayd before if study bee not imployed, in vayne is Nature. Sloth tourneth the edge of wit, Study sharpeneth the minde, a thing be it neuer so easie is hard to the (idle), a thinge bee it neuer so hard is easie to the wit wel employed. And most plainely we may see in many thinges the efficacie of industry and laboure.

The little drops of rayne pearceth harde Marble, yron wyth often handlinge is worne to nothinge. Besides this, industry sheweth hir selfe in other thinges, the fertill soyle if it bee neuer tilled doth waxe barren, and that which is most noble by nature is made most vyle by negligence. What tree if it bee not topped beareth any fruite? What vine if it bee not proyned, bringeth foorth grapes? is not the strength of the body tourned too weakenesse throughe too much delicasie, were not *Milo* his armes brawnefallen, for want of wrastlinge? moreouer by labour the fierce Unicorne is tamed, the wyldest Fawlcon is reclaymed, the greatest bulwarke is sacked. It was well aunswered of that man of *Thessalie*, who beeinge demaunded who amonge the *Thessalians* were reputed moste vyle, those sayd hee that liue at quyet and ease, neuer gyuing themselues to marciall affayres: but what should one vse many woordes in a thinge already proued. It is custome, vse and exercise, that bringe a younge man to vertue, and vertue to his perfection. *Lycurgus* the lawegiuer of the *Sparthans* dyd nourish two whelpes, both of one syre and one damme: But after a sundry manner, for the one hee

6 eternized *E rest* canonised *T rest* 9 the least of *om. C rest* 10 thinketh *T rest* 14 I] it is *E rest* 16 sharpeneth not E^1 17 (idle) *A–G*: idle *E rest* the *om.* E^2 *rest* 20 pearce the *G rest* 27 with *T rest* 34 brings *E rest* 37 a *om. F rest*

framed to hunte, & the other to lye alwaies in y^e^ chymneys end at the porredge pot, afterwarde callinge the *Lacedemonians* into one assemblye, hee sayde, To the attayninge of vertue yee *Lacedemonians*, education, industry, and exercise, is the most noblest meanes, the truth of the which I wyll make manifest vnto you by tryall, then brynginge foorth the whelpes and settinge downe there a potte, and a hare, the one ranne at the hare, the other to the porredge potte, the *Lacedemonians* scarce vnderstandinge this mistery, hee sayde both these bee of one syre and one damme, but you see howe education altereth nature.

¶ *Of the education of youth.*

[*Plut. c.* 5.] IT is most necessarie and most naturall in myne opinion, that the mother of the childe bee also the nurse, both for the entire loue shee beareth to the babe, and the great desire she hath to haue it well nourished: for is there any one more meete to bring vp the infant, then she that bore it? or will any be so carefull for it, as shee that bredde it? for as the throbbes and throwes in chyldbirth wrought hir payne, so the smilinge countenaunce of the infant increaseth hir pleasure. The hyred nurse is not vnlike to y^e^ hyred saruaunt which not for good will but gayne, not for loue of the man but the desire of the money, accomplisheth hys dayes worke. Moreouer Nature in thys poynte enforceth the mother to nurse hir owne childe, which hath gyuen vnto euerye beast milke to succour hyr owne, and mee thincketh Nature to be a most prouident foreseer and prouider for the same, which hath giuen vnto a woman two pappes, that if shee shoulde conceiue two, shee might haue wherewith also to nourishe twaine, and that by sucking of the mothers brestes, there might bee a greater loue bothe of the mother towardes the childe, and the childe towardes the mother, which is very likely to come to passe, for we see commonly those that eate and drincke and liue together, to be more zealous one to the other, then those that meete seldome. Is not the name of a mother most sweet? If it bee, why is halfe that title bestowed on a woman which neuer felte the paines in conceyuing, neyther can conceiue the lyke pleasure in nurseing as the mother

[*Lyly's addition* (*4 lines*) . . .

. . .]

[*Lyly's addition* (*nearly 2 pages*) . . .

5 the *om. T rest* 6 Whelpe E^2F 7 and *before* the[3] *E rest* to] at *C rest* 8 this] the E^2 *rest* 9 of *before* these *T rest* 20 vnto *G* 21 the *before* loue *G rest* for *before* the[2] *E rest* 26 to *E rest* 27 shoulde *AT* 1617 *rest*: coulde *M*–1613 28 breast *E rest* 33 more *C rest* that] the E^2 *rest* 35 nourishing *C rest*

doth? Is the earthe called the mother of all thinges onely bicause it bringeth foorth? No, but bicause it nourisheth those thinges that springe out of it: whatsoeuer is bredde in the sea, is fed in the sea, no plant, no tree, no hearbe commeth out of the ground that is not moystened and as it were nursed of the moysture and milke of the earth: the Lionnesse nurseth hir whelpes, the Rauen cherisheth hir birdes, the Uiper hir broode, and shall a woman cast away hir babe?

I accompte it cast awaye whiche in the swathe clowtes is cast aside, and little care can that Mother haue, whiche can suffer suche crueltie: and can it bee tearmed wyth any other tytle then crueltie, the infant yet lookinge redde of the mother, the mother yet breathing through the torments of hir trauaile, the childe crying for helpe which is sayd to mooue wilde beasts, euen in the selfe sayde momente it is borne, or the next minute, to deliuer to a straunge nurse, whiche perhappes is neyther holsome in bodye, neyther honest in manners, whiche esteemeth more thy argent although a trifle, then thy tender infant thy greatest treasure? Is it not necessary and requisite that the babe bee nursed wyth that true accustomed iuyce & cherished with his wonted heat, & not fed with coũterfaite diet? Wheat throwne into a straunge ground tourneth to a contrary grayne, ye Uyne translated into an other soyle changeth his kinde. A slippe pulled fro the stalke withereth, the young childe as it were slipped from the pappes of his mother eyther changeth his nature or altereth his disposition. It is pretely sayd of *Horace* a newe vessell will long time sauour of that lyquor that is first powred into it, and the infant will euer smell of the Nurses manners hauing tasted of hir milke. Therefore lette the mother as often as she shal beholde those two fountaynes of milke, as it were of their owne accorde flowing and swelling with lycour, remember that shee is admonished of nature, yea commaunded of dutie, to cherishe hir owne childe, with hir owne teates, otherwise when the babe shall nowe beginne to tattle and call hir Mamma, with what face canne she heare it of his mouth vnto whome shee hath denyed Mamma? It is not milke only yat encreaseth ye strength or augmenteth the body, but the naturall heat & agreement of the mothers body with the childes, it craueth ye same accustomed moisture that before it receiued in the bowells, by the which the tender parts were bounde

9 that] the *T rest* 14 it *before* to^2 *G rest* 23 his^1] the E^1 25 newe *om.* E^2 *rest* 28 these *E rest* 31 other-while *E* 32 force *A* 35 but the naturall . . . body *om. E rest, from the recurrence of the word* body 35–6 with the childe *GEF*: of the child 1613 *rest, owing to omission just noted*

& knit together, by the which it encreased and was succoured in the body.

Certes I am of that minde that the witte and disposition is altered and chaunged by the milke, as the moysture and sappe of the earth, doth change the nature of that tree or plant that it nourisheth. Wherefore the common bye worde of the common people seemeth to be grounded vppon good experience which is: This fellow hath sucked mischiefe euen from the teate of his nursse. The *Grecians* when they saw any one sluttishly fedde, they woulde say euen as nurses: whereby they noted the greate dislykinge they hadde of theire fulsome feeding. The *Etimologie* of mother among the *Grecians*, may aptly bee applyed to those mothers which vnnaturally deale with their children, they cal it *meter a meterine*, that is mother of not makinge much off, or of not nourishing, heereof it commeth that the sonne doth not with deepe desire loue his mother, neyther wyth duetie obay hir, his naturall affection being as it were deuided and distraught into twain, a mother & a nurse: heereoff it proceedeth that the mother beareth but a colde kindenesse towardes hir childe, when she shall see the nature of hir nurse in the nurture of hir childe. The chiefest way to learning is, if there be a mutuall loue and feruent desire betweene the teacher and him that is taught, then verely the greatest furtheraunce to education is if the mother nourish the childe and the childe sucke the mother, that there be as it were a relacion and reciprecall order of affection. Yet if the mother either for the euill habite of the body, or the weakenesse of hir pappes, cannot though she woulde nurse hir infant, then lette hir prouide suche a one as shall be of a good complexion, of an honest condition, carefull to tender the childe, louing to see well to it, willyng to take paynes, dillygent in tending and prouiding all thinges necessarye, and as lyke both in the lyniaments of the body and disposition of the minde to y^e^ mother as may be. Lette hir forslow no occasion that may bringe the childe to quietnesse and cleanelynesse, for as the parts of a childe as soone as it is borne are framed and fashioned of the midwife, y^t^ in all poynts it may be streight and comely, so the manners of the childe at the first are to be looked vnto that nothing discommend the minde, that no crooked behauiour or vndecent demeanour bee founde in the man.

. . .] [*Plut. c. 5 resumed.*]

7 This] The *E rest* 13 meterine *A–GE*[1]: Neterine *E*[2] *rest. Prob. Lyly wrote or meant* μὴ τείρειν. *See note* 19 hir (*both*)] the *C rest* 25 the[1]] hir *T rest* 26 hir[1]] the *C rest* 27 a *om. E rest* an *om. TMC*: of an *om. G rest*

Young and tender age is easily framed to manners, and hardely are those thinges mollyfied which are harde. For as the steele is imprinted in the softe waxe, so learning is engrauen in the minde of an young impe. *Plato* that deuine Philosopher admonished all nurses and weaners of youth, that they should not be to busie to tell them fonde fables or filthie tales, least at their entraunce into the worlde they shoulde be contaminated with vnseemelye behauiour, vnto the which *Phocilides* the Poet doth pithely allude, saying. Whilst that the childe is young lette him bee instructed in vertue, and lyterature.

Moreouer they are to bee trayned vpp in the language of their country, to pronounce aptly and distinctly without stammering euerye worde and sillable of their natiue speache, and to be kepte from barbarous talke as the shippe from rockes: least beeinge affected with their barbarisme they bee infected also with theire vncleane conuersation. [*Plut. c.* 6.]

It is an olde Prouerbe that if one dwell the nexte dore to a creple he wil learne to hault, if one be conuersant with an hypocrite, he wil soone endeauour to dissemble. When this younge infante shall growe in yeares and bee of that rypenesse that hee can conceiue learninge, insomuch that he is to be committed to the tuition of some tutour, all dilligence is to be had to searche such a one as shall neyther be vnlearned, neyther ill lyued, neyther a lyght person. [*Plut. c.* 7. *much expanded.*]

A gentleman that hath honest and discreete seruants disposeth them to the encrease of his segnioryes, one he appoynteth stewarde of his courtes, an other ouerseer of his landes, one his factoure in farre countryes for his merchaundize, an other puruayour for his cates at home.

But if among all his seruauntes he shall espye one eyther filthye in his talke or foolishe in his behauiour, eyther wythout witte or voyde of honestie, eyther an vnthrifte or a wittall, him hee settes not as a suruayour and ouerseer of his mannors, but a superuisour of his childrens conditions and manners, to him hee committeth the guydinge and tuition of his sonnes, which is by hys proper Nature, a slaue, a knaue by condition, a beast in behauiour. And sooner will they bestow an hundreth crownes to haue a horse well broken, then a childe well taught, wherein I cannot but maruell to see them so [*Lyly's addition* (4 *lines*) . . .

4 a *E rest* admonisheth *C rest* 8 Phocides *A* 15 also infected *E rest* 19 sóoner *F* 21 as *G* 32 a[1] *om. G* as *before* a[2] *G rest* 36 an] a *C rest* hundred *E rest*

carefull to encrease their possessions, when they be so carelesse to haue them wise that should inherite them.

. . .]

A good and discreete scholemayster should be such an one as *Phœnix* was, the instructor of *Achilles*, whom *Pelleus* (as *Homer* reporteth) appoynted to that ende that he should be vnto *Achilles* not onely a teacher of learning but an example of good lyuinge. But that is most principally to be looked for, and most dilygently to be foreseene, that such tutours bee sought out for yᵉ education of a young childe, whose lyfe hath neuer bene stayned with dishonestie, whose good name hath neuer bene called vnto question, whose manners hath bene irreprehensible before the worlde. As husbandmen hedge in their trees, so shoulde good scholemaysters with good manners hedge in the wit and disposition of yᵉ scholler: whereby the blossoms of learning may yᵉ sooner encrese to a bud. Many parents are in this to be misliked, which hauing neyther tryall of his honestie nor experience of his learning to whome they committe the childe to bee taught, without any deepe or due consideration, put them to one eyther ignoraunt or obstinate, the which if they themselues shall doe of ignoraunce the folly cannot bee excused, if of obstinacie their lewdnesse is to bee abhorred.

[*Lyly's addition* (3 *lines*) . . . . . .]

(18 *lines for* 15 *Gk.*)

Some fathers are ouercome with the flatterie of those fooles, which professe outwardly greate knowledge, and shew a certeyne kinde of dissembling sinceritie in their lyfe, others at the entreating of their familyar friendes are content to commit their sonnes to one without eyther substaunce of honestie or shadowe of learning. By which their vndiscreete dealing, they are lyke those sicke men which reiect the expert and cunning Phisition, and at the request of their friendes admit the heedelesse practiser which daungereth the patient, and bringeth the bodye to his bane: Or not vnlyke vnto those whiche at the instaunt and importunate suite of their acquaintaunce refuse a cunninge Pylot, and choose an vnskilfull Marriner, whiche hazardeth the shippe and themselues in the calmest sea. Good God can there bee any that hath the name of a Father which wyll esteeme more the fancie of his friende then the nurture of his sonne? It was not in vayne that *Crates* would often say, that if it were lawfull euen in the market place, hee would crye out: Whether runne you Fathers, which haue all your carke and care to multiplye your wealth, nothing re-

1 so *om. E rest* 4 Phœnix *A* 9 had *G* 10 into *C rest* 11 haue *F rest* 19 should *E rest* 27 at] al E^1, all E^2 *rest, inserting* & *before* admit 28 practise *G* 30 and] an *G* 31 an] and *C* 37 your^{1}] you *C*

gardinge your chyldren vnto whome you must leaue all. In thys they resemble him which is very curious about the shooe, and hath no care of the foote. Besides this there bee many fathers so inflamed with the loue of wealth, that they bee as it were incensed with hate against their children: which *Aristippus*, seeinge in an olde miser, did partly note it, this olde miser askinge of *Aristippus* what hee would take to teach and bringe vp hys sonne, hee aunswered a thousand groates: a thousand groates, God sheild aunswered this olde huddle, I can haue two seruauntes of that price. Unto whome hee made aunswere, thou shalt haue two seruants and one sonne, and whether wilt thou sell? Is it not absurde to haue so great a care of the right hande of the childe to cutte his meate, that if he handle his knife in the leaft hand we rebuke him seuerely and to bee secure of his nurture in discipline and learning? But what doe happen vnto those parentes, that bringe vp theire children lyke wantons?

When their sonnes shal growe to mans estate, disdayninge nowe to bee corrected, stoborne to obeye, gyuing themselues to vaine pleasures and vnseemely pastimes, then with the foolishe trowans they beginne to waxe wise and to repent them of theire former follye: when their sonnes shall insinuate themselues in the companye of flatterers, (a kinde of men more perrillous to youthe then any kinde of beastes,) when they shall haunt harlottes, frequent tauerns, bee curious in their attyre, costly in their dyet, carelesse in their behauiour, when they shall eyther bee common dicers wyth gamesters, eyther wanton dallyers with Ladyes, eyther spende all their thrift on wine, or all their wealth on women, then the Father curseth his owne securitie, and lamenteth to late his childes mysfortune, then the one accuseth his Syre, as it were of mallice that hee woulde not bringe him vppe in learninge, and himselfe of mischiefe that hee gaue not his minde to good letters. If these youthes had bene trained vp in the companye of any Philosopher, they would neuer haue bene so disolute in theyr lyfe, or so resolute in their owne conceites. [*Lyly's addition* (4 lines) . . . . .]

It is good nurture that leadeth to vertue, and discreete demeanour that playneth the pathe to felicity. If one haue either the giftes of Fortune, as greate riches, or of nature, as seemely personage, hee is to bee dispised in respect of learning. To be a noble man it is most excellent, but that is our auncestors, as for *Vlysses* sayde to *Aiax*, as for [*Plut. c.* 8.] [*Lyly's addition* (3 lines) . . .

3 are *G rest* 7 hee *om. G rest* 9 can *om. A* 11 of] on *GE*
14 vnto] to *E rest* 18 trowants *TMC*: trewaunts *G*: Trewant *E rest*
20 insumate *A* 22 Harlot *G* 25 on] in *G rest* 27 his] the *E rest*
31 Philosoper *T*

our nobilitie, our stocke, our kindred, and whatsoeuer wee our selues
. . .] haue not done, I scarcely accompt ours. Richesse are precious, but
Fortune ruleth the rost, which oftentimes taketh away all from them
that haue much, and gyueth them more that had nothinge, glorye is
a thinge worthy to bee followed, but as it is gotten wyth greate trauayle,
so is it lost in a small time. Beautie is suche a thing as wee com-
monly preferre before all thinges, yet it fadeth before we perceyue it
to florishe, health is that which all men desire, yet euer subiect to
any disease, strength is to bee wyshed for, yet is it eyther abated wyth
an ague, or taken away wyth age: whosoeuer therefore boasteth of
force, is to too beastly, seeing hee is in that qualitie, not to bee com-
[*Lyly's addition* (4 *lines*) . . . pared wyth beastes, as the Lyon, y^e^ Bull, the Elephant. It is vertue,
yea, vertue, gentlemen, y^t^ maketh gentlemen, y^t^ maketh y^e^ poore
rich, y^e^ base borne noble, the subiect a soueraigne, the deformed
beautifull, the sicke whole, the weake strong, the most myserable
. . .] most happy. There are two principall and peculier gyftes in the
nature of man, knowledge, and reason, the one commaundeth, the
other obeyeth: these thinges neyther the whirlinge wheele of Fortune
can chaunge, neyther the deceitefull cauillinge of worldlinges seperate,
neyther sicknesse abate, neither age abolish. It is onely knowledge
which worne with yeares waxeth younge, and when all thinges are
cutte awaye wyth the cycle of time, knowledge florisheth so highe
that time cannot reach it. Warre taketh all things with it euen as
the whirlepoole, yet must it leaue learninge behinde it, wherefore it
was wiselye aunswered in my opinion of *Stilpo* the Philosopher, for
when *Demetrius* wonne the Citie and made it euen to the grounde
leauinge nothinge standing, hee demaunded of *Stilpo* whether hee
had lost any thinge of his in this great spoyle: vnto whome he
aunswered, no verilye, for warre getteth no spoyle of vertue. Unto
y^e^ like sence may the answere of *Socrates* be applyed, whē *Gorgias*
asked him whether he deemed the *Persian* kinge happy or not,
I knowe not sayd he how much vertue or discipline he hath, for
happines doth not consist in y^e^ gifts of fortune, but in grace of
[*Plut. c. 9.*] vertue. But as there is nothing more conuenient thē enstruction
for youth, so would I haue them nurtered in such a place as is re-
nowmed for learning, voyde of corrupte manners, vndefiled with vice,
that seeinge no vayne delightes they maye the more easilye absteyne

2 searcely *A* 4 that had] that hath *G*: which hath *EF*: which haue 1613 *rest* 6 as] that *E rest* 7 vadeth *G rest* 11 to *om. T rest*, *F reads* it is too beastly hee] that he *G rest* 22 cycle *AT*: Cicle *M*: sickle *C rest* 31 thought *T rest* 32 or] and *C rest* 33 y^e^ *before* grace *T rest* 36 corrupte] incorrupt *TM*

from lycensious desires. They that studye to please the multitude are sure to displease the wyse, they that seeme to flatter rude people wyth their rude pretences, leuell at great honoure, hauinge no ayme at honestie. When I was heere a student in *Athens*, it was thought a greate commendation for a younge scholler to make an Oration extempore, but certeinely in my iudgement it is vtterly to bee condemned, for whatsoeuer is done rashlye, is done also rawely, he that taketh vppon him to speake wythout premedytation, knoweth, neyther howe to begynne, nor where to ende, but falhinge into a vayne of bablinge, vttereth those thinges whiche wyth modestye hee shoulde haue concealed, and forgetteth those thinges that before hee had conceyued. An Oration eyther penned, eyther premeditated, keepeth it selfe within the bounds of *Decorum*, I haue read that *Pericles* beeinge at sundry times called of the people to pleade, woulde alwayes aunswere that hee was not readye: euen after the same manner *Demosthenes* beeing sent for to declaime amyddest the multitude, staide and sayd I am not yet prouided.

And in his inuectiue agaynst *Midias*, he seemeth to prayse the profitablenesse of premeditation, I confesse sayth hee, ye *Athenians*, that I haue studyed and considered deepely wyth my selfe what to speake, for I were a sot if without due consideration had of those thinges that are to be spoken, I shoulde haue talked vnaduisedly. But I speake this not to this ende to condemne the exercise of the witte, but that I would not haue any younge scholler openly to exercyse it: but when he shall grow both in age and eloquence, in so much as he shall throughe great vse & good memorye be able aptly to conceiue & redely to vtter any thing, thē this saying extempore bringeth an admiration & delight to the auditorye, and singuler prayse and commendacion to the Orator. For as he that hath long time ben fettered with chaynes beeing released halteth through the force of his former yrons, so he that hath bene vsed to a stricke kinde of pleading, when hee shall talke extempore wil sauor of his former penning. But if any shal vse it as it wer a precept for youth to tattle extempore, he wil in time bring them to an immoderate kinde of humilitie. A certein painter brought to *Appelles* the counterfaite of a face in a table saying: loe *Appelles* I drew this euē now. Whervnto he replyed. If thou hadst ben silent I would haue iudged

2 pleople *T*. 13 bonds *TM*: bands *CG*: bound *F*: bounds *AE* 1613–36 18 Mydas *A rest* 22 talked] spoken *E rest* 25 should *E rest* 31 strickt *TM* (*cf. p.* 285, *l.* 5): stricte *C rest* 33 will *G rest* 34 talke *E rest* 35 to Appelles the *AT*: Appelles the *MCG*: Appelles to the *E rest*

this picture to haue ben framed of y^e^ sodain. I maruel y^t^ in this time thou couldst not paynt many more of these. But retourne we again, as I woulde haue tragicall and stately stile shunned, so would I haue that abiect & base phrase eschued, for this swellyng kinde of talke hath lyttle modestie, the other nothing moueth.

Besides this, to haue the oration all one in euerye part, neither adorned with fine figures, neither sprinckled with choyse phrases, bringeth teadiousnesse to the hearers, and argueth the speaker of lyttle learning and lesse eloquence. He shoulde more ouer talke of manye matters, not alwayes harp vpon one string, he that alwayes singeth one note without deskant breedeth no delyght, he that alwayes playeth one part bringeth lothsomenesse to the eare. It is varietie that moueth the minde of all men, and one thing sayd twice (as wee say commonly) deserueth a trudge. *Homer* woulde say that it loathed him to repeate any thing agayne though it were neuer so pleasaunt or profitable. Though the Rose be sweete yet being tyed with the Uiolet the smel is more fragraunte, though meate nurrish, yet hauing good sauor it prouoketh the appetite. The fayrest nosegay is made of many flowers, the finest picture of sundry colours, y^e^ wholesomest medicine of diuers hearbs: wherefore it behoueth youth with all industry to serch not onely the harde questions of the Philosophers, but also the fine cases of the Lawiers, not only the quirks and quiddities of the *Logicians*, but also to haue a sight in the numbers of the *Arithmetricians*, the Tryangles and Circles of the *Geometricians*, the Spheere and Globe of the *Astrologians*, the notes and crochets of the Musicians, y^e^ odde conceits of the Poets, the simples of the Phisicions, and in all thinges, to the ende that when they shal be willed to talke of any of them, they may be ignoraunt in nothing. He y^t^ hath a gardein plot doth aswel sow the pothearb as the Margerom, as well the Leeke as the Lyllye, as well the wholesome Isoppe, as the faire Carnation, the which he doth to the entent he may haue wholesome hearbes as well to nurrish his inwarde parts as sweete flowers to please his outwarde desire, aswell fruitefull plantes to refresh his sences, as fayre shewes to please his sighte. Euen so whosoeuer that hath a sharpe and capable witte, let him aswell giue his minde to sacred knowledge of diuinitie, as to the profounde studye of Philosophye, that by his witte he may not onely reape pleasure but

[*Lyly's addition* (27 *lines*) . . .

12 breedeth *C rest* 18 the *A–M only* 23 quillyties *A* 24 the *om. C rest* Arethmetricians *C*: Arithmeticians *F rest* the[2] *om. F* 30 Leeks *G*

profite, not only contentacion in minde, but quyetnesse in conscience. I will proceede in the Education. . . .]

I would haue them first of all to follow Philosophie, as most auncient, yea most excellent, for as it is pleasaunt to passe thorow many fayre Cities, but most pleasaunt to dwell in the fayrest, euen so to reade many Historyes and artes it is pleasaunt but as it were to lodge with Philosophy most profitable. [*Plut.c.*10.]

It was pretely sayd of *Bion* the Philosopher. Euen as when the woers coulde not haue the companye of *Penelope* they runne to hir handemaydes: so they that cannot attayne to the knowledge of Philosophie, apply their mindes to things most vyle and contemptible. Wherefore we must prefer Philosophie, as the onely Princesse of all Scyences, and other artes as wayting Maydes. For the curinge and keepinge in temper of the bodye, man by his industrye hath founde two thinges, Phisicke and Exercise, the one cureth sickenesse, the other preserueth the body in temper, but there is nothing that may heale diseases, or cure the woundes of the minde but onely Philosophy. By this shall wee learne what is honest what dishonest, what is right what is wrong, and that I maye in one worde say what may be sayd, what is to be knowen what is to be auoyded, what to be embraced, how we ought to obay our parents, reuerence our Elders, enterteyne straungers, honour the Magistrates, loue our friendes, lyue with our wyues, vse our seruaunts, how we should worship God, be dutifull to our fathers, stande in awe of our superiours, obay lawes, giue place to officers, how we may chuse friendes, nurture our children, and that which is most noble how we should neyther be too prowde in prosperitie, neyther pensiue in aduersitie, neither lyke beasts ouercome with anger. And heere I cannot but lament *Athens*, which hauing ben alwaies ye nurse of Philosophers, doth now nurrish only ye name of Philosophy. For to speake playnly of ye disorder of *Athens*, who doth not see it, and sorrow at it? such playing at dice, such quaffing of drinke, such dalyaunce with woemen, such daunsing, that in my opinion ther is no quaffer in *Flaunders* so giuen to typplynge, no courtier in *Italy* so giuen to ryotte, no creature in the worlde so misled as a student in *Athens*. Such a confusion of degrees, that the Scholler knoweth not his duetie to the Bachelor, nor the Bachelor to the Maister, nor the Maister to the Doctor. Such corruption of manners, contempt [*Lyly's addition (nearly 3 pages)* . . .

1 in[1]] of *E rest* 6 it is *om. A* 9 ranne *T rest* 17 the[1] *om. E rest* 20–1 what[3] . . . embraced, *om. T rest* 22 the *om. T rest* 25 Law *G rest* 28 neythr *A*

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of Magistrates, such open sinnes, such priuie villanye, such quarrellynge in the streetes, such subtile practises in chambers, as maketh my hearte to melt with sorrowe to thinke of it, and shoulde cause your mindes gentlemen to bee penitent to remember it.

Moreouer who doth know a scholler by his habite? Is there any hatte of so vnseemely a fashion, any dublette of so long a waste, any hose so short, any attire either so costly, or so courtly, eyther so straunge in making or so monstrous in wearing, that is not worne of a scholler? haue they not nowe in steede of blacke cloth blacke veluet, in steede of course sackecloth fine silke? Be they not more like courtiers thē schollers, more like stageplayers then studentes, more lyke ruffians of *Naples* then disputers in *Athens?* I woulde to God they did not imitate all other nations in the vice of yᵉ minde as they doe in the attire of their body, for certeynelye as there is no nation whose fashion in apparel they do not vse, so is there no wickednesse publyshed in anye place, yᵗ they do not practize. I thinke that in *Sodom* and *Gomora*, there was neuer more filthinesse, neuer more pryde in *Rome*, more poysoning in *Italy*, more lyinge in *Crete*, more priuie spoyling in *Spayne*, more Idolatry in *Aegypt*, then is at this day in *Athens*, neuer such sectes among the Heathens, such schismes amongst the *Turkes*, such mis beleefe among yᵉ Infidells, as is now among Schollers. Be ther not many in *Athens* which thincke ther is no God? no redemption? no resurrection?

What shame is this gentlemen that a place so renowmed for good learning, should be so shamed for ill lyuinge? that where grace doth abounde, sinne shoulde so superabound? yᵗ wher yᵉ greatest profession of knowledge is, ther should also be yᵉ least practising of honestie. I haue read of many Uniuersities, as of *Padua* in *Italy*, *Paris* in *Fraunce*, *Wittenberge* in *Germanie*, in *England* of *Oxford* & *Cambridge*, which if they were halfe so ill as *Athens* they were to to bad, & as I haue heard as they bee, they be starke nought.

But I can speake the lesse against them, for that I was neuer in them, yet can I not chuse but be agrieued, that by report I am enforced rather to accuse them of vanitie then excuse them any way. Ah gentlemē what is to be looked for, nay what is not to be feared, when the temple of *Vesta* where virgins should liue is lyke the stewes, fraight with strompets, when yᵉ Alter where nothinge but sanctitie

4 bee *om. A* 7 any *twice C* 12 in] of *G rest* 14 their] the *G rest* 15 there is *T*–1613 21 among *G rest* 23 redmption *T* 33 greeued E^2 *rest* 37 fraught *T rest*

and holynesse shoulde be vsed, is polluted with vncleanenesse, when the Uniuersities, of christendome which should be the eies, the lights, the leauen, the salt, the seasoning of the world, are dimmed with blinde concupiscence, put out with pride and haue lost their sauour with impietie?

Is it not become a bye word amongst the common people, that they had rather send their children to the carte, then to the Uniuersitie, being induced so to saye, for the abuse that raigneth in the Uniuersities, who sending their sonnes to attayne knowledge, finde them little better learned, but a great deale worst lyued then when they went, and not onely vnthriftes of their money, but also banckeroutes of good manners: was not this the cause that caused a simple woman in *Greece* to exclaime against *Athens*, saying.

The Maister and the Scholler, the Tuter and the Pupill bee bothe agreede, for the one careth not howe lyttle paine hee taketh for his moneye, the other howe little learning. I perceyue that in *Athens* there bee no chaungelinges: When of olde it was sayde to a *Lacedemonian*, that all ye *Grecians* knew honesty, but not one practised it. When *Panathænea* were celebrated at *Athens*, an olde man going to take a place was mockingly reiected, at the last comming among the *Lacedemonians* all the youth gaue him place, which ye *Athenians* liked well off, then one of the *Sparthans* cryed out: Verily ye *Athenians* know what should be done, but they neuer doe it.

When one of the *Lacedemonians* had bene for a certeine time in *Athens* seeing nothinge but dauncing, dicinge, banquetinge, surfeytinge, and licencious behauiour, retourninge home hee was asked howe all things stoode in *Athens*, to whome hee aunswered, all thinges are honest there, meaning that the *Athenians* accompted all thinges good, and nothing bad. Howe such abuses should or might be redressed in al Uniuersities, especially in *Athens*, if I were of authoritie to commaunde, it should be seene, or of credite to perswade those that haue the dealinges wyth them, it should soone be showne.

And vntill I see better reformation in *Athens*, my younge *Ephœbus* shall not be nurtured in *Athens*. I haue spoken all this that you gentlemen might see how ye *Philo* in *Athens* practise nothing lesse

14 Schollers *E rest* 17 bee] is *F* 1613: are 1617 *rest* 19 Panthænea *M*–1613: Panthenæa 1617–1636 in *G rest* 22 Spartans *T rest* 30 such] much *EF*: many 1613 *rest* 32 soone *before* be *T–G* 33 dealing *E rest* 34 Ephæbus *A–C* 35 all this that] all that *E*: all, that *F rest* 36 Philo] Philosophers *T rest, exc.* Philosopher 1617, [1623]

then Philosophy, what scholler is hee that is so zealous at his booke as *Chrisippus*, who, had not his maide *Melissa* thrust meate into his mouth hadde perished with famine, beeinge alwaye studying? Who so watchfull as *Aristotle*, who going to bedde woulde haue a ball of brasse in his hande, that if hee shoulde bee taken in a slomber, it might fall and awake hym? No, no, the tymes are chaunged as *Ouid* sayeth, and wee are chaunged in the times, let vs endeuour euerye one to amende one, and wee shall all soone bee amended, let vs giue no occasion of reproche, and wee shall more easily beare the burden of false reportes, and as wee see by learninge what wee shoulde doe, so let vs doe as wee learne, then shall *Athens* florishe, then shall the studentes bee had in greate reputation, then shall learning haue his hyre, and euerye good scholler his hope. But retourne wee once agayne to *Philo*.

. . .]

[*Plut. c.*10, *resumed from p.* 273.] There is amongst men a trifolde kinde of lyfe, Actiue which is about ciuill function and administration of the common weale. Speculatiue, which is in continuall meditation and studye. The thirde a lyfe ledde, moste commonlye a lewde lyfe, an idle and vaine lyfe, the lyfe that the *Epicures* accompte their whole felicitie, a voluptuous lyfe replenished with all kinde of vanitie, if this Actiue lyfe be wythout Philosophy it is an idle lyfe, or at the least a life euil imployed which is worse: if the contemplatiue life be seperated from the Actiue it is most vnprofitable. I woulde therefore haue my youth, so to bestowe his studye, as hee may both bee exercised in the common weale, to common profite, and well imployed priuately for hys owne perfection, so as by his studye the rule hee shall beare maye bee directed, and by his gouernment his studye maye bee increased: in this manner dyd *Pericles* deale in ciuill affayres, after this sort did *Architas* the *Tarentine*, *Dion* the *Syracusian*, the *Thebane* [*Plut. c.*11.] *Epaminondas* gouerne their cities. For y^e^ exercise of the bodye it is necessary also somewhat bee added, that is that the childe shoulde be at such times, permitted to recreate himselfe, when his minde is ouercome wyth studie, least dullinge himselfe wyth ouermuche industry hee become vnfit afterwarde to conceiue readyly, besides this it will cause an apte composition and that naturall strength y^t^ it

1 so *om.* E^2 *rest* 2 in *T–GE*^{2} *rest* 6 wake *E rest* 8 all *om.* *E rest* 11 wee^2] we le *G* 14 Philo *so all; contraction for* Philosophy (*cf. p.* 275, *l.* 36 17 in *AT only* 18 is *before* a^1 *F rest* a *before* vaine *E rest*, *except* [1623], *which reverts to A–G* 21 the *om. E rest* 24 be both *T rest* 29 Architas Tarentine *A–C* 30 Epaminondas E^2 *rest*: Epiminides *AT*: Epaminides *MC*: Epimionndas *G*: Epiminondas E^1 33 dull *before* dulling *E*: still *before* dulling *F rest* 35 disposition *E rest* that *om. C rest*

before retayned. A good composition of the body, laieth a good foundation of olde age, for as in the fayre Sommer we prepare all thinges necessary for the cold Winter, so good manners in youth and lawfull exercises be as it were victuals and nourishmentes for age: yet are their labours and pastimes so to bee tempered that they weaken not their bodyes more by playe, then otherwyse they shoulde haue done by studye, and so to be vsed that they addict not themselues more to the exercise of the limmes then the following of learning: the greatest enemies to discipline as *Plato* recompteth, are labours & sleepe. It is also requisite that hee bee expert in marciall affayres, in shooting, in darting, that he hawke and hunt, for his honest pastime and recreation, and if after these pastimes hee shall seeme secure, nothinge regardinge his bookes, I would not haue him [*Plut.c.*12.] scourged w^t^ stripes, but threatned with words, not dulled with blowes, like seruaunts the which the more they are beaten the better they beare it, and the lesse they care for it, for children of good disposition are either incited by praise to goe forwarde, or shamed by dispraise to commit the like offence: those of obstinate & blockish behauiour, are neither with words to be perswaded, neither with stripes to be corrected. They must now be taũted with sharp rebukes, straight wayes admonished with faire wordes, nowe threatned a paiment, by and by promised a reward, & dealt withall as nurses doe with the babes, whom after they haue made to cry, they profer the teate. But diligẽt heede must be taken y^t^ he be not praised aboue measure, least standing to much in his owne conceite, he become also obstinate in his owne opinions. I haue knowen many fathers [*Plut.c.*13.] whose great loue towards their sonnes hath bene the cause in time that they loued them not, for when they see a sharpe witte in their sonne to conceiue, for the desire they haue that hee shoulde out runne his fellowes, they loaden him with continuall exercise, which is the onely cause that hee sincketh vnder his burden, and giueth ouer in the playne fielde. Plants are nurrished with lyttle rayne, yet drowned with much, euen so the minde with indifferent labour waxeth more perfect, with much studie it is made fruitelesse. We must consider that all our lyfe is deuided into remission and study.

As there is watchinge, so is there sleepe, as there is warre, so is there peace, as there is Winter, so is there Sommer, as there be many

2 repaire *CG* 4 nourishment *E rest* 12 all *before* these *G rest* 17 inticed *E rest* ashamed *E rest* 23 the[1]] their *C rest* 25 becommeth *E* 26 also *om. E rest* 30 loade *G rest* 31 his] the *E rest* 34 ouer-much *G rest*

working dayes, so is there also many holydayes, & if I may speake all in one worde, ease is the sauce of labour, which is playnely to be seene not onely in lyuing thinges, but also in things without lyfe: We vnbende the bowe that wee maye the better bende him, wee vnloose the harpe that we may the sooner tune him, the body is kept in health aswell with fasting as eating, the minde healed with ease aswell as with labour. Those parents are in minde to be mislyked which committe the whole care of their childe to the custody of a hirelyng, neyther askinge neither knowing how their children profite in lerning. For if the father were desirous to examine his sonne in that which he hath learned, the mayster woulde bee more carefull what he did teach. But seeinge the father carelesse what they learne, he is also secure what he teacheth. That notable saying of y^e^ Horsekeeper maye heere be applyed which sayde, nothinge did so fatte the horse as the eye of the King. Moreouer I woulde haue the memorye of children continually to be exercised, which is the greatest furtheraunce to learninge that can be.

For this cause they fayned in their olde fables memory to be the
[*Plut.c.*14.] mother of perfection. Children are to be chastised if they shal vse any filthy or vnseemly talke, for as *Democrates* sayth, the worde is the shadowe of the worke: they must be courteous in their behauiour, lowely in their speach, not disdayning their cockmates or refrayning their company: they must not lyue wantonly, neyther speake impudently, neyther be angry without cause, neyther quarellous without colour. A young man beeing peruerse in nature, & proude in words and manners, gaue *Socrates* a spurne, who beeing moued by his fellowes to giue him an other: If sayd *Socrates* an Asse had kicked me, woulde you also haue me to kicke him againe? the great wisedome in *Socrates* in compressing his anger is worthy great commendacion. *Architas* y^e^ *Tarentine* retourning from warre and finding his grounde ouergrowen with weedes and tourned vp with Mowles, sent for his Farmour vnto whome hee sayde: If I were not angrye I woulde make thee repent thy ill husbandry. *Plato* hauing a seruaunt whose blisse was in fillyng of his belly, seeinge him on a time idle and vnhonest in behauiour, sayd, Out of my sighte, for I am incensed with anger.

Althoughe these ensamples be harde to imitate, yet shoulde euery

2 ease] easie *C* 4 him] it *E rest* 6 with *before* eating *E*^{2} *rest* 7 my *before* minde *G rest* 8 their] the *E rest* 14 be heere *C rest* 19 shal *om. G rest* 24 be *om. A–C* 25 colour] choler *A* 29 greatest *A–C* suppressing *G rest* 30 y^e^ *om. A–C*

man do his endeuour to represse that hot and heady humor which he is by nature subiecte vnto. To be silent and discreete in companye, thoughe manye thinke it a thing of no great wayghte or importaunce, yet is it most requisite for a young man and most necessary for my *Ephœbus*. It neuer hath bene hurtefull to any to holde his peace, to speake, damage to manye: what so is kept in silẽce is husht, but whatsoeuer is babbled out cannot agayne be recalled. We maye see the cunning and curious worke of Nature, which hath barred and hedged nothing in so stronglye as the tongue, with two rowes of teeth, therewith two lyppes, besides she hath placed it farre from the hearte, that it shoulde not vtter that which the hearte had conceiued, this also shoulde cause vs to be silente, seeinge those that vse much talke though they speake truely are neuer beleeued. Wyne therefore is to be refrayned which is termed to be the glasse of the minde, and it is an olde Prouerbe: Whatsoeuer is in the heart of the sober man, is in the mouth of the drunckarde. *Bias* holding his tongue at a feast, was tearmed there of a tatler to bee a foole, who sayde, is there any wise man that can holde his tongue amidst the wine? vnto whome *Bias* aunswered, there is no foole that can.

[*Inserted from Plut. De Garrul.* (25 *lines*) . . .

A certeyne gentleman heere in *Athens*, inuited the Kings Legates to a costly and sumptuous feast, where also he assembled many Philosophers, and talking of diuers matters both of the common weale and learning, onely *Zeno* sayd nothing. Then the ambassadors said, what shall wee shewe of thee O *Zeno* to the king. Nothing aunswered hee, but that there is an olde man in *Athens* that amiddest the pottes coulde holde his peace. *Anacharsis* suppinge with *Solon*, was founde a sleepe, hauing his right hande before his mouth, his lefte vpon his priuities, wherby was noted that the tongue should be rayned with the strongest bridle. *Zeno* bicause hee woulde not be enforced to reueale any thinge agaynst his will by torments, bitte of his tongue and spit it in the face of the Tyraunt. . . .]

Nowe when children shall by wisedome and vse refrayne from ouer much tatlyng, lette them also be admonished that when they shall speake, they speake nothing but truth: to lye is a vyce most detestable, not to be suffered in a slaue, much lesse in a sonne. But the greatest thinge is yet behinde, whether that those are to bee [*Plut.c.*15.]

3 or] and *E rest* 4 it is *G rest* 5 Ephæbus *A–M*: Phœbus *E*[1] It had beene neuer *F*: It hath beene neuer 1613 *rest* 6 so *om. E rest* 7 blabbed *E rest* 9 in nothing *G rest* 10 & *before* therewith *T rest* 24 Embassadour *EF* 29 and *before* his[1] *G rest* 32 spet *E rest*

admitted as cockemates with children which loue them entirely, or whether they bee to bee banished from them.

When as I see manye fathers more cruell to their children then carefull of them, which thincke it not necessarye to haue those about them, that most tender them, then I am halfe as it were in a doubte to giue counsell. But when I call to my remembraunce *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Eschines*, *Sæbetes*, and all those that so much commende the loue of men, which haue also brought vpp many to great rule, reason and pietie, then I am encouraged to imitate those whose excellencie doth warrant my precepts to be perfect. If any shall loue the childe for his comely countenaunce, him woulde I haue to be banished as a most daungerous and infectious beast, if hee shall loue him for his fathers sake, or for his own good qualyties, him would I haue to be with him alwayes as superuisour of hys manners: such hath it bene in times past the loue of one *Athenian* to the other, and of one *Lacedemonian* to the other.

[*Plut.c.*16.] But hauing sayde almost sufficient for the education of a childe, I will speake two words, how he should be trayned when he groweth in yeares. I can not but mislyke the nature of diuers parentes which appoynte ouerseers and tutours for their children in their tender age, and suffer them when they come to be young men, to haue the bridle in theire owne hande, knowing not that age requireth rather a harde snaffle then a pleasant bit, and is sooner allured to wickednesse then childehood. Who knoweth not the escapes of children, as they are small so they are soone amended? eyther with threates they ar to be remedied or with faire promisses to be rewarded. But the sinnes and faults of young men are almost or altogether intollerable, which giue thẽselues to be delycate in their dyet, prodigall in their expence, vsing dicing, dauncing, dronkennesse, deflowring of virgins, abusing wyues, committing adulteries, and accounting all things honest, that are most detestable. Heere therefore must be vsed a due regarde that theire lust may be repressed, their ryot abated, their courage cooled, for hard it is to see a young man to bee maister of himselfe which yeldeth himselfe as it were a bonde slaue, to fonde and ouerlashinge affections. Wise parentes ought to take good heede, especially at this time, yᵗ they frame their sonnes to modesty, eyther by threats or by rewardes,

5 am I *C rest* 6 mo remembrsunce *T* 10 perfect] true *G rest* 15
it *om. F rest* 16 of *om. G rest* 18 or three *after* two *E rest* 24
escapes *so all* 25 they are[a]] are they *C rest* 29 expences *E rest* 32
detestable] bad and abhominable *E rest*

either by faire promises or seuere practises, eyther shewinge the miseries of those that haue ben ouercome with wildenesse, or the happinesse of thē that haue conteined themselues wythin the bandes of reason: these two are as it were the ensignes of vertue, the hope of honour, the feare of punishment. But chiefly parents must cause [*Plut.c.*17.] their youths to abandon the societie of those which are noted of euill liuing & lewde behauiour, which *Pithagoras* seemed somewhat obscurely to note in these his sayinges.

First, that one should absteine from the tast of those thinges that haue blacke tayles. That is, we must not vse the companye of those whose corrupt manners doo as it were make their lyfe blacke. Not to goe aboue the ballaunce, that is, to reuerence Iustice, neyther for feare or flattery to leane to any one parcially. Not to lye in idlenesse, that is, that sloth shoulde bee abhorred: That wee should not shake euery man by the hande: That is, wee should not contract friendshippe wyth all: Not to weare a straite ringe: That is that we should leade our life so as wee neede not to fetter it wyth cheynes: Not to bring fire to a slaughter: That is, wee must not prouoke anye that is furious wyth wordes: Not to eate our heartes: That is, that wee shoulde not vexe our selues wyth thoughtes, consume our bodyes with sighes, wyth sobbes, or with care to pine our carcasses: To absteine from beanes, that is, not to meddle in ciuill affayres or businesse of the common weale, for in the olde times the election of magistrates was made by the pullinge of beanes: Not to put our meate in *Scapio*: That is wee shoulde not speake of manners or vertue, to those whose mindes are infected with vice. Not to retire when wee are come to the ende of our race. That is, when wee are at the poynte of deathe, wee shoulde not be oppressed wyth griefe, but willingly yelde to nature. But I will retourne to my former preceptes, that is, that younge men shoulde bee kept from the company of those that are wicked, especially from the sight of the flatterer. For I say now as I haue oftentimes before sayde, that there is no kinde of beast so noysome as the flatterer, nothing that will sooner consume bothe the sonne and the Father and all honest friendes. When the Father exhorteth the sonne to sobrietye, the flatterer prouoketh hym to wine, when the Father

3 contented *GE*: *F rest restore* conteined 6 youth *G rest* 13 vnto *T rest* lye] liue *G rest* 14 that is, that] is, that that *G*: is, that *E rest* 15 wee] that we *G rest* 17 to *om. CG* 18 a] the *G rest* That is,] is, that *G rest* 23–4 in old time *E rest* 24 the[2] *om. G rest* 26 vertues *C rest* be *G rest*

weaneth them to continencie, the flatterer allureth them to lust, when the Father admonisheth them to thrifte, the flatterer haleth them to prodigallitye, when the Father encourageth them to labour, the flatterer layeth a cusshion vnder his eldbowe to sleepe, biddinge them to eate, drincke, and bee merry, for that the lyfe of man is soone gone, and but as a short shadowe, and seeinge that wee haue but a whyle to lyue, who woulde lyue lyke a seruaunt? they saye that nowe their Fathers bee olde and doate through age lyke *Saturnus*.

Heerof it cõmeth y^t^ young men giuing not onely attentiue eare but redy coyne to flatterers fall into such mysfortune, heereof it proceedeth that they haunt the stewes, marry before they be wyse, and dye before they thriue. These be the beasts which liue by y^e^ trenchers of younge gentlemen, & consume the treasures of their reuenewes, these be they that soothe younge youthes in their owne sayinges, that vpholde them in al theyr dooinges with a yea, or nay, these be they that are at euery becke, at euery nod, freemen by fortune, slaues by free wil. Wherfore if there be any Father that would haue his children nurtured and brought vp in honestye, let
[*L's add.1l.*] him expell these Panthers, which haue a sweete smell but a deuour-
[*Plut.c.*18.] inge minde: yet woulde I not haue parentes altogether precise, or to seuere in correction, but let them wyth mildenesse forgyue light offences, and remember that they themselues haue bene younge, as the Phisition by minglinge bitter poysons with sweete liquor, bringeth healthe to the body, so the Father with sharpe rebukes seasoned with louing lookes, causeth a redresse and amendement in his childe. But if the Father bee throughly angry vpon good occasion, let him not continue his rage, for I had rather he should be soone angry then harde to be pleased, for when the sonne shall perceiue that the Father hathe conceyued rather a hate then a heate againste him, he becommeth desperate, neyther regarding his fathers ire, neither his owne duetie. Some light faults let them dissemble as though they knewe them not, & seeing them let them not seeme to see them, & hearing them let them not seeme to heare. We can easily forget the offences of our friendes be they neuer so great, and shall wee not forgyue the escapes of our children be they neuer so small? We
[*Lyly's add.* (3 *lines*)... beare oftentimes with our seruaunts and shall we not somtimes with our sonnes: the fairest Iennet is ruled as well with the wand as

1 warneth *G rest* them˙] him *E rest* them²] him *C rest* 2 them (*both*)] him *E rest* 3 him *E rest* 4 him *G rest* 5 and to be *T rest, but G misprints* and to mee 7 lyue² doe *G rest* 14 their owne] al their *T rest* 15 a *before* nay, *T rest, except* [1623] 17 fathers *A–C* 25 his] the *G rest* 27 had *om. G*

with the spurre, the wildest childe is assoone corrected with a word as wᵗ a weapon. If thy sonne be so stubborne obstinately to rebel against thee, or so wilful to perseuer in his wickednes, yᵗ neither for feare of punishmēt, neither for hope of reward, he is any way to be reclaimed, then seeke out some marriage fit for his degree which is yᵉ surest bond of youth, & the strōgest chain to fetter affections yᵗ can be found. Yet let his wife be such a one as is neither much more noble in birth, or farre more richer in goodes, but according to the wyse saying: choose one euery way, as neere as may bee equall in both: for they that doe desire greate dowries doe rather marrye themselues to the wealth, then to their wife. But to retourne to the matter, it is most requisite, that Fathers both by their discreet counsaile, and also their honest conuersation, bee an ensample of imitation to their children, that they seeinge in their parentes as it were in a glasse the perfection of manners, they maye bee encouraged by their vpright liuinge, to practise the lyke pietie: for if a Father rebuke his childe of swearinge, and hee himselfe a blasphemor, doth he not see, that in detecting his sonnes vice, he also noteth his owne. If the father counsayle the sonne to refraine wine, as most vnholesome, and drincke himselfe immoderately, doth hee not as well reproue his owne folly, as rebuke hys sonnes? Age alway ought to bee a myrror for youth, for where olde age is impudent there certeinly youth must needs bee shamelesse, where the aged haue no respect of their honorable and graye haires, there the younge gallauntes haue little regarde of their honest behauiour, & in one word to conclude al, wher age is past grauitie, there youth is past grace. The sum of all wherewith I would haue my *Ephœbus* endued, & how I would haue him instructed, shall briefly appeare in this following. First, that he be of honest parents, nursed of his mother, brought vp in such a place as is incorrupt both for yᵉ aire & manners, wyth such a person as is vndefiled, of great zeale, of profounde knowledge, of absolute perfection, that he bee instructed in Philosophy, whereby hee may atteyne learninge, and haue in al sciences a smacke, whereby he maye readily dispute of any thing. That his body be kept in his pure strength by honest exercise, hys witte and memory, by diligent study.

That he abandon all allurements of vice, and continually enclyne to vertue, which if it shall as it may come to passe, then doe I hope

[. . .]

[*Plut.c.*19.]

[*Plut. c.* 20 *first half.*]

[*From here to end, i.e. to p.* 286, *l.* 22, *all is Lyly's addition,* 3 *pp.*]

8 more¹ *om. EF, hence rest have* much nobler 12 founsayle *T* 13 also their *om. G rest* 14 they] hee *A* 16 right *E rest* 17 for *G rest* 18 detesting *F rest* 19 the²] his *G rest* 27 Ephæbus *A–M* 30 not incorrupt *E*¹ 32 he *om. A–C* 33 smcake *A* 36 all *twice G*

that if euer *Platoes* common weale shall flourish, that my *Ephœbus* shall be a Citizen, that if *Aristotle* fined any happye man it will bee my childe, if *Tullye* confesse anye to bee an absolute Orator, it will be my young youth. I am heere therefore gentlemen to exhort you, that with all industry you apply your mindes to the studie of Philosophye, that as you professe your selues students, so you maye bee students, that as you disdayne not the name of a scholler, so you wil not be found voyde of the duetie of schollers: let not your minds be carried away with vayn delyghts, as with trauayling into far and straunge countryes where you shal see more wickednesse, then learne vertue and witte. Neyther with costlye attire of the new cutte, the *Dutch* hatte, the *French* hose, the *Spanish* rapier, the *Italian* hilte, and I know not what. Cast not your eyes on the beautie of woemen, leaste ye cast away your heartes with folly, let not that fonde loue, wherewith youthe fatteth himselfe as fatte as a foole, infect you, for as a sinew beeing cut though it be healed there will alwayes remayne a scarre, or as fine lynnen stayned with blacke incke, though it be washed neuer so often, will haue an yron mowle, so y^e^ minde once mangled or maymed with loue, though it be neuer so well cured with reason, or cooled by wisedome, yet there will appeare a scar by y^e^ which one may gesse the minde hath bene pierced, and a blemish whereby one maye iudge the hearte hathe bene stayned.

Refrayne from dycing which was the onely cause that *Pyrrhus* was striken to the hearte, and from dauncing which was the meanes y^t^ lost *Iohn Baptists* head. I am not hee that will disallow honest recreation, although I detest the abuses, I speake boldely vnto you bicause I my selfe know you: what *Athens* hath bene, what *Athens* is, what *Athens* shalbe I can gesse. Let not euery Inne and Alehouse in *Athens* be as it were your chamber, frequent not those ordinarie tables wher eyther for the desire of delycate cates, or the meetinge of youthefull companions, yee both spende your money vaynely and your time idly. Imitate him in lyfe whom ye honour for his learning, *Aristotle*, who was neuer seene in the company of those that idelly bestowed their time.

There is nothing more swifter then time, nothinge more sweeter: we haue not as *Seneca* sayth lyttle tyme to lyue, but wee leese much, neyther haue wee a shorte lyfe by Nature, but we make it shorter by

1 Ephæbus *A–C* 2 fined *not corrected to* finde *till* 1613 7 a scholler] Schollers *E rest* 14 hart *E rest* 23 Pyrrhus—*I correct* Pyreus *of all preceding eds.* (*see note*) 28 should be *E rest* 30 the[1] *om. C rest* 32 ye] you seeme to *C rest*

naughtines: our lyfe is long if we know how to vse it. Followe *Appelles* that cunning and wise Painter, which would lette no day passe ouer his heade without a lyne, without some labour. It was pretely sayde of *Hesiodas,* lette vs indeauour by reason to excell beastes, seeinge beastes by nature excell men, although strickely taken it be not so, for that man is endewed with a soule, yet taken touching their perfection of sences in their kinde it is most certeine. Doth not the Lyon for strengthe, the Turtle for loue, the Ante for labour excell man? Doth not the Eagle see cleerer, the Uulter smell better, the Mowle heare lyghtlyer? lette vs therefore endeuour to excell in vertue seeing in qualyties of the body we are inferiour to beastes. And heere I am most earnestly to exhort you to modestie in your behauiour, to duetie to your elders, to dilygence in your studyes. I was of late in *Italy*, where mine eares gloed and my hearte was gauled to heare the abuses that reygne in *Athens*: I can not tell whether those things sprange by the lewde and lying lyppes of the ignoraunt, which are alwayes enemyes to learning, or by the reportes of such as saw them and sorrowed at them. It was openly reported of an olde man in *Naples* that there was more lyghtnes in *Athens*, then in all *Italy*, more wanton youths of schollers, then in al *Europe* besides, more Papistes, more *Atheists*, more sectes, more schismes, then in all the Monarchies of the world, which things although I thinke they be not true, yet can I not but lament that they shoulde be deemed to bee true, and I feare me they be not altogether false, there can no greate smoke aryse but there must be some fire, no great reporte without great suspition. Frame therefore your liues to such integretie, your studies to the attayning of such perfection that neyther the mighte of the strong, neyther the mallyce of the weake, neyther the swifte reportes of the ignoraunte be able to spotte you with dishonestie or note you of vngodlynesse. The greatest harme that you can doe vnto the enuious, is to doe well, the greatest corasiue that you can giue vnto the ignoraunt, is to prosper in knowledge, the greatest comforte that you can bestowe on your parents is to lyue well, and learne well, the greatest commoditie that you can yeelde vnto your countrey, is with wisedome to bestow that talente, that by grace was giuen you.

2 and wise *om. E rest* 4 Hesiodus *F*–1617, 1631, 1636: Hesodus [1623] 5 strickely *AMT*: strictly *C rest* (*cf. p.* 271, *l.* 31) 10 beare lighter *EF*: heare lighter 1613 *rest* · 11 qualitie *E rest* are] be *C rest* 14 glowed 1613 *rest* 15 raigned *E rest* 20 in[3] *om. E* 22 Monarches *TM* of] in *T–G* 34 to *before* learne *E rest* 36 vnto *before* you *E rest*

And heere I cannot chuse but giue you that counsell, that an olde man in *Naples* gaue me most wiselye, althoughe I hadde then neyther grace to followe it, neyther will to giue eare to it, desiringe you not to reiecte it bicause I dyd once dispise it. It is this as I can remember worde for worde.

Descende into your owne conscyences, consider with your selues the greate difference betweene staringe and starke blynde, witte and wisedome, loue and lust: bee merrye but with modestie, bee sober but not too sullen, be valyaunte but not too venterous, lette your attire be comely but not too costly, your dyet wholesome, but not excessiue, vse pastime as the worde importeth, to passe the time in honeste recreation. Mistrust no man without cause, neyther be ye credulous without proofe, be not lyght to follow euery mans opinion, neither obstinate to stande in your owne conceits, serue God, feare God, loue God, & God wil blesse you, as eyther your heartes can wish, or your friendes desire. This was his graue and godly aduise whose councell I woulde haue you all to follow, frequent lectures, vse disputations openly, neglect not your priuate studyes, let not degrees be giuen for loue, but for learning, not for mony but for knowledge, and bicause you shall bee the better encouraged to follow my counsell, I will bee as it were an example my selfe, desiring you all to imitate me.

Euphues hauing ended his discourse, & finished those preceptes which he thought necessary for the instructing of youthe, gaue his minde to the continuall studye of Philosophie, insomuch as he became publyque Reader in the Uniuersitie, with such commendacion as neuer any before him, in the which he continued for the space of tenne yeares, onely searching out the secrets of Nature & the hidden misteries of Philosophy, & hauing collected into three volumes his lectures, thought for the profite of young schollers to sette them forth in print, which if hee had done, I would also in this his *Anatomie* haue inserted, but hee alteringe his determination, fell into this discourse with himselfe.

Why *Euphues* art thou so addicted to the studye of the Heathen that thou hast forgotten thy God in Heauen? shal thy witte be rather employed to the attaining of humayne wisedome then deuine know-

4 was this *M*: was thus *C rest* 9 too[1] *om. G rest* 12 you *E*: thou *F rest* 14 conceit *E rest* 15 so *before* blesse *C rest* 18 neclecte *A* 24 instructing *AT*: instruction *M rest* 32 Anatomie *M rest*: Notomie *A*: Anotomie *T* former *before* determination *E rest* 34 What *E rest* 35 rather be *G rest*

ledge? Is *Aristotle* more deare to thee with his bookes, then Christ with his bloude? What comfort canst thou finde in Philosophy for thy guiltie conscience, what hope of the resurrection, what gladde tidinges of the Gospell? Consider with thy selfe that thou art a gentleman, yea, and a Gentile, and if thou neglect thy calling thou art worse then a *Iewe*. Most miserable is the estate of those gentlemen which thincke it a blemishe to their auncestours, and a blot to their owne gentrie to reade or practize diuinitie. They thincke it nowe sufficient for their felicitie to ryde well vppon a greate horse, to hawke, to hunt, to haue a smacke in Philosophye, neyther thincking of the beginninge of wisedome, neyther the ende which is Christe: onely they accompte diuinitie most contemptible, which is and ought to be most notable. Without this there is no Lawyer bee hee neuer so eloquent, no Phisition bee he neuer so excellent, no Philosopher be hee neuer so learned, no King no Keyser, be he neuer so royal in birth, so politique in peace, so expert in war, so valiaunt in prowesse, but he is to bee detested, and abhorred. Farewell therefore the fine and filed phrases of *Cicero*, the pleasaunt *Eligies* of *Ouid*, the depth and profound knowledge of *Aristotle*. Farewell Rhetoricke, farewell Philosophie, farewell all learninge which is not spronge from the bowels of the holy Bible.

In this learning shal we finde milke for the weake, and marrowe for the stronge, in this shall wee see how the ignoraunt may be instructed, the obstinate confuted, the penitent comforted, the wicked punished, y^e^ godly preserued. Oh I would gentlemen would some times sequester themselues from their own delights, & employ their wits in searching these heauenly and diuine misteries. It is common, yea, and lamentable to see that if a younge youth haue the giftes of Nature, as a sharpe witte or of Fortune, as sufficient wealthe to mainteine them gallauntly, hee employeth the one in the vaine inuentions of loue, the other in y^e^ vile brauery of pride, the one in the passions of hys mynde and prayses of his Ladye, the other in furnishinge of his bodye and furtheringe of his lust. Heereof it commeth that such vayne ditties, such idle sonnets, suche inticinge songes, are sette foorth to the gaze of the worlde and griefe of the godlye. I my selfe knowe none so ill as my selfe, who in tymes past haue bene so super-

3 thy] the *F rest* 5 gentlemen *A* 19 phrases *TMC*: prases *A*: phrase *G rest* Eligies *EF*: Eligues *A–G*: Elegies 1613 *rest* 26 semetimes *A* 31 them] him E^2 *rest* gallauntly *A only* 33 prayses] promises *E rest*

stitiously addicted, that I thought no heauen to the Paradise of loue, no Angell to bee compared to my Ladye, but as repentaunce hath caused mee to leaue and loath such vayne delightes, so wisedome hath opened vnto me the perfect gate to eternall lyfe.

Besides this I my selfe haue thought that in diuinitie there coulde bee no eloquence, which I myght imitate, no pleasaunt inuention whiche I might followe, no delicate phrase, that myght delyght mee, but nowe I see that in the sacred knowledge of Gods wyll, the onely eloquence, the true and perfect phrase, the testimony of saluation doth abide: and seeing without this, all learninge is ignoraunce, all wysdome meere folly, and wytte playne bluntnesse, all Iustice iniquytie, all eloquence barbarisme, all beautie deformytye; I wyll spend all the remainder of my lyfe, in studying the olde testament, wherein is prefigured the comming of my sauiour, and the newe testament, wherein my Christ doth suffer for my sinnes, and is crucified for my redemption, whose bitter agonies shoulde cast euery good Christian into a shieueringe ague, to remember his anguishe, whose sweatinge of water and bloud should cause euery deuoute and zealous Catholique, to shedde teares of repentaunce in remembraunce of his tormentes.

Euphues, hauing discoursed this wyth himselfe, dyd immediatly abandon all lyght companye, all the dysputations in schooles, all Philosophy, and gaue hymselfe to the touchstone of holinesse in diuinitie, accomptinge all other thinges as most vyle and contemptible.

¶ *Euphues to the Gentlemen schollers in Athens.*

THe Merchãt that trauaileth for gaine, the husbandman yᵗ toyleth for encrese, the Lawyer that pleadeth for golde, the craftes man that seeketh to liue by his labour, all these after they haue fatted themselues with sufficient, either take their ease or lesse paine thẽ they were accustomed. *Hippomanes* ceased to runne when he had gotten the goale, *Hercules* to labour, when he had obtained the victorie, *Mercurie* to pipe when he had cast *Argus* in a slumber. Euery action hath his ende, and then wee leaue to sweate

5 coulde] might *E rest* 11 meere] more *A T M* and] all *T rest* 21 thus *G rest* 22–3 schooles, all Philosophy *A–C* (*T M misspelling* Philosoplie): Schooles of Philosophie *G rest* 32 Hippomanes *so all, again Part II, passim* 33 ne[1]] shee *E rest*

when wee haue founde the sweete. The Ant though shee toyle in Sommer, yet in Winter she leaueth to trauayle. The Bee though she delight to sucke the fayre flower, yet is she at laste cloyed wyth honny. The Spider that weaueth the finest threede ceaseth at the last, when she hath finished hir web. But in the action and study of the minde (gentlemen) it is farre otherwise, for he that tasteth the sweete of learninge endureth all the sower of labour. Hee that seeketh y^e^ depth of knowledge is as it were in a *Laborinth*, in which the farther he goeth, the farther he is from the end: or like the bird in the limebush which the more she striueth to get out, y^e^ faster she sticketh in. And certeinly it may be said of learning, as it was fained of *Nectar* y^e^ drinck of the Gods the which the more it was dronck, the more it would ouerflow the brimme of the cup, neither is it farre vnlike the stone that groweth in the riuer of *Caria*, the whiche the more it is cutte, the more it encreaseth. And it fareth with him y^t^ followeth it as with him that hath the dropsie, who the more he drincketh the more he thirsteth. Therefore in my minde the student is at lesse ease then the Oxe that draweth, or the Asse that carrieth his burthen, who neither at the boord when others eate is voide of labour, neither in his bed when others sleepe is without meditation. But as in manuary craftes though they bee all good, yet that is accompted most noble, that is most necessary, so in the actions and studies of the minde although they be all worthy, yet that deserueth greatest praise which bringeth greatest profit. And so we commonly do make best accompt of that which doth vs most good. We esteeme better of the Phisition that ministreth the potion, then of the Apoticarie that selleth the drugges.

Howe much more ought we with all diligence, studye, and industry, spende our short pilgrimage in the seeking out of our saluation. Vaine is Philosophye, vaine is Phisicke, vaine is Law, vaine is all Learning wythout the tast of diuine knowledge. I was determined to write notes of Philosophy, which had bene to feede you fat wyth follye, yet that I might seeme neyther idle, neyther you euill imployed, I haue heere set downe a briefe discourse which of late I haue had wyth an hereticke which kept mee from idlenesse, and maye if you reade it deterre you from heresie. It was wyth an

3 laste] the last *E rest* 4 the Honny *C*–1631 8–9 which the] the which y^e^ *T rest* 10 she^2^ *om. E*^1^ 14 Curia *E rest* 20 without] voyd of *C rest* 22 accounted *CG*: counted *E rest* 25 the *before* best *E rest* account *C rest* 29 to *before* spende *C rest* 31 toste *G*

Atheyst, a man in opinion monstrous, yet tractable to be perswaded. By thys shall you see the absurde dotage of hym that thincketh there is no God, or an vnsufficient God, yet heere shall you finde the summe of faith, which iustifyeth onely in Christ, the weakenesse of the law, the strengthe of the Gospell, and the knowledge of Gods will. Heere shall yee finde hope if ye be in dispaire, comfort if ye be distressed, if ye thirst drincke, meate if ye hunger. If ye feare *Moses* who sayth, without you fulfill the law you shall perish: beholde Christ which sayth, I haue ouercommen the lawe. And that in these desperate dayes wherein so may sectes are sowen, and in the wayning of the world, wherein so many false Christes are come, you mighte haue a certeyntie of your saluation, I meane to sette downe the towchestone wherevnto euerye one oughte to trust, and by the which euerye one shoulde try himselfe, which if you followe, I doubte not but that as you haue proued learned Philosophers, you will also proceede excellent diuines, which God graunt.

1 in] in my *T*–*G*: in mine *E rest* 2 you shall *E*–1613: you may 1617–1636 3 yet] yea 1613–36 6 yee] you *E rest* ye[1]] you *T rest* ye[2]] you *C rest* 7 ye[1]] you *C rest*, *exc.* thou *F* ye[2]] you *E rest* ye[3]] you E^2 *rest* 9 ouercommed *G*: ouer-come *E rest* 10 and] as *E rest* 15 that but C^1, *corr.* C^2

¶ EVPHVES AND ATHEOS

Atheos. I am gladde *Euphues* that I haue founde thee at leasure, partly that we might be merry, and partly that I mighte bee perswaded in a thinge that much troubleth my conscience. It is concerning God. There bee manye that are of this minde, that there is a God whom they tearme the creator of all things, a God whom they call the sonne the redeemer of the worlde, a God whome they name the holy Ghost, the worker of all thinges, the comforter, the spirite, and yet are they of this opinion also, that they be but one God, coequall in power, coeternal, incomprehensible, & yet a Trinitie in person. I for my parte although I am not so credulous to beleeue their curious opinions, yet am I desirous to heare the reasons that should driue them into such fonde and frenticke imaginations. For as I know nothing to be so absurde which some of the Philosophers haue not defended, so thinke I nothing so erronious which some of our Catholickes haue not maynteyned. If there were, as diuers dreame, a God that would reuenge the oppression of the widdowes and fatherlesse, that would rewarde the zeale of the mercifull, pittie the poore and pardon the penitent, then woulde the people eyther stande in greater awe, or owe more loue towards their God.

I remember *Tullye* disputinge of the nature of Gods, bringeth *Dionisius* as a scoffer of such vayne and deuised Deities, who seeinge *Aesculapius* with a longe bearde of golde, and *Apollo* his father beardelesse, played the Barbar and shaued it from him, saying, it was not decent that the sonne shoulde haue a bearde and the father none. Seeing also *Iupiter* with an ornament of golde tooke it from him iesting thus, In Summer this aray is too heauie, in Winter too colde, heere I leaue one of wollen, both warmer for the colde and lyghter for the heat. He comming also into ye Temple wher certeyne of the gods with golden giftes stretched out their handes, tooke them all away saying, Who will bee so madde as to refuse thinges so gentlye offered.

4 we] I *E rest* 5 troubled *TMC* 10 they are *E rest* 11 coeternal *om. E rest* 14 vnto *G rest* franticke *T rest* 21 or] and *CG* 24 Deities] deuises *E rest* 30 warme *C* 33 all *om. E² rest*

Dost thou not see *Euphues* what small accompt hee made of their gods, for at y^e^ last sayling into his countrey with a prosperous winde, he laughing sayde, loe see you not my Maysters, how well the Gods rewarde our Sacriledge. I coulde rehearse infinite opinions of excellent men who in this poynte holde on my side, but especiallye *Protagoras*. And in my iudgement if there be any God, it is the worlde wherein we lyue, that is the onely God. What can we beholde more noble then the worlde, more faire, more beautifull, more glorious? what more maiesticall to the sight, or more constant in substance? But this by the way *Euphues*, I haue greter & more forcible arguments to confirme my opinion, & to confute the errors of those that imagine that there is a God. But first I woulde gladly heare thee shape an aunswere to that which I haue sayde, for well I knowe that thou arte not onely one of those which beleeue that ther is a god, but of them also, which are so precise in honouring him, that they be scarce wise in helping themselues.

Euphues. If my hope (*Atheos*) were not better to conuerte thee, then my happe was heere to conferre with thee, my hearte woulde breake for griefe, which beginneth freshly to bleede for sorrowe, thou hast stroken mee into such a shiuering and colde terror at the rehearsing of this thy monstrous opinion, that I looke euery minute when the grounde shoulde open to swallowe thee vpp, and that God which thou knowest not shoulde with thunder from Heauen strike thee to Hell. Was there euer *Barbarian* so sencelesse, euer miscreaunt so barbarous, that did not acknowledge a lyuinge and euerlasting *Iehouah*? I cannot but tremble at the remembraunce of his maiestie, and dost thou make it a mockerie?

O iniquitie of times, O corruption of manners, O blasphemie against the heauens. The Heathen man sayth, yea that *Tullye* whome thou thy selfe alleadgest, that there is no nation so barbarous, no kinde of people so sauage in whom resteth not this perswasion that there is a God, and euen they that in other partes of theire lyfe seeme very lyttle to differ from brute beastes, doe continally keepe a certeyne seede of Relygion, so throughlye hath this common principle possessed all mens mindes, and so faste it sticketh in all mens bowells.

Yea Idolatrye it selfe is sufficient proofe of this perswasion for we

2 y^e^ *om. CE rest* his] the *E* 5 Pitagoras *C*: Pithagoras *G rest* 11 errour *E rest* 19 for^1^] with *E rest* 27 it *om. E rest* 29 heauen *E rest* 31 resteth] there resteth *G*–1613, [1623]: there resisteth 1617: there resideth 1631–6 35 in] to *E rest* 37 a *before* sufficient *G rest*

see how willyngly man abaseth himselfe to honour other creatures, to doe homage to stockes, to goe on pilgrimage to images. If therefore man rather then he woulde haue no God doe worship a stone, how much more art thou duller then a stone which goest against the opinion of all men.

Plato a Philosopher woulde often say, there is one whome we may call God omnipotent, glorious, immortall, vnto whose similytude we that creepe heere on the earthe haue our soules framed. What can be sayde more of a Heathen, yea, what more of a Christian? *Aristotle* when he coulde not finde out by the secrecie of Nature the cause of the ebbing and flowing of the Sea, cryed out with a loude voyce, O thing of things haue mercy vpon mee.

Cleanthes alleadged foure causes, which might induce man to acknowledge a God, the first by the foreseeing of things to come, the second by the infinite commodities which we dayly reape, as by the temperature of the aire, the fatnesse of the earth, the fruitefulnesse of trees, plantes and hearbes, the aboundaunce of all thinges that may eyther serue for the necessitie of many, or the superfluitie of a few, the thirde by the terror that the minde of man is stroken into, by lyghtenings, thunderings, tempestes, hayles, snow, earthquakes, pestilence, by the straunge and terrible fightes which cause vs to tremble, as the rayning of bloud, the firie impressions in the Elemente, the ouerflowinge of floudes in the earth, the prodigious shapes and vnnaturall formes of men, of beastes, of birdes, of fishes, of all creatures, the appearing of blasing Commettes, which euer prognosticate some straunge mutation, the fighte of two Sunnes which happened in the Consulshippe of *Tuditanus* and *Aquilius*, with these things mortall men beeing afrighted are enforced to acknowledge an immortall & omnipotent God. The fourth by y^e^ equalitie of mouing in the heauen, the course of the Sunne, the order of the starres, the beautifulnesse of the Element, the sight whereof might sufficiently induce vs to beleeue they proceede not by chaunce, by nature, or destinie, but by the eternall and diuine purpose of some omnipotent Deitie. Heereoff it came that when the Philosophers could giue no reason by nature, they would saye there is one aboue nature, an other would cal him the first mouer, an other the ayder of nature, and so foorth.

2 and *before* to[2] *E rest* 3 woulde] wil *G rest* 11 out *om. E rest*
15 the[2] *om. F rest* 20 the *before* lightnings *E rest* 21 earth-quake *E*[2] *rest*
27 Tudatanus *EF* 29 of] in *TMC*

But why goe I about in a thing so manifest to vse proofes so manifolde. If thou denie the truth who can proue it, if thou denie that blacke is blacke, who can by reason reproue thee, when thou opposest thy self against reason? thou knowest that manifest truthes are not to be proued but beleeued, and that he that denieth the principles of any Arte is not to bee confuted by argumentes, but to bee left to his owne folly. But I haue a better opinion of thee, and therefore I meane not to trifle wyth Philosophy but to trye this by the touchstone of the Scriptures. We reade in the seconde of *Exodus*, that when *Moses* desired of God to knowe what hee should name him to the children of *Israell*, hee aunswered, thou shalte saye, I am that I am. Agayne, hee that is hath sent mee vnto you. The Lorde euen your God, hee is God in the heauen aboue and in the earth beneath, I am ye first & the last I am. I am the Lorde, and there is none other besides mee. Agayne, I am the Lord and there is none other. I haue created the lyght and made darkenesse, making peace and framing euill. If thou desire to vnderstande what God is, thou shalt heare, he is euen a consuming fire, the Lorde of reuenge, the God of iudgement, the liuing God, the searcher of the reynes, he that made all things of nothing, *Alpha* and *Omega*, the beginning, and yet without beginning, the ende, and yet euerlastinge, one at whose breath the mountaines shall shake, whose seat is the loftie *Cherubins*, whose footestoole is the earthe, inuisible, yet seeinge all things, a gelous God, a louing God, myraculous in all pointes, in no part monstrous. Besides this, thou shalt well vnderstande that hee is such a God as wil punish him whosoeuer he be yt blasphemeth his name, for holy is the Lord. It is written, bring out the blasphemer without ye tents & let al those that hearde him laye their handes vppon hys heade, and let all the people stone him. He that blasphemeth the name of the Lorde shall dye the death. Süche a gelous God, that whosoeuer committeth Idolatrye wyth straunge Gods hee will strike wyth terrible plagues. Tourne not to Idols neyther make Gods wyth handes, I am the Lord your God: Thou shalte make no Image which the Lorde thy God abhorreth. Thou shalt haue no newe GOD, neyther worshyp any straunge Idoll. For all the Gods of the Gentiles are Diuels.

My sonnes keepe your selues from Images, the worshippinge of

4 reason? *I substitute a note of interrogation for comma* 11–2 saye . . . hee that is] say, I am that I am. Again, I am that I am. Againe, Hee that is, *G rest* 14 no *E rest* 18 Lorde] God *G rest* 26 whatsoeuer *E rest*

Idols is the cause of all euyll, the beginninge and the ende. Cursed bee that man that engraueth any Images, it is an abhominatiõ before the Lorde. They shall be confounded that worshippe grauen Images, or glory in Idols. I wyll not giue my glorye to an other, nor my prayses to grauen Images. If all these testimonies of the Scriptures cannot make thee to acknowledge a lyuinge GOD, harken what they saye of such as be altogether incredulous. Euery vnbeleeuer shall dye in his incredulitie. Woe be to those that bee loose in heart, they beleeue there is no God, and therefore they shall not bee protected of him. The wrathe of the Lorde shall kindle agaynste an vnbeleeuinge nation. If yee beleeue not yee shall not endure. Hee that beleeueth not shall bee damned. Hee that beleeueth not is iudged alreadye. The portion of the vnbeleeuers shall be in the lake that burneth wyth fire and brimstone which is the seconde death. If thou feele in thy selfe *Atheos* anye sparke of grace praye vnto the Lorde and hee wyll cause it to flame, if thou haue no feelinge of fayth, yet praye and the Lorde wyll gyue aboundaunce, for as hee is a terrible God, whose voyce is lyke the rushinge of many waters, so is he a mercifull God whose woordes are as softe as Oyle. Though he breath fire out of his nostrils agaynst sinners, yet is he milde to those that aske forgiuenesse. But if thou bee obstinate that seeinge thou wylt not see, and knowing thou wylt not acknowledge, then shall thy heart bee hardened wyth *Pharao*, and grace shall bee taken awaye from thee with *Saule*. Thus sayth the Lorde, who so beleeueth not shall perishe, heauen and earth shall passe, but the word of the Lord shall endure for euer.

Submyt thy selfe before the throne of hys Maiestye, and his mercye shall saue thee. Honour the Lorde and it shall bee well wyth thee. Besides him feare no straunge God. Honour the Lorde wyth all thy soule. Offer vnto God the sacrifice of prayse. Be not lyke the hipocrites whiche honour God with their lips, but be farre from hym with their heartes, neyther lyke ye foole which sayth in his heart, ther is no God. But if thou wylt stil perseuer in thine obstinacie thine end shal be worse then thy beginning: ye Lord, yea, thy sauiour shal come to be thy Iudge. When thou shalt beholde him come in glory with millions of Angels and Archangels, when thou shalt see him appeare in thundringes and lyghtninges and flashinges of fire, when the mountaynes shall melt, and the heauens be

5 praise *C rest* 11 vnbleeuinge *A* 12 shall not *T rest* 14 brimstome *A*
25 not shall] shall not *G rest* 28 shall[1] *A* 32 which] that *G rest* his in *A*

wrapped vp lyke a scrowle, when all the earth shall tremble, with what face wilt thou beholde his glorye that deniest his Godhead? how canst thou abide his presence that beleeuest not his essence? what hope canst thou haue to be saued which diddest neuer acknowledge any to be thy Sauiour? Then shall it be sayde to thee and to all those of thy secte (vnlesse ye repent) depart all yee workers of iniquitie, there shall bee weepinge and gnashing of teeth When you shal see *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Iacob*, and all the Prophets in the kingdome of God, and yee to bee thrust out: You shall conceyue heate and bringe foorth woode, your owne consciences shall consume you lyke fire. Heere dost thou see *Atheos* the threatninges agaynst vnbeleeuers, and the punishment prepared for miscreantes. What better or sounder proofe canst thou haue that there is a GOD then thine owne conscience, which is vnto thee a thousande wytnesses? Consider wyth thy selfe that thy soule is immortal, made to the Image of the almighty God: bee not curious to enquire of God, but carefull to beleeue, neither bee thou desperate if thou see thy sinnes abounde, but faythfull to obteine mercy, for the Lorde will saue thee bycause it is hys pleasure, searche therefore the Scriptures for they testifie of him.

Atheos. Truely *Euphues* you haue sayde somewhat, but you goe about contrarye to the customes of schooles, which mee thinckes you shoulde dilygentlye obserue beeinge a professed Philosopher, for when I demaunde by what reason men are induced to acknowledge a God, you confirme it by course of Scripture, as who shoulde saye there were not a relatyon betweene GOD and the Scripture, bycause as the olde fathers define, wythout Scripture there were no GOD, no Scripture without a GOD. Whosoeuer therefore denyeth a Godhead, denyeth also the scriptures which testifie of him. This is in my opinion *absurdum per absurdius* to proue one absurditie by an other. If thou canst as substantiallye by reason proue thy authoritie of Scriptures to be true, as thou hast proued by Scriptures there is a God, then will I willyngly with thee both beleeue the Scriptures, and worshippe thy God. I haue heard that *Antiochus* commaunded all the copies of the Testament to bee burnt, from whence therefore haue we these newe bookes, I thincke thou wilt not saye by reuelation, therefore goe forwarde.

5 a-any *A* to[2]] vnto *G rest* 6 ye] you *C rest* yee] you *E*–1613 13 or] and *G rest* 15 is *om. G* 19 for *om. G rest* 22 custome *G rest* 25–6 as who . . . GOD and] and who . . . God as *G* 26 was not *G–F*; was 1613 *rest*

Euphues. I haue read of the milke of a Tygresse that the more salte there is throwne into it the fresher it is, and it may be that thou hast eyther eaten of that milke, or that thou arte the Whelpe of that Monster, for the more reasons that are beate into thy head, the more vnreasonable thou seemest to bee, the greater my authorities are, the lesser is thy beliefe. As touching the authoritie of Scriptures although there be manye arguments which do proue yea and enforce the wicked to confesse that the Scriptures came from God, yet by none other meane then by the secrete testimony of the holy Ghost our heartes are truely perswaded that it is God which speaketh in the lawe, in the Prophets, in the Gospell: the orderly disposition of the wisedome of God, the doctrine fauoring nothing of earthlynesse, the godly agreement of all parts amonge themselues, and specially the basenesse of contemptible wordes vttering the high misteryes of the heauenly kingedome, are seconde helpes to establish the Scriptures.

Moreouer the antiquitie of the Scripture, whereas the bookes of other Relygions are later then the bookes of *Moses*, which yet doth not himselfe inuent a newe God, but setteth foorth to the *Israelites* the God of their fathers. Whereas *Moses* doth not hyde the shame of *Leuy* his father, nor the murmuring of *Aaron* his brother, and of *Marie* his sister, nor doth aduaunce his owne children: The same are arguments that in his booke is nothing fayned by man. Also the myracles that happened as well at the publyshing of the lawe as in all the rest of time are infallyble proofes that the Scriptures proceeded from the mouth of God. Also whereas *Moses* speaking in the person of *Iacob*, assigneth gouernment to the Tribe of *Iuda*, and where he telleth before of the callynge of the Gentiles, whereof the one came to passe foure hundreth yeares after, the other almost two thousande yeares, these are arguments that it is GOD himselfe that speaketh in the bookes of *Moses*.

Whereas *Esay* telleth before of the captiuitie of the *Iewes* and their restoryng by *Cyrus* (which was borne an hundreth yeares after the deathe of *Esay*) and wheras *Ieremy* before the people were led away apointeth their exile to continew threescore and ten yeares. Whereas *Ieremy* and *Ezechiel* beeinge farre distaunt in places the one from the other doe agree in all theire sayings. Where *Daniel*

2–3 thou hast eyther *A–C*: either thou hast *G rest* 4 beaten *G rest* 5 are] serue *G rest* 8 no E^2 *rest* 13 especially *T rest* 15 Scripture *G rest* 20 murmuring *G rest*: mourninge *A–C* 24 the *before* time *E rest* 25 speaketh *EF* 34 appointed *F rest* 35 in *om. E, whence* in far distant places *F rest*

telleth of things to come sixe hundreth yeares after. These are most certeyne proues to establish the authoritie of the bookes of the Prophets. The simplycitie of the speach of the first three Euaungelysts, conteyninge heauenlye mysteries, the prayse of *Iohn* thundring from on high with weyghty sentences, the heauenlye maiestie shininge in the writings of *Peter* and *Paule*, the sodayne callyng of *Mathew* from the receipte of custome, the callyng of *Peter* and *Iohn* from their fisher boates to the preaching of the Gospell, the conuersion and callyng of *Paule* beeing an enemy to the Apostleshippe are signes of the holye Ghost speaking in them. The consent of so many ages, of so sundrye nations, and of so diuers mindes, in embracing the Scriptures, and the rare godlynesse of some, oughte to establish the authoritie thereoff amongst vs. Also the bloude of so many Martyrs which for the confession thereoff haue suffred deathe with a constant and sober zeale, are vndoubted testimonyes of the truthe and authoritie of the Scriptures.

The myracles that *Moses* recounteth are sufficient to perswade vs that God, yea, the God of hoastes, sette downe the Scriptures. For this that hee was carryed in a clowde vpp into the mountayne: that there euen vntill the fortith daye he continued without the companye of men. That in the verye publyshinge of the lawe his face did shine as it were besette with Sunne beames, that lyghteninges flashed rounde about, that thunder and noyses were eache where hearde in the ayre, that a Trompette sownded being not sownded with any mouth of man.

That the entry of the Tabernacle by a clowde set betweene was kepte from the sighte of the people, that his authoritie was so miraculously reuenged with the horrible destruction of *Chorah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiron*, and all that wicked faction, that the rocke stroken with a rodde did by and by powre foorth a ryuer, that at his prayer it rayned Manna from Heauen. Dyd not God heerein commend him from Heauen as an vndoubted Prophet?

Nowe as touchinge the tyrannye of *Antiochus*, which commaunded all the bookes to be burned, heerein GODS singuler prouidence is seene, which hath alwayes kepte his woorde both from the mightye

3 Prophets. *I substitute for comma a full stop, absolutely required by context* 5 on] an *TM* 8 their] the *C rest* Fishers *F rest* 11 so[1] *om. F rest* 17 recounted *C rest* suffient *A* 20 vnto *E rest* fortith *A–GE*[2] 1617, [1623]: fortieth *E*[1]*F rest* 22 with the *C rest* lyghtening *C* 28 Corah *G*–[1623]: Korah 1631–6 29 Abiram 1631–6

that they coulde neuer extinguishe the same, and from the mallitious that they coulde neuer diminish it. Ther were diuers copyes which god of his great goodnes kept from the bloudie proclamation of *Antiochus*, & by & by followed the translating of them into *Greeke*, that they might be publyshed vnto the whole worlde. The *Hebrew* tongue lay not onely vnesteemed but almost vnknown, and surely had it not bene Gods will to haue his religiõ prouided for, it had altogether perished. Thou seest *Atheos* how the Scriptures come from the mouth of God, & are written by the finger of the Holy Ghost, in ye consciences of all the faythfull. But if thou be so curious to aske other questions, or so quarrellous to striue agaynst the truth, I must aunswer thee, as an olde father answered a young foole which needes would know what God did before he made Heauen, to whom he said, hell, for such curious inquisitors of gods secrets, whose wisedome is not to be comprehended, for who is he that can measure the winde or way the fire, or attayne vnto the vnsearcheable iudgementes of the Lorde.

Besides this, where the Holy Ghost hath ceased to sette downe, there ought we to cease to enquire, seeing we haue ye sufficiencie of our saluation conteined in holy Scripture. It were an absurditie in schooles, if one beeing vrged with a place in *Aristotle* could finde none other shifte to auoyde a blancke then in doubting whether *Aristotle* spake such words or no. Shall it then be tollerable to denye the Scriptures hauing no other colour to auoyde an inconuenience, but by doubting whether they proceede from the holy Ghost? But that such doubtes aryse amonge many in our age, the reason is, theire lyttle faythe, not the insufficient proofe of the cause.

Thou mayst as well demaund how I proue white to be white, or blacke, blacke, and why it shoulde bee called white rather then greene. Such grosse questions are to be aunswered with slender reasons, and such idle heades would be scoffed with adle aunsweres. He that hath no motion of God in his minde, no feelinge of the spirite, no tast of heauenly thinges, no remorce in conscience, no sparke of zeale, is rather to be confounded by tormentes, then reasons, for it is an euydent and infallible signe that the holy Ghost hath not sealed his conscience, whereby hee myght crye *Abba Father*. I coulde alledge

1 should E^2 *rest* neuer] not *C rest* 3 had *before* kept *C rest* 4 Greece E^1 10 all *om. C rest* 21 in] of *G rest* 22 no E^2 *rest* 27 sufficient *G rest* 28 cause] same *G rest* 30 blacke^2] backe *M* 32 should *T rest* 34 in] of *E rest*

Scripture to proue that the godly shoulde refraine from the companye of the wicked, which although thou wylt not beleeue, yet will it condemne thee. Sainct *Paul* sayth, I desire you brethren that you absteine from the companye of those that walke inordinatelye. Agayne my sonne if sinners shall flatter thee gyue no eare vnto them, flye from the euill, and euils shall flye from thee.

And surely were it not to confute thy detestable heresie, and bringe thee if it might be to some taste of the holy Ghost, I would abandon all place of thy abode, for I thincke the grounde accursed whereon thou standest: Thine opinions are so monstrous that I cannot tell whether thou wylte cast a doubt also whether thou haue a soule or no, whiche if thou doe, I meane not to wast winde in prouing that which thine infidellitie wyll not permit thee to beleeue, for if thou hast as yet felt no tast of the spirit working in thee, then sure I am that to proue the immortallitie of the soule were bootelesse, if thou haue a secrete feelinge, then it were needlesse. And God graunt thee that glowinge and sting in conscience that thy soule may witnesse to thy selfe that there is a liuing God, and thy heart shed drops of bloud as a token of repentance, in that thou hast denied that God, and so I cõmit thee to God, and that which I cannot do with any perswasion I wil not leaue to attempt with my prayer.

Atheos. Nay stay a while good *Euphues* & leaue not him perplexed wᵗ feare, whom thou maist make perfect by faith. For now I am brought into such a double & doubtfull distresse that I knowe not howe to tourne mee, if I beleeue not the Scriptures, then shall I be damned for vnbeliefe, if I beleeue them then I shall be confounded for my wycked lyfe. I knowe the whole course of the Bible which if I shoulde beleeue then must I also beleeue that I am an abiect. For thus sayth *Heli* to his sonnes, if man sin againe man, God can forgiue it, if against God who shall entreate for him? he that sinneth is of the Dyuell, the rewarde of sinne is death, thou shalte not suffer the wicked to lyue: take all the Princes of the people and hange them vp agaynst the Sunne on Iybbets, that my anger maye bee tourned from *Israell,* these sayinges of holy Scripture cause mee to tremble and shake in euery sinnewe. Agayne this saith the holy Byble nowe shall the scowrge fal vppon thee for thou hast sinned, beholde I set a curse before you to daye if you shall not

6 euils] euill *E rest* 13 thou] you E^2 26 mee *AM only* 27 shall I *C rest* 34 vp *om. E rest* 38 set] am *E rest*

harken to the commaundementes of the Lorde, all they that haue forsaken the Lorde shall be confounded.

Furthermore, where threates are poured out agaynst sinners, my heart bleedeth in my bellye to remember them. I wyll come vnto you in iudgement sayth the Lorde, and I wyll be a swifte and a seuere witnesse: offenders, adulterers, and those that haue committed periurie and retained the duetie of the hirelinges, oppressed the widowes, misused the straunger, and those that haue not feared me the Lord of hoasts. Out of his mouth shall come a two edged sworde. Beholde I come quickly, and bringe my rewarde with me, which is to yelde euery one according to his desertes. Great is the day of the Lord and terrible, and who is he that may abide him? What shall I then doe when the Lord shall arise to iudge, and when hee shall demaund what shal I answere? Besides this, the names y^t^ in holy scripture are attributed to God bring a terrour to my guiltie conscience. He is said to be a terrible God, a God of reuenge, whose voice is like the thũder, whose breath maketh al the corners of the earth to shake & tremble. These things *Euphues* testifie vnto my conscience that if there be a God, he is the God of the righteous, & one that wil confound the wicked. Whether therefore shal I goe, or how may I auoide the day of vengeance to come? if I goe to heauen that is his seate, if into the earth that is his footstoole, if into the depth he is there also: Who can shrowde himself from the face of y^e^ Lord, or where can one hide him that the Lord cannot finde him? his wordes are like fire and the people lyke drye woode and shalbe consumed.

Euphues. Although I cannot but reioyce to heare thee acknowledge a God, yet must I needes lament to see thee so much distrust him. The Diuell that roaring Lyon seing his pray to be taken out of his iawes, alledgeth al Scripture y^t^ may condemne the sinner, leauing al out that should comfort y^e^ sorrowful. Much like vnto y^e^ deceitfull Phisition which recounteth all things that may endomage his patient, neuer telling any thing y^t^ may recure him. Let not thy conscience be agrieued, but with a patiẽt heart renounce all thy former iniquities and thou shalt receiue eternall life. Assure thy selfe

7 duties *C rest* the[2] *A only* 11 to *before* euerie *G rest* 12 may] can *C rest* him] it E^2 *rest* 12–3 What then shall I then doe *CGE*[1] 13 the] thy *G*: as the E^2 *rest* 15 Scriptures E^2 *rest* to[2]] of *EF* 21 how may I] who may *T rest* 23 ther he is *T–E*: there is he *F rest* 24 cannot] may not E^2 *rest* 33 his] the *E rest* things *F* 1613 34 penitent *G rest* thy] my *G*

that as God is a Lord so he is a father, as Christ is a Iudge, so he is a Sauiour, as ther is a lawe, so there is a Gospel. Though God haue leaden handes which when they strike paye home, yet hath he leaden feet which are as slow to ouertake a sinner. Heare therfore the great comfort flowing in euery leafe & line of the Scripture if thou be patient. I my selfe am euen hee which doth blotte out thy transgressions and that for mine own sake, and I will not be mindefull of thy sinnes. Beholde the Lordes hande is not shortned that it cannot saue, neither his eare heauy, that it cannot heare. If your sinnes were as Crimosin they shall be made whiter then Snow, & though they were as red as Scarlet they shall be made like white Woll. If we confesse our offences hee is faythfull and iuste so that he will forgiue vs our sinnes. God hathe not appointed vs vnto wrath but vnto saluation, by the meanes of our Lorde Jesus Christe, the earthe is filled with the mercye of the Lorde. It is not the will of your Father which is in heauen that any one of the little ones should perishe. God is riche in mercye. I will not the death of a sinner sayth the Lord God, retourne and lyue. The sonne of man came not to destroye but to saue. God hath mercy on all, bycause hee can doe all. God is mercifull, longe sufferinge and of much mercy. If the wicked man shall repent of hys wickednesse which hee hath committed, and keepe my commaundementes, doinge Iustice and iudgement, hee shall lyue the lyfe, and shall not dye. If I shall saye vnto the sinner thou shalt dye the death, yet if hee repent and doe Iustice he shall not dye. Call to thy minde the great goodnesse of God in creating thee, his singuler loue in giuing his sonne for thee. So God loued the worlde that he gaue his onely begotten sonne that whosoeuer beleeued in him myght not perish but haue euerlasting life. God hath not sent his sonne to iudge the world, but that the worlde might be saued by him. Can the Mother (sayth the Prophet) forget the chylde of hir wombe, & though she be so vnnaturall, yet will I not be vnmindefull of thee. There shalbe more ioye in heauen for ye repentaunce of one sinner thē for nintie & nine iust persons. I came not saith Christ to cal ye righteous but sinners to repentâce. If any mā sin, we haue an aduocate with the father Iesus Christe the righteous, hee is the propitiation for our sinnes, and not for our sinnes onely but for the sinnes of the whole worlde. I write vnto you little

5 greatest E^1 6 penitent *C rest* thy *ATE² rest*: his *M–E¹* 11 as[1] *om. E²–1617, 1631–6* 13 sinne *G* 16 the] these *G rest* 19 vpon E^2 *rest* 25 greatest *CGE¹* 27 So] Su E^2 28 beleeueth *F–*[1623] 31 so *om. C*

children bicause your sinnes be forgiuen for his names sake. Doth not Christ saye that whatsoeuer wee shall aske the Father in his name wee shall obtayne? Doth not God saye this is my beloued sonne in whome I am well pleased, heare him? I haue reade of *Themistocles* which hauing offended *Philip* ye king of *Macedonia,* & could no way apease his anger, meeting his young sonne *Alexander* tooke him in his armes, & met *Philip* in the face: *Philip* seeing ye smilyng countenaunce of the childe, was well pleased with *Themistocles.* Euen so if through thy manifolde sinnes and haynous offences thou prouoke the heauye displeasure of thy God insomuch as thou shalt tremble for horror, take his onelye begotten and welbeloued sonne Iesus in thine armes, and then he neyther can nor will bee angry with thee. If thou haue denyed thy God, yet if thou goe out with *Peter* and weepe bitterly, God will not deny thee. Though with the prodigall sonne thou wallow in thine owne wilfulnesse, yet if thou retourne agayne sorrowfull thou shalt be receiued. If thou bee a grieuous offender, yet if thou come vnto Christ with the woman in *Luke* and wash his feete with thy teares thou shalt obteyne remission.

Consider with thy selfe the great loue of Christ and the bitter torments that he endured for thy sake, which was enforced through the horror of death to crye with a loude voyce, *Eloi, Eloi, Lamasabathani.* My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken mee, and with a groning spirite to say, my soule is heauie euen vnto the deathe, tarry heere and watch, and agayne, father if it be possible lette this cuppe passe from mee. Remember how he was crowned with thornes, crucified with theeues, scourged and hanged for thy saluation, how hee swette water and bloude, for thy remission, how he endured euen the torments of the damned spirites for thy redemption, how he ouercame death yt thou shouldst not dye, how he conquered the Diuell yt thou mightest not be damned. When thou shalt record what he hath done to purchase thy freedome, how canst thou dreade bondage? When thou shalt beholde the agonyes and anguish of minde that he suffered for thy sake, howe canst thou doubte of the release of thy soule? When thy Sauiour shall be thy Iudge, why shouldest thou tremble to heare of iudgement? When thou hast a continuall Mediator with God the father, howe canst thou distrust of his fauour.

Turne therefore vnto Christ with a willyng hearte & a waylyng

1 name *E rest* 12 nor] or *C rest* 21 lamasabacthani 1613 *rest* 23 euen *om. E rest*

minde for thy offences, who hath promised y^t^ at what time soeuer a sinner repenteth him of his sinnes he shal be forgiuen, who calleth al those that are heauie laden, that they might be refreshed, who is the dore to them that knocke, the waye to them that seeke, the truthe, the rocke, the corner stone, the fulnesse of time, it is he y^t^ can & will poure oyle into thy wounds. Who absolued *Marie Magdalene* from hir sinnes but Christ? Who forgaue the theefe his robbery and manslaughter but Christ? Who made *Mathew* the Publycane and tollgatherer, an Apostle and Preacher but Christ? Who is that good shepehearde that fetcheth home the straye sheepe so louingly vppon his shoulders but Christ? Who receiued home the lost sonne, was it not Christ? Who made of *Saul* a persecuter, *Paul* an Apostle, was it not Christ? I passe ouer diuers other histories both of the olde and new Testament which do aboundantly declare what great comforte the faithfull penitent sinners haue alwayes had in hearing the comfortable promises of Gods mercy. Canst thou then *Atheos* distrust thy Christ who reioyceth at thy repentaunce? Assure thy selfe that through his passion and bloudshedding, death hath lost his sting, the Diuill his victory, and that the gates of hell shall not preuayle agaynst thee. Lette not therefore the bloude of Christ be shed in vayne by thine obstinate and harde hearte. Let this perswasion rest in thee that thou shalt receiue absolution freely, and then shalt thou feele thy soule euen as it were to hunger and thirst after rightuousnes.

Atheos. Well *Euphues* seeing the Holy Ghost hath made thee y^e^ meane to make me a man (for before y^e^ tast of the gospell I was worse then a beast) I hope y^e^ same spirite wil also lyghten my conscience with his word, & confirme it to the ende in constancie, y^t^ I may not only confesse my Christ faithfully, but also preach him freely, that I may not only be a Minister of his word but also a Martir for it, if it be his pleasure. O *Euphues* howe much am I bounde to y^e^ goodnesse of almightie god, which hath made me of an infidell a beleeuer, of a castaway a Christian, of an heathenly Pagan a heauenly Protestant. O how comfortable is the feelyng & tast of grace, how ioyfull are the glad tidings of the Gospell, y^e^ faithfull promises of saluation, y^e^ free redemption of y^e^ soule. I will endeauour by all meanes to confute those damnable, I know not by what names to

4 seeke the truth, *TMC* 1613–36 10 Sephearde *T*: Shephearde *M*: Sheapheard *C*: sheepheard *E*–1613: shepheard *G* 1617–23: shepherd 1631-6 13 diuerse *F* 1613 20 the] that *E rest* 26 y^e1^] a *C rest* 31 it^2^ *om. ATM* 37 name *E rest*

terme them, but blasphemers I am sure, which if they be no more certeinly they can be no lesse. I see now ye ods betwixt light & darkenes, faith & frowardnes, Christ & *Belial*, be thou *Euphues* a witnes of my faith seeing thou hast ben the instrument of my beliefe, and I will pray that I shewe it in my lyfe. As for thee I accompt my selfe so much in thy debt as I shal neuer be able wt the losse of my life to rẽder thee thi due, but god which rewardeth ye zeale of al men wil I hope blesse thee, & I wil pray for thee.

Eu. O *Atheos* little is ye debt thou owest me, but great is ye comfort that I haue receiued by thee. Giue the praise to God, whose goodnesse hath made thee a member of the mysticall body of Christe, and not onely a brother with his sonne, but also a coheriter with thy Sauiour. There is no heart so hard, no heathen so obstinate, no miscreaunt or Infidell so impious, that by grace is not made as supple as oyle, as tractable as a sheepe, as faithfull as any. The Adamant though it be so harde that nothinge can bruse it, yet if the warme bloude of a Goate be poured vpon it, it bursteth: euen so although the heart of the *Atheist* and vnbeleeuer be so hard that neither reward nor reuenge can mollyfie it, so stout that no perswasion can breake it, yet if the grace of God purchased by the bloude of Christe, doe but once towch it, it renteth in sunder, and is enforced to acknowledge an omnipotent and euerlasting *Iehoua*. Lette vs therefore both (*Atheos* I will not nowe call thee, but *Theophilus*) fly vnto that Christ which hath through his mercy, not our merits, purchased for vs the enheritaunce of euerlasting lyfe.

(·.·)

2 betweene *G rest* 11 that *om. G rest* 13 a² *om T–E* 15 no] do *E* 16 supply E^1 23 renteth *so all*

¶ *Certeine Letters writ by Euphues to his friendes.*

Euphues to Philautus.

IF the course of youth had any respect to the staffe of age, or the liuing man any regarde to the dying moulde, we would with greater care whē we were young, shunne those things which should griue vs when we be olde, and wyth more seueritie direct the sequele of our lyfe, for the feare of present death. But such is either y^e^ vnhappinesse of mans condition, or the vntowardnesse of his croked nature, or the wilfulnesse of his minde, or the blindnesse of his heart, that in youth he surfiteth wyth delightes preuenting age, or if he liue, continueth in dotage forgetting death. It is a world to see how in our flourishing tyme when we best may, we be worst willing to thriue. And howe in fadinge of our dayes, when we moste shoulde, we haue least desire to remember our ende. Thou wilt muse *Philautus*, to here *Euphues* to preach, who of late had more minde to serue his Ladye then to worshippe his Lorde. Ah *Philautus* thou art now a Courtier in *Italy*, I a scholler in *Athens*, and as hard it is for thee to follow good counsayle as for me to enforce thee, seeing in thee there is little will to amend, and in mee lesse authoritie to commaunde, yet will I exhort thee as a friende, I woulde I myght compell thee as a Father. But I haue heard that it is peculier to an *Italian* to stande in hys owne conceite, and to a courtier neuer to be controlde, which causeth me to feare y^t^ in thee which I lament in others. That is, that either thou seeme to wise in thine owne opinion thinking scorne to be taught, or to wilde in thine attempts in reiecting admonishmēt. The one proceedeth of selfe loue and so thy name importeth, the other of meere folly, and y^t^ thy nature sheweth: thou lookest I should craue pardon for speaking so boldly, no *Philautus*: I meane not to flatter thee, for then shoulde I incurre

3 Euphes *T* 8 the *om. C rest* 14 the fading *TMC*: the vading *G rest* 16 to[1] *om. G rest* 26 thy *G rest* 29 sheweth thou lookest: *A* 30 I should *G rest*

the suspition of frawde, neither am I determined to fall out wᵗ thee, for thē might yᵉ wise conuince me of folly. But thou art in great credite in the court, & what then? shall thy credit with the Emperour abate my courage to my God? or thy hauty lookes quench my kindled loue, or thy gallant shew aslake my good wil? hath yᵉ courtier any prerogatiue aboue the clowne, why hee should not be reprehended, doth his highe callinge not onely gyue hym a commision to sinne but remission also if he offend, doth his preheminence in the court warrant him to oppresse the poore by might and acquite him of punishment? No *Philautus*. By how much the more thou excellest others in honors, by so muche the more thou oughtest to exceede them in honestie, & the higher thy calling is, the better ought thy conscience to bee, and as farre it beseemeth a gentleman to be from pryde, as hee is from pouertie, and as neere to gentlenesse in condition, as hee is in bloude: but I will descende wyth thee to perticulers. It is reported heere for a troth, that *Philautus* hath giuen ouer himselfe to all deliciousnesse, desiringe rather to be dandled in the laps of Ladyes, then busied in the studye of good letters: And I woulde thys were all, which is to much, or the rest a lye, which is to monstrous. It is nowe in euerye mans mouth, that thou, yea, thou, *Philautus*, art so voyde of curtesie, that thou hast almost forgotten common sence and humanitie, hauinge neither care of religion (a thing to common in a courtier) neither regarde of honestie or any vertuous behauiour. Oh *Philautus*, dost thou lyue as thou shouldest neuer dye, and laugh as thou shouldest neuer mourne, art thou so simple that thou doste not know from whence thou camest, or so sinfull that thou carest not whether thou goest: what is in thee yᵗ shoulde make thee so secure, or what can there be in any yᵗ may cause him to glorye. *Milo*, that great wrastler beganne to weepe when he sawe his armes brawnefallen and weake, saying, strength, strength, is but vanitie, *Helen*, in hir newe glasse viewing hir olde face, with a smyling countenaunce cryed: Beautie where is thy blaze? *Crœsus* with all his wealth, *Aristotle* with all his wit, all men with all their wisdome haue and shall perish and tourne to dust. But thou delightest to haue the newe fashion, the *Spanish* felte, the *French* ruffe, thy crewe of ruffians, all thine attire misshapen to make thee a monster, and all thy time mispent to shewe

5 thy *T rest*: the *A* 9 and] or *E rest* 10 Philantus *A* 11 other *E*–1631 16 heere reported *E rest* truth *G rest* 18 in[t]] on *G* 26 that *AG*–1636: as *TMC* 31 vaine *C rest* 32 a *om. C rest* 33 Cræsus *A*–*M* 36 thine] thy *T*–*G*

thee vnhappy, what should I goe about to decipher thy life, seeinge the beginning sheweth the ende to bee naught. Art not thou one of those *Philautus* which sekest to win credite with thy superiors by flatterye, and wring out wealth from thy inferiors by force, & vndermine thy equals by frawde: dost thou not make ye court not onely a couer to defend thy selfe frō wrong, but a colour also to commit iniurie? Art not thou one of those yt hauing gotten on their sleeue the cognisaunce of a courtier haue shaken from thy skirtes the regard of curtesie? I cannot but lament (I would I might remedy) the great abuses that raigne in the eies of the Emperour, I feare me the Poet say to truely,

Exeat aula
Qui vult esse pius: virtus & summa potestas
Non coeunt.

Is not pietie tourned all to pollicie, faith to foresight, iustice to rigour, doth not he best thriue, yt worst deserueth, & he rule al the country, yt hath no conscience? Doth not ye Emperours court grow to this insolent blindnesse, that all yt see not their folly, they accompt fooles, & all that speake against it, precise? laughing at ye simplicitie of ye one, & threatning ye boldenes of the other. *Philautus*, if thou woldest with due consideration way how farre a courtiers lyfe is from a sound beliefe, thou wouldest either frame thy selfe to a new trade or els amend thine old manners, yea, thou wouldest wt *Crates* leaue all thy possessions taking thy books and trudge to *Athens*, and with *Anaxagoras* dispise wealth to attaine wisdome, if thou haddest as great respect to dye well as thou hast care to liue wantonly, thou wouldest with *Socrates* seeke how thou migtest yelde to death, rather then wyth *Aristippus* search howe to prolonge thy lyfe. Dost thou not know that where the tree falleth there it lyeth? and euery ones deathes daye is his domes day? that the whole course of lyfe is but a meditation of death, a pilgrimage, a warfare? Hast thou not read or dost thou not regarde what is written, that wee shall all bee cyted before the Tribunall seate of God to render a straight accompt of our stewardshyp? if then the rewarde bee to be measured by thy merites, what boote canst thou looke for, but eternall paine, whiche heere lyuest in continuall pleasure? So shouldest thou lyue as thou mayst

2 the¹] thy *E rest* yu *M* 8 hauing *EF*: hast 1613 *rest* 11 say to *A–C*: saith too *G rest*: *qy.*? to say *The lines run on as prose in preceding eds.* 15 rigor to Iustice *A–E* 19 & *om. C rest* 23 mannors *ATM* 24 take 1617 *rest* 26 shouldest *C rest* 29 he *CG* 34 thy] the *C–F* 1617–36 35 looke] seeke *T rest*

dye, and then shalt thou dye to lyue. Wert thou as strong as *Sampson*, as wise as *Salomon*, as holy as *Dauid*, as faythfull as *Abraham*, as zealous as *Moses*, as good as any that euer lyued, yet shalt thou dye as they haue done, but not rise againe to lyfe with them, vnlesse thou liue as they did. But thou wilt say that no man ought to iudge thy conscience but thy selfe, seeinge thou knowest it better then any. O *Philautus*, if thou search thy selfe and see not sinne, then is thy case almost curelesse. The patient, if Phisitions are to be credited, & cõmõ experiẽce estemed, is ye neerest death whẽ he thinketh himselfe past his disease, & the lesse griefe he feeleth ye greater fits he endureth : ye woũd that is not searched bicause it a lyttle smarteth, is fullest of deãd flesh, and the sooner it skinneth the sorer it festereth. It is sayde that Thunder bruseth the tree, but breaketh not the barke, and pearceth the blade, and neuer hurteth the scabberd : Euen so doth sinne, wounde the hearte, but neuer hurte the eyes, and infect the soule, though outwardely it nothing afflict the body. Descende therfore into thine owne conscience, confesse thy sinnes, reforme thy manners, contemne the worlde, embrace Christ, leaue the courte, follow thy study, prefer holynesse before honour, honestie before promotion, relygion and vprightnesse of lyfe, before the ouerlashinge desires of the flesh. Resemble the Bee which out of the dryest and bitterest Time sucketh moyst & sweet Honny, and if thou canst out of the courte, a place of more pompe then pietie, sucke out the true iuice of perfection : but if thou see in thy selfe a will rather to goe forward in thy losenesse then any meane to goe backewarde, if the glystering faces of fayre Ladies, or the glittering shew of lustie gallaunts, or courtly fare, or any delycate thing seeme to entice thee to farther lewdenesse, come from the court to *Athens*, and so in shunning the causes of euill thou shalt soone escape the effect of thy misfortune, the more those things please thee, the more thou displeasest God, and the greater pride thou takest in sinne, the greater paine thou heapest to thy soule. Examine thine own conscience and see whether thou hast done as is required, if thou haue, thancke the Lorde and praye for encrease of grace, if not, desire God to giue thee a willyng minde to attayne fayth, and constancie to continue to the ende.

2 Solomon *TMC* 6 not *after* it *G* then *om. G* 7 see] finde *C rest* 12 sorer] sooner *F rest* 21 : remember *G rest* 25 in thy . . . backewarde *om. G rest* 26 face *E rest* 30 the^{t}] y^{t} *M*

Euphues to Eubulus.

I Salute thee, in the Lord, &c. Although I was not so wittie to follow thy graue aduice when I first knew thee, yet doe I not lacke grace to giue thee thankes since I tryed thee. And if I were as able to perswade thee to patience, as thou wert desirous to exhort me to pietie, or as wise to comfort thee in thine age, as thou willyng to instruct me in my youthe, thou shouldest nowe with lesse griefe endure thy late losse, and with little care leade thy aged lyfe. Thou weepest for the deathe of thy daughter, & I laugh at the folly of the father, for greater vanitie is there in the minde of the mourner, then bitternesse in the deathe of the deceased, but she was amyable, but yet sinful, but she was young & might haue lyued, but she was mortall and must haue dyed. I but hir youth made thee often merry, I but thine age should once make thee wise, I but hir greene yeres wer vnfit for death, I but thy hoary haires shoulde dispise lyfe. Knowest thou not *Eubulus*, that lyfe is the gifte of God, deathe the due of nature, as we receiue the one for a benefitte, so must we abide the other of necessitie. Wisemen haue found that by learning which olde men should know by experience, that in lyfe there is nothing sweet, in death nothing sowre. The Philosophers accompted it y^e^ chiefest felycitie neuer to be borne, the second soone to die. And what hath death in it so hard that we should take it so heauily? is it strange to see y^t^ cutte off, which by nature is made to be cut, or that melten, which is fit to be melted? or that burnt which is apt to be burnt, or man to passe that is borne to perish? But thou grauntest that she shold haue dyed, & yet art thou grieued y^t^ she is dead. Is the death y^e^ better if the lyfe be longer? no truly. For as neither he that singeth most, or praieth longest, or ruleth y^e^ sterne oftenest, but he that doth it best deserueth greatest prayse, so he, not y^t^ hath most yeres but many vertues, nor he that hath grayest haires but greatest goodnes, lyueth longest. The chiefe beautie of lyfe consisteth not in the numbring of many dayes, but in the vsing of vertuous doings. Amongst plants those be best esteemed y^t^ in shortest time bringe forth much frute. Be not the fairest flowers gathered when they be freshest? the youngest beasts killed for sacrifice bicause they be finest? The measure of lyfe is not length but

1 to Eubulus *TC rest*: to Ferardo *A*: and Eubulus *M* 11 diseased *T* 12 was[2] *om. C* 16 Ferardo *A*: Eubules E^1 is *before* the[2] *F rest* 23 off *after* cut *E rest* 24 melten] melted *E rest* 26 sorrowfull because *E rest* 27 the lyfe be] it be the *G rest* 33 Among GE^1

honestie, neyther do we enter into lyfe to the ende we should set downe y^e^ day of our death, but therefore do we lyue, y^t^ we may obey him that made vs, and be willyng to dye when he shal call vs. But I wil aske thee this question, whether thou wayle the losse of thy daughter for thine owne sake or hirs, if for thine owne sake, bicause thou didst hope in thine age to recouer cõfort, then is thy loue to hir but for thy commoditie, and therein thou art but an vnkinde father, if for hirs, then dost thou mistrust hir saluation, and therein thou shewest thy vnconstant fayth. Thou shouldst not weepe that she hath runne fast, but that thou hast gone so slowe, neyther ought it to grieue thee that she is gone to hir home with a few yeares, but that thou art to goe with manye. But why goe I about to vse a longe processe to a little purpose? The budde is blasted as soone as the blowne Rose, y^e^ winde shaketh off the blossome as well as y^e^ fruite. Death spareth neyther y^e^ golden locks nor the hoary head. I meane not to make a treatise in the prayse of death but to note the necessitie, neyther to write what ioyes they receiue that dye, but to show what paynes they endure y^t^ lyue. And thou which art euen in the wane of thy life, whom nature hath nourished so long, that now she beginneth to nod, maist well know what griefes, what laboures, what paynes, are in age, & yet wouldest thou be eyther young to endure many, or elder to byde more. But thou thinkest it honourable to goe to y^e^ graue w^t^ a gray head, but I deeme it more glorious to be buried with an honest name. Age sayste thou is the blessing of God, yet the messenger of death. Descende therfore into thine owne conscience consider the goodnesse that commeth by the ende, & the badnesse which was by y^e^ beginning, take y^e^ death of thy daughter patiently, and looke for thine own speedely, so shalt thou perfourme both the office of an honeste man, and the honour of an aged father, and so farewell.

Euphues to Philautus. Touching the deathe of Lucilla.

I Haue receiued thy letters, and thou hast deceiued mine expectation, for thou seemest to take more thought for the losse of an harlot, then the life of an honest woman. Thou writest that she was

3 whensoeuer *E rest* 5 for *before* hirs *C rest* 8 hirs . . . thou] hers, thou dost *E rest* 10 gone] done 1617, 1623 so] too *C rest* 15 neither spareth *C rest* 21 thou *om. G rest*

shamefull in hir trade and shamelesse in hir ende. I beleeue thee, it is no meruayle that she which lyuing practised sinne, should dying be voyde of shame, neyther coulde there be any great hope of repentaunce at the houre of death where there was no regard of honestie in time of lyfe. She was stricken sodaynely beeinge troubled with no sickenesse: It may be, for it is commonly seene, that a sinfull lyfe is rewarded with a soddayne deathe, and a sweete beginning with a sowre ende. Thou addest moreouer y^t^ she being in great credite with the states, died in great beggerie in the streetes, certes it is an olde saying that who so lyueth in the courte shall dye in the strawe, she hoped there by delyghtes to gayne money, and by hir deserts purchased misery, they that seeke to clyme by priuie sinne shall fall with open shame, and they that couet to swimme in vice, shall sinke in vanitie to their owne perilles. Thou sayest that for beautie she was the *Helen* of *Greece*, and I durst sweare that for beastlines she might be the Monster of *Italy*. In my minde greater is the shame to be accompted an harlot, then the praise to be esteemed amiable. But where thou arte in the courte, there is more regard of beautie then honestie, and more are they lamented that dye viciously then they loued that liue vertuously: for thou giuest as it were a sigh, which all thy companions in the courte seeme by thee to sound also, that *Lucilla* beeing one of so great perfection in all partes of the body and so little pietie in the soule, should be as it were snatched out of the iawes of so many young gentlemen. Well *Philautus*, thou takest not so much care for the losse of hir as I griefe for thy lewdnesse, neither canst thou sorrowe more to see hir dye sodeinely, then I to heare thee lyue shamefullye. If thou meane to keepe mee as a friende shake off those vaine toyes and dalyaunces wyth women, beleeue mee *Philautus* I speake it wyth salt tears trickling downe my cheekes, the lyfe thou liuest in court is no lesse abhorred then the wicked death of *Lucilla* detested, & more art thou scorned for thy folly, then she hated for hir filthinesse.

The euill ende of *Lucilla* should moue thee to begin a good lyfe: I haue often warned thee to shunne thy wonted trade, & if thou loue me as thou protestest in thy letters, then leaue all thy vices & shewe it in thy life. If thou meane not to amend thy manners I desire thee to write no more to me, for I will neither answere thee nor

4 honestie] honest reputation *E rest* 14 vanities *E rest* 19 of *after* then *G rest* 20 gauest *E rest* 21 which] with *A* 22 the] her *E rest* 25 grieue *T rest* 28 daliance *E rest* 30 the Court *E rest* 33 good] new *C rest*

read them. The Iennet is brokẽ as soone wᵗ a wãd as with the spurre, a gentleman as well allured with a word as with a swoord. Thou concludest in the end that *Liuia* is sick, truely I am sory for shee is a maiden of no lesse comlinesse then modesty, & hard it is to iudge whether she deserues more praise for hir beauty with yᵉ amorous or admiration for hir honestie of yᵉ vertuous, if yᵘ loue me embrace hir, for she is able both to satisfy thine eye for choice, & instruct thy heart with learning. Commẽd me vnto hir, & as I praise hir to thee, so wil I pray for hir to God yᵗ either she may haue pacience to endure hir trouble or deliuerance to scape hir peril. Thou desirest me to send thee yᵉ Sermons which were preached of late in *Athens*. I haue fulfilled thy request, but I feare me thou wilt vse them as *S. George* doth his horse, who is euer on his backe but neuer rideth, but if thou wert as willing to read them, as I was to send them, or as ready to follow them, as desirous to haue them, it shall not repent thee of thy labour, nor me of my cost. And thus farewell.

¶ *Euphues to Botonio, to take his exile patiently.*

IF I were as wise to giue thee counsaile, as I am willing to do thee good, or as able to set thee at libertie, as desirous to haue thee free, thou shouldest neither want good aduice to guyde thee, nor sufficient helpe to restore thee. Thou takest it heauylye that thou shouldest bee accused without colour, and exiled wythout cause: and I thincke thee happy to be so well-rydde of the courte and to bee so voyde of crime. Thou sayest banishment is bitter to the free borne, and I deeme it the better if thou bee wythout blame. There bee manye meates which are sowre in the mouth and sharpe in the mawe, but if thou mingle them wyth sweete sawces, they yeelde both a pleasaunt taste and holesome nourishment: Diuers colours offende the eyes, yet hauinge greene amonge them whet the sight. I speake this to this ende, that though thy exile seeme grieuous to thee, yet guiding thy selfe with the rules of Philosophye it shall bee more tollerable: hee that is colde doth not couer himselfe wyth care, but with clothes, he that is washed in yᵉ rayne dryeth himselfe by the fire not by his fancie, and thou which art bannished oughtest

1 as soone broken *E rest* 4 madyen *A* 6 yᵉ vertuous] vertues *A* thou *T rest* 10 escape *G rest* 13 saint *T-G* 24 exiled] banished *C rest* 26 to¹ *om. T rest*

not with teares to bewaile thy hap, but with wisedome to heale thy hurt.

Nature hath giuen no man a country no more then she hath a house, or lãds, or liuings. *Socrates* would neither call himselfe an *Athenian*, neither a *Grecian* but a Citizẽ of ye world. *Plato* would neuer accompt him banished yt had the Sunne, Fire, Aire, Water, & Earth, that he had before, where he felt the Winters blast and the Summers blaze, wher ye same Sunne & the same Moone shined, whereby he noted that euery place was a countrey to a wise man, and all partes a pallaice to a quiet minde.

But thou art driuen out of *Naples?* that is nothing. All the *Athenians* dwell not in *Colliton*, nor euery *Corinthian* in *Græcia*, nor all the *Lacedemonians* in *Pitania*. How can any part of the world bee distant farre from the other, when as the *Mathematicians* set downe that the earth is but a pointe being compared to ye heauens. Learne of the Bee as wel to gather Honny of the weede as the flowre, and out of farre countries to liue, as wel as in thine owne.

He is to be laughed at which thincketh the Moone better at *Athens* then at *Corinth*, or the Honnye of the Bee sweeter that is gathered in *Hybla* then that which is made in *Mantua?* when it was cast in *Diogenes* teeth that the *Synoponetes* had banished hym *Pontus*, yea, sayde hee, I them of *Diogenes*. I maye saye to thee as *Stratonicus* sayde to his guest, who demaunded what faulte was punished wyth exile, and hee aunsweringe falshoode, why then sayde *Stratonicus* dost not thou practise deceite to the ende thou maist auoyde the myschiefes that followe in thy countrey.

And surely if conscience be the cause thou art banished the court, I accompt thee wise in being so precise yt by the vsing of vertue thou maist be exiled the place of vice. Better it is for thee to liue with honesty in ye country then wt honour in the court, & greater wil thy praise be by flying vanitie, then thy pleasure in followinge traines. Choose that place for thy palaice which is most quiet, custome will make it thy countrey, and an honest life will cause it a pleasaunt liuinge. *Philip* falling in the dust, and seeing the figure of his shape perfect in shewe: Good God sayd he, we desire ye whole earth and see how little serueth? *Zeno* hearing that this onely barke wherein all his wealth was shipped to haue perished, cryed out, thou

1 with²] in *E rest* 3 no¹] to *G rest* 4 a *om. E rest* 6 Fire, *om. E rest* 12 Colliton *so all* 18 the] that *C–E* 19 the²] a *F rest* 20 Hyblia E^1 22, 24 Straconicus *all old eds.* 26 flow *T rest* thy] the *EF* 31 by] in *T rest* 33 cause] make *G rest* 36 this] his *E rest*

hast done well Fortune to thrust me into my gowne agayne to embrace Philosophy: thou hast therefore in my minde great cause to reioyce, that God by punishment hath compelled thee to stricktnesse of lyfe which by lybertie might haue ben growen to lewdnesse. When thou hast not one place assigned thee wherein to liue, but one forbidden thee which thou must leaue, then thou beeing denied but one, that excepted thou maist choose any. Moreouer this dispute with thy selfe, I beare no office whereby I shoulde eyther for feare please the noble, or for gaine oppresse the needy. I am no Arbiter in doubtfull cases, whereby I should eyther peruerte Iustice or incurre displeasure. I am free from the iniuries of the stronge and mallice of the weake. I am out of the broiles of the sedytious, and haue escaped the threates of the ambitious. But as hee that hauinge a fayre Orcharde, seeing one tree blasted, recompteth the discommodity of that & passeth ouer in silence the fruytfulnesse of the other: So hee y^t^ is banished doth alwayes lament y^e^ losse of his house & the shame of his exile, not reioysing at the liberty, quyetnesse & pleasure y^t^ he enioyeth by y^t^ sweet punishment. The kinges of *Persia* were deemed happy that they kepte their Winter in *Babilon*, in *Media* their Summer, and their Spring in *Susis:* and certeynly the Exile may in this be as happy as any king in *Persia*, for he may at his leasure, beeing at his owne pleasure, lead his Winter in *Athens*, his Summer in *Naples*, his Spring at *Argos*. But if hee haue anye businesse in hande, he may studie without trouble, sleepe without care, and wake at his will without controlment. *Aristotle* must dine when it pleaseth *Philip*, *Diogenes* when it lysteth *Diogenes*, the courtier suppeth when the king is satisfied, but *Botonio* may now eate when *Botonio* is an hungred.

But thou sayst that banishment is shamefull. No truly, no more then pouertie to the content, or graye haires to the aged. It is the cause that maketh thee shame. If thou wert banished vpon choller greater is thy credite in sustayninge wronge then thine enemies in committinge iniurie, and lesse shame is it to thee to be oppressed by might, then theirs that wrought it for mallyce. But thou fearest

5 therin *C rest* 6 must] maist *G rest* 7 thus 1631–6 10 Arbiter *A* 1623: Arbiterer *T*: arbiterer *M*: arbitrer *C*–1613, 1631, 1636: Arbiteer 1617 16 alway *E* 19–20 that . . . kepte] in that they passed *T rest* 20 their[3]] the *E rest* 21 in this may *T rest* 22 leasure, beeing at] leasure beginne *E rest* 24 at] in *T rest* 27 lusteth *E rest* 33 thine enemies] thy enuyes *A*–*G* 34 it is *E*[2] *rest*

thou shalt not thriue in a straunge nation, certeynly thou art more afrayde then hurte, the Pine tree groweth as soone in *Pharo* as in *Ida*, the Nightingale singeth as sweetly in the desarts as in the woodes of *Crete*, the wiseman lyueth as well in a farre country as in his owne home. It is not the nature of the place but the disposition of the person that maketh the lyfe pleasaunt. Seeing therefore *Botonio*, that all the Sea is apte for anye fishe, that it is a badde grounde where no flower will growe, that to a wise man all landes are as fertile as his owne enherytaunce, I desire thee to temper the sharpenesse of thy banishment with the sweetenesse of the cause, and to measure the clearenesse of thine owne conscience with the spite of thy enemyes quarrell, so shalt thou reuenge their mallyce with patience and endure thy banishment with pleasure.

¶ *Euphues to a young gentleman in Athens named Alcius, who leauing his studie followed all lyghtnes and lyued both shamefully and sinfully to the griefe of his friends and discredite of the Vniuersitie.*

IF I should talke in words of those things which I haue to conferre with thee in writinges, certẽs thou wouldest blush for shame, and I weepe for sorrow, neyther could my tongue vtter that with patiẽce which my hand can scarce write with modestie, neyther could thy eares heare that without glowing which thine eyes can hardly view without griefe. Ah *Alcius*, I can not tell whether I should most lament in thee thy want of learning, or thy wanton lyuinge, in the one thou arte inferiour to all men, in the other superiour to all beasts. Insomuch as who seeth thy dull wit & marketh thy froward will may well say that he neuer saw smacke of learning in thy doings, nor sparke of relygion in thy lyfe. Thou onely vauntest of thy gentry, truely thou wast made a gentleman before thou knewest what honestie ment, & no more hast thou to bost of thy stock thẽ he who beeing left rich by his father, dyeth a begger by his folly. Nobilytie began in thy auncestours and

2 Pharao *C–F*: Pharos 1613 *rest* 3 sweete *E rest* 8 a] the *F rest* 12 thine *E rest* their] thy *E rest* 14 Naples *T rest* 23 hands E^2–1613: 1617 *rest om.* patience . . . write with 24 thy] thine *E rest* thine] mine *E rest* 26 most *om. C rest* 31 was *F* 33 who] y^t *C rest* 34 thine *T rest*

endeth in thee, and the Generositie that they gayned by vertue, thou hast blotted with vice. If thou clayme gentry by petegree, practise gentlenesse by thine honestie, that as thou challengest to be noble in blood thou maist also proue noble by knowledge, otherwise shalt thou hang lyke a blast among the faire blossoms and lyke a stayne in a peece of white lawne.

The Rose that is eaten with the Canker is not gathered bicause it groweth on that stalke that the sweet doth, neyther was *Helen* made a Starre bicause shee came of that Egge with *Castor*, nor thou a gentleman in y^t^ thy auncestours were of nobilytie. It is not the descent of birth, but the consent of conditions that maketh gentlemen, neyther great mannors but good manners that expresse the true Image of dignitie. There is copper coine of the stampe that gold is, yet is it not currant, there commeth poyson of the fish as well as good oyle yet is it not wholesome, and of man may proceede an euill childe and yet no gentleman. For as the Wine that runneth on the lees, is not therefore to be accompted neate bicause it was drawne of the same peece: or as the water that springeth from the fountaines head and floweth into the filthye channell is not to be called cleere bicause it came of the same streame: so neyther is he that discendeth of noble parentage, if he desist from noble deedes, to be esteemed a gentleman in that he issued from the loynes of a noble sire, for that he obscureth the parentes he came off, and discrediteth his owne estate. There is no gentleman in *Athens* but soroweth to see thy behauiour so farre to disagree from thy birth, for this say they all (which is the chiefest note of a gentleman) that thou shouldest as well desire honestie in thy lyfe as honour by thy lynage, that thy nature should not swerue from thy name, that as thou by duetie woldest be regarded for thy progeny, so thou wouldest endeauour by deserts to be reuerenced for thy pietie.

The pure Corall is chosen as well by his vertue as his colour, a king is knowne better by his courage then his crowne, a righte gentleman is sooner seene by the tryall of his vertue then blasing of his armes.

But I lette passe thy birthe, wishing thee rather with *Vlysses* to shew it in workes, then with *Aiax* to boast of it with wordes, thy stocke shall not be the lesse but thy modesty the greater. Thou

1 ended *F rest* 2 pedegree *G*–1613: pedigree 1617 *rest* 4 in] by
G rest 5 y^u^ *C* the] thy *E*^1^ 21 descendeth *T rest* desist] differ
E rest 28 swearue *C*: swarue *G rest* 29 shouldst *E rest* shouldest
E^2^ *rest* 37 the^1^ *om. E rest*

liuest in *Athens* as the Waspe doth among Bees, rather to sting thē to gather Honny, and thou dealest with most of thy acquaintaunce as the Dogge doth in the maunger, who neyther suffereth the Horse to eate haye, nor will himselfe, for thou beeing idle, wilt not permitte any (as farre as in thee lyeth) to be well employed. Thou art an heyre to fayre lyuing, that is nothing, if thou be disherited of learning, for better were it to thee to enherit righteousnesse then riches, and farre more seemely were it for thee to haue thy studdye full of bookes, then thy purse full of money, to gette goodes is the benefite of Fortune, to keepe them the gifte of Wisedome. As therefore thou art to possesse them by thy fathers will, so arte thou to encrease them by thine owne witte.

But alas, why desirest thou to haue the reuenewes of thy parent & nothing regardest to haue his vertues? seekest thou by succession to enioye thy patrimony, and by vyce to obscure his pietie? wilt thou haue the tytle of his honour and no touch of his honestie? Ah *Alcius* remember y^t^ thou arte borne not to lyue after thine owne luste, but to learne to dye, whereby thou mayste lyue after thy death. I haue often hearde thy father saye and that with a deepe sighe the teares tricklinge downe his graye haires that thy mother neuer longed more to haue thee borne when she was in trauaile, then hee to haue thee dead to rydde him of trouble. And not seldome hath thy mother wished, that eyther hir wombe had ben thy graue or y^e^ ground hirs. Yea, al thy friends with open mouth desire eyther that God will send thee grace to amende thy lyfe, or griefe to hasten thy death. Thou wilt demaunde of mee in what thou dost offend: and I aske thee in what thou dost not sinne. Thou swearest thou arte not couetous, but I saye thou arte prodigall, and as much sinneth he that lauisheth without meane, as he that hoordeth without measure. But canst thou excuse thy selfe of vice in y^t^ thou art not couetous? certeinly no more then the murtherer would therefore be guiltlesse bicause he is no coyner.

But why go I about to debate reason w^t^ thee when thou hast no regard of honestie? though I leaue heere to perswade thee, yet will I not cease to pray for thee. In the meane season I desire thee, yea, & in Gods name commaund thee that if neither the care of thy parents whom thou shouldest comfort, nor the counsaile of thy friends

1 the *before* Bees E^2 *rest* 17 not born *G rest* 21 trauile *C*: trauell 1631–6 22 troubles *E rest* 24–5 that eyther *G rest* 31 coulde E^2 *rest* 35 I will *F* 36 I *before* command *G rest* that *om.* E^2 *rest*

which thou shouldest credit, nor the rigor of the lawe which thou oughtest to feare, nor the authority of the Magistrate which thou shouldest reuerence, can allure thee to grace: yet the lawe of thy Sauiour who hath redeemed thee, and the punishment of the almightie who continually threatneth thee, draw thee to amendement, otherwise as thou liuest now in sinne, so shalt thou die with shame and remaine with Sathan, from whome he that made thee, keepe thee.

¶ *Liuia from the Emperours court, to Euphues at Athens.*

IF sickenesse had not put mee to silence and the weaknesse of my body hindred the willingnesse of my minde, thou shouldest haue had a more speedy aunswere, and I no cause of excuse. I knowe it expedient to retourne an aunswere, but not necessary to wryte it in poste, for that in thinges of great importaunce wee commonly looke before wee leape, and where the heart droupeth through faintnesse, the hande is enforced to shake through feeblenesse. Thou sayest thou vnderstandest howe men liue in the courte, and of me thou desirest to knowe the estate of women, certes to dissemble with thee were to deceiue my selfe and to cloake the vanities in court were to clogge mine owne conscience wyth vices.

The Empresse keepeth hir estate royall and hir maydens will not leese an ynch of their honour, shee endeauoureth to sette downe good lawes and they to breake them, shee warneth them of excesse and they studye to exceede, she sayth that decent attire is good thoughe it be not costly, and they sweare vnlesse it bee deere it is not comely. She is heere accompted a slut that commeth not in hir silkes, and shee that hath not euerye fashion, hath no mans fauour. They that be most wanton are reputed most wise, and they that be the idlest liuers are deemed the finest louers. There is great quarrelling for beautie, but no question of honestie: to conclude, both women and men haue fallen heere in court to such agreement that they neuer iarre about matters of religion, bycause they neuer meane to reason of them. I haue wished oftentimes rather in the countrey to spinne, then in the courte to dawnce, and truely a distaffe doth better become a mayden then a Lute, and fitter it is

1 thou shouldest credit . . . which *om. E rest* 5 should *before* drawe *G rest* 15 it *om. T rest* 21 vanitie *E rest* 27 for *before* a *C rest* 30 the[1] *om. C*

with the nedle to practise howe to liue, then with the pen to learne how to loue.

The Empresse gyueth ensample of vertue, and the Ladyes haue no leasure to followe hir. I haue nothing els to write. Heere is no good newes, as for badde, I haue tolde sufficient: yet this I must adde that some there bee whiche for their vertue deserue prayse, but they are onely commended for theire beautie, for this thincke courtiers, that to be honest is a certeine kinde of countrey modestie, but to bee amiable the courtly curtesie.

I meane shortly to sue to the Empresse to bee dysmissed of the court, which if I obtayne I shall thincke it a good rewarde for my seruice to bee so well rydde from such seueritie, for beleeue mee there is scarce one in courte that eyther feareth GOD, or meaneth good. I thancke thee for the booke thou dyddest sende mee, and as occasion shall serue I wyll requyte thee. *Philautus* beginneth a little to lysten to counsayle, I wishe him well and thee too, of whome to heare so muche good it doth mee not a little good. Pray for mee as I doe for thee, and if opportunitie be offered write to me. *Farewell.*

¶ *Euphues to his friend Liuia.*

DEare *Liuia*, I am as gladde to heare of thy welfare as sorrowfull to vnderstande thy newes, and it doth mee as much good that thou art recouered, as harme to thincke of those which are not to be recured. Thou hast satisfied my request and aunswered my expectation. For I longed to knowe the manners of women, and looked to haue them wanton. I lyke thee well that thou wylte not conceale their vanities, but I loue thee the better that thou doest not followe them, to reproue sinne is the signe of true honour, to renounce it the part of honestie. All good men wyll accompte thee wyse for thy truth, and happye for thy tryall, for they saye, to absteine from pleasure is the chiefest pietie, and I thincke in courte to refraine from vice is no little vertue. Straunge it is that the sounde eye viewinge the sore shoulde not be dimmed, that they that handle pitch should not be defiled, that they that continue in court

5 must] may *E rest* 8 countrey *ACG*: countey *T*: country *M*: Country *E rest* 12 securitie *G rest* 15 requyte] write to *E rest* 17 not me *E rest* 24 which] that *G rest* 34 viewinge] viewing of *E rest* 34–5 he that handleth *G rest* 35 in] in the *CGE*^{2} *rest*: the *E*^{1}

should not be infected. And yet it is no great meruaile for by experience we see yᵗ the Adamant cannot drawe yron if yᵉ Diamond lye by it, nor vice allure yᵉ courtier if vertue be retained. Thou praysest the Empresse for instituting good lawes, and grieuest to see them violated by the Ladyes. I am sory to thincke it should be so, and I sigh in that it cannot be otherwise. Wher ther is no heed takẽ of a commaundement, there is small hope to be looked for of amendement. Where duetie can haue no show, honestie can beare no sway. They that cannot be enforced to obedience by authoritie, will neuer be wonne by fauour, for beeing without feare, they commonly are voide of grace: & as farre be they caried from honour as they be from awe, and as ready to dispise the good counsaile of their Peeres, as to contemne the good lawes of their Prince. But the breaking of lawes doth not accuse the Empresse of vice, neither shall hir makinge of them excuse the ladies of vanities. The Empresse is no more to be suspected of erring then the Carpenter that buildeth the house bee accused bicause theeues haue broken it, or the Mintmaister condemned for his coyne bicause the traitor hath clipped it. Certeinly God wil both reward the godly zeale of the Prince, and reuenge the godlesse doinges of the people.

Moreouer thou saist that in the court all be sluttes that swimme not in silkes, and that the idlest liuers are accompted the brauest louers. I cannot tell whether I should rather laugh at their folly or lament their phrensie, neither do I know whether the sinne bee greater in apparel which moueth to pride, or in affection which entiseth to peeuishnesse: the one causeth thẽ to forget themselues, yᵉ other to forgo their sences, ech do deceiue their soule. They yᵗ thinck one cannot be cleanly without pride, wil quickly iudge none to be honest without pleasure, which is as hard to confesse as to saye no meane to bee without excesse: thou wishest to be in the country wyth thy distaffe rather then to continue in the court wᵗ thy delights. I cannot blame thee, for *Greece* is as much to be commended for learning, as the court for brauery, & here maist thou liue with as good report for thine honestie, as they wyth renowme for their beautie. It is better to spinne with *Penelope* all night then to sing with *Helen* all daye. Huswifery in the countrey is as much praysed as honour in the court. We thinke it as great mirth to sing Psalmes, as you melody to chaunt Sonnets, & we accompt them

11 caried] carelesse *A–F* 27 forgo] forge E^2F do *A–E*¹: to E^2 *rest* 33 cõdemned *E rest*

as wyse that keepe their owne lands with credite, as you those that gette others lyuings by craft. Therefore if thou wilt follow my aduise and prosecute thine owne determination thou shalt come out of a warme Sunne into Gods blessing. Thou addest (I feare me also thou errest) that in the courte there be some of great vertue, wisedome and sobrietie, if it be so I lyke it, and in that thou sayst it is so, I beleeue it. It may be, and no doubte it is in the courte as in all riuers some Fish some Frogs, and as in all gardeins some flowers some weeds, and as in all trees some blossoms some blasts. *Nylus* breedeth the pretious stone and the poysoned Serpent. The court may as wel nourish vertuous Matrones as the lewde Minion. Yet this maketh me muse y^t^ they should rather bee commended for their beautie then for their vertue, which is an infallible argument that the delyghts of the flesh are preferred before y^e^ holynesse of the spirite. Thou sayst thou wilt sue to leaue thy seruice and I wil pray for thy good successe, when thou art come into the country I would haue thee first learne to forget all those thinges which thou hast seene in the court. I woulde *Philautus* were of thy minde to forsake his youthfull course, but I am glad thou writest that he beginneth to amend his condicions: he runneth farre that neuer retourneth, and hee sinneth deadly that neuer repenteth. I would haue him ende as *Lucilla* began without vyce, and not beginne as she ended without honestie. I loue the man well, but I cannot brooke his manners. Yet I conceiue a good hope that in his age he will be wise, for that in his youth I perceiued him wittie. Hee hath promised to come to *Athens*, which if he doe, I will so handle the matter that eyther he shall abiure the court for euer or absent himselfe for a yeare. If I bring the one to passe he shall forgoe his olde course, if the other forget his ill condicions. He that in court will thriue to reape wealth, and lyue warie to gette worship, must gayne by good conscience, and clyme by wisedome, otherwise his thrift is but theft where ther is no regard of gathering, and his honour but ambition, where there is no care but of promotion. *Philautus* is too simple to vnderstand the wyles in courte, and too young to vndermine any by crafte. Yet hath he showen himselfe as farre from honestie as he is from age, and as full of crafte as he is of courage. If it were for thy preferment and his amendment, I wish you were both married, but if he should continue his folly whereby thou shouldest fal from thy duetie I rather wish you both

17 these *EF* 24 yet *before* I^1^ *G rest* 33 of] for *E rest*

buryed. Salute him in my name and hasten his iourney, but forgette not thine owne. I haue occasion to goe to *Naples*, that I may with more speede arriue in *Englande*, where I haue heard of a woman that in all quallyties excelleth any man. which if it be so I shall thinke my labour as well bestowed as *Saba* did hirs, when shee trauayled to see *Salomon*. At my goinge if thou bee in *Naples* I will visite thee and at my retourne I will tell thee my iudgement. If *Philautus* come this Winter, he shall in this my pilgrimage be a partner, a pleasant companion is a bayte in a iourney. We shall there as I heare see a courte both brauer in shewe and better in substaunce, more gallaunt courtiers, more godlye consciences, as faire Ladyes and fairer conditions. But I will not vaunt before the victorie, nor sweare it is so vntill I see it be so. Farewell vnto whome aboue all I wish well.

I Haue finished the first part of *Euphues* whome now I lefte readye to crosse the Seas to *Englande*, if the winde sende him a shorte cutte you shall in the seconde part heare what newes he bringeth and I hope to haue him retourned within one Summer. In the meane season I wil stay for him in the country and as soone as he ariueth you shall know of his comming.

FINIS.

7 and *om. C rest* 10 braue *E rest* 11 consciences 1613 *rest*: consciues *A–F* 15–26 I Haue . . . comming. *A GE rest print like the rest of the tale in black letter, M in small romans, C in ordinary romans* 19 and *om. C rest* retournued *A* 27 *After* Finis. *A gives merely the printer East's device of a horse, without any colophon. I append the colophons found in M, C, G, D and No. 7 respectively, copying that of D from Prof. Arber's Reprint, and that of No. 7 from Hazlitt's Handbook*, 1867. *No later known ed. contains any colophon. T lacks the last two leaves*

Colophon of *M.* ¶ Imprinted at London by Thomas East, for | *Gabriel Cawood, dwelling in Paules Church-yard.* | *1579.*

Colophon of *C.* ¶ Imprinted at *London* by *Thomas* | East, for Gabriell Cawood, dwelling | in Paules Church-yard. | 1580.

Colophon of *G.* ¶ Imprinted at London by | Thomas East, for Gabriel Cawood, | dwelling in Paules Church-|yard. *1581.*

Colophon of *D.* AT LONDON printed by Thomas East for Gabriel Cawood, dwelling in Paules Churchyard. 1585.

Colophon of *No.* 7. At London Printed by Thomas East for Gabriel Cawood, dwelling in Pauls Churchyard. 1587.

To my very good friends the Gentlemen Scholers of Oxford[1].

THere is no priuiledge that needeth a pardon, neither is there any remission to be asked where a commission is graunted. I speake this Gentlemen, not to excuse the offence which is taken, but to offer a defence where I was mistaken. A cleere conscience is a sure card, truth hath the prerogatiue to speak with plainnes, & the modesty to beare with patience. It was reported by some & beleeued of many, that in the education of Ephœbus, where mention was made of Vniuersities, that Oxford was too much either defaced or defamed. I knowe not what the enuious haue picked out by mallice, or the curious by wit, or the guiltie by their owne galled consciences, but this I say, that I was as far from thinking ill, as I finde them from iudgeing well. But if I should now go about to make amends, I were thẽ faultie in somwhat amisse, and should

[1] This Address to the Gentlemen Scholars is given from M^1, the Bodleian copy of the third edition (collated with *T* and *C–F*), where it appears as an appendix after the colophon, occupying the whole of one leaf signed ¶ and a portion of a second. From M^2, the only other copy of the third edition known to me, the Address has been lost. Its appearance at the end is somewhat peculiar, for in the second edition, *T*, where it first appeared, the two leaves (¶) containing it were inserted between sigs. A and B immediately before the tale, and this difference of position may seem to favour an order for the two editions the reverse of that which I have adopted. But the change in *M* may be referable to a mistake in stitching the sheets; or its original position in the surviving copy of *T* may be so explicable; or, as is more probable, the intermediate character of the Address, which directs attention to the sequel, was emphasized in Lyly's mind by the approaching completion of that sequel. The first edition of *Euphues and his England* was to appear early in 1580; and Lyly, finding a third edition of *The Anatomy of Wit* called for before Christmas, 1579, transfers this apologetic and transitional Address to the end of the book. In the fourth edition however (*C*, Easter, 1580), it is restored to its former position, and compressed into a single leaf, no longer signed exceptionally ¶, but taken up into the regular system of signature by fours, appearing as B, while the tale commences on the next leaf, signed B ij, and numbered '2.' In the fifth edition (*G*, 1581) the identification of the Address with the tale is carried still further by printing it, like the tale, in black letter. I have retained it at the end as in M^1—a position in which its intermediate character is best marked.

8 by] of *G rest* 10 was[1]] is *G rest* 14 now *om. E rest*

shew my selfe lyke Appelles Prentice, who coueting to mend the nose, marred the cheeke: and not vnlyke the foolish Diar, who neuer thought his cloth blacke vntil it was burned. If any fault be committed impute it to Euphues, who knew you not, not to Lylly who hates you not.

Yet may I of all the rest most condemne Oxford of vnkindnes, of vice I cannot, who seemed to weane me before she brought me foorth, and to giue me boanes to gnaw, before I could get the teate to sucke. Wherin she played the nice mother in sēding me into the country to nurse, where I tyred at a dry breast three yeares, and was at the last enforced to weane my self. But it was destinie, for if I had not bene gathered from the tree in the budde, I should beeing blowne haue proued a blast, and as good it is to bee an addle egge as an idle bird.

Euphues at his ariuall I am assured will view Oxforde, where he will either recant his sayinges, or renew his complaintes, hee is now on the seas, & how he hath ben tossed I know not, but whereas I had thought to receiue him at Douer, I must meete him at Hampton.

Nothing can hinder his comming but death, neither any thing hasten his departure but vnkindnesse.

Concerning my selfe I haue alwayes thought so reuerently of Oxford, of the Schollers, of the manners, that I seemed to be rather an Idolater, then a blasphemer. They that inuented this toy were vnwise, & they that reported it vnkinde, and yet none of them can proue me vnhonest.

But suppose I glaunced at some abuses: Did not Iupiters Egge bring foorth aswel Helen a light huswife in earth, as Castor a light Starre in Heauen? The Estritch that taketh the greatest pride in hir fethers, picketh some of the worst out and burneth them, ther is no tree but hath some blast, no countenaunce but hath some blemish, and shall Oxford then bee blamelesse? I wish it were so, yet I cannot thinke it is so. But as it is, it may be better, & were it badder it is not the worst.

I thinke there are fewe Vniuersities that haue lesse faults then Oxford, many that haue more, none but hath some.

But I commit my cause to the consciences of those, that either know what I am, or can gesse what I shold be, the one will aunswere

4 Lyly *CG*: Lylie *E rest* 5 hate *G* 17 had *TM*^{1} *only* 22 of the^{2}] and of the *EF*: and of their 1613 *rest* 27 light^{2}] bright *E*^{2} *rest* 32 yet] but *C rest* 35 hath] haue *G rest*

themselues in construing friendly, the other if I knew them I would satisfie reasonably.

Thus loath to incurre the suspition of vnkindenesse in not telling my minde, and not willyng to

make any excuse where there need no amends,
I can neither craue pardon, least I shoulde
confesse a faulte, nor conceale my
meaning, least I shoulde bee
thought a foole. And so
I ende, yours assu-
red to vse.

Iohn Lylly.

12 Lyly *CG*: Lylie *E rest, exc.* 1617 Lillie

NOTES

THE ANATOMY OF WYT

Page 177. *Title.* EUPHVES. THE ANATOMY OF WYT: The name of Lyly's hero, and the suggestion for his second title, *The Anatomy* [or Explanation] *of Wyt* is borrowed, as Morley says (*Eng. Writers*, viii. 301), from Roger Ascham's *Scholemaster* (1570), p. 38, ed. Arb.—'But concerning the trewe notes of the best wittes for learning in a childe, I will reporte, not myne own opinion, but the very iudgement of him, that was counted the best teacher and wisest man that learning maketh mention of, and that is Socrates in Plato (*Plato* in 7 de Rep.), who expresseth orderlie thies seuen plaine notes to choise a good witte in a child for learninge. 1. Εὐφυής. 2. Μνήμων. 3. Φιλομαθής. 4. Φιλόπονος. 5. Φιλήκοος. 6. Ζητητικός. 7. Φιλέπαινος. And bicause I write English, and to Englishemen, I will plainlie declare in Englishe both, what thies wordes of Plato meane, and how aptlie they be linked, and how orderlie they folow one an other.

'1. Εὐφυής. Is he, that is apte by goodnes of witte, and appliable by readines of will, to learning, hauing all other qualities of the minde and partes of the bodie, that must an other day serue learning, not trobled, mangled, and halfed, but sounde, whole, full, and hable to do their office,' &c. The literal meaning of εὐφυής is 'well-natured.' Lyly's general idea seems to be a young man of good birth and breeding.

The fame of Lyly's book induced his contemporaries to borrow the name of his hero for their own title-pages, e.g. Greene's *Euphues his censure to Philautus*, 1587, and *Menaphon. Camillas Alarum to slumbering Euphues, in his melancholie Cell at Silexedra*, 1589: Lodge's *Rosalynd. Euphues Golden Legacie*, 1590, and *Euphues Shadow*, 1592: while the second title is imitated in Stubbes' *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583, and Nash's *Anatomie of Absurditie*, 1589.

P. 179, lines 1–3. *Dedication*: *To . . . Sir William West Knight, Lord Delaware*: for this person see *Life*, pp. 12, 20, and genealogy, p. 48. Lyly's relation to him must remain obscure.

7. *Parativs*: Parrhasius. The story, like that of Alexander and Apelles below, is of Lyly's invention. Neither is found in Pliny or Plutarch, his sources for most of these tales of the painters.

9. *Vulcan . . . with hir Mole.* Lyly is thinking of Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, i. 29. 80–3, where Cicero questions whether we are to conceive the gods as having slight physical blemishes — moles (*naevos*) are mentioned—and praises a statue of Vulcan by Alcamenes, 'in quo apparet claudicatio non deformis.'

10. *polt foote*: club foot, lit. chicken foot; again of Vulcan, p. 239.

13. *quod*: older form of 'quoth.'

19. *finest Veluet with his bracke*: i.e. break, flaw. Repeated p. 184. This set of comparisons (as Mr. P. A. Daniel points out to me) is verbally borrowed in *A Merrie Knack to Know a Knave*, c. 1590:

'As the rose hath his prickle, the finest velvet his brack,
The fairest flower his bran, so the best wit his wanton will.'
(Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vi. 525.)

24. *Cyrus . . . hoked nose*: Plutarch, *Reg. et Imp. Apophtheg. Cyri I*, says the Persians love hooked noses because Cyrus' was such. Again, p. 57, l. 21.

26. *Homer . . . flattering.* Perhaps from Plutarch, *De Audiendis Poetis*, c. iv. (ad init.).

27. *Alexander . . . quaffing*: i. e. Plutarch, who decides the question against his hero (*Quaest. Conv.* i. 6).

Demonydes . . . crooked shooe . . . wry foote: Plutarch, *De Aud. Poet.* c. iii. (ad fin.), where the cripple Demonides 'hoped his shoes would fit' the man who had stolen them. Cf. like imagery, vol. ii. p. 7, ll. 5–10; *Endim.* v. 3. 110.

P. 180, 1. *Damocles*, &c. There was a beautiful Athenian boy of that name (Plut. *Demetrius*, xxiv. 2).

9. *ought not to impute it to the iniquitie of the author.* So Geoffrey Fenton in the Epistle Ded. of his *Tragicall Discourses*, 1567, explains that his licentious passages are intended morally, 'approuing sufficiently the inconuenience happenynge by the pursuite of lycenceous desyer.' But whatever might be said of Fenton, or of Gascoigne's *Hundreth Flowres*, 1573, Lyly's work always respects the decencies.

28. *latchet*: shoe-strap. Pliny, xxxv. 36 assigns the saying to Apelles.

P. 181, 2. *neete . . . Iuie-bush*: ivy was sacred to Bacchus. *Moth. Bomb.* ii. 2. 10 'gone into this Iuy-bush.'

4. *glose*: gloss.

12. *paynting is meter for ragged walls thẽ fine Marble.* Borrowed from Pettie's *Pallace* (ent. *S. R.* 1576), 'the fyne Marble you knowe needeth no paynting, that is needful onely for ragged walles' (fol. 91). See Introd. Essay, p. 138, note 2.

16. *beare the whitest mouthes.* Four times in *Euphues*, but not elsewhere. (1) Originally of a quiet horse that does not make the bit bloody by champing and fretting; *Euph. and his Eng.* p. 225, l. 7 'with a gentle rayne they will bear a white mouth,' and p. 21, l. 14 'his young colt

will neuer beare a white mouth without a harde bridle.' (2) From this sense of gentle temper is derived that of mincing, affectation, and fastidiousness, as in the present passage, and *Euph. and his Eng.* p. 82, l. 10 'beautifull woemen do first of all allure them that haue the wantonnest eyes and the whitest mouthes.'

17. *English men desire to heare finer speach*, &c.: Introd. Essay, pp. 134, 142-3, 148.

P. 182, 3. *packe*: the pedlar's pack, hospitable to the popular and ephemeral, ballads, broadsides, &c. Cf. Autolycus.

5-6. *at Christmas*: entered *Sta. Reg.* Dec. 2, 1578.

6. *broken*: torn. *Piers Plow.* B. ix. 91 'his broke clothes.' Still used in the West.

7. *Haberdasshers*: sellers of small wares, pedlars.

14. *fulsome*: again p. 266, l. 10 'fulsome feeding'; and, fig., *Moth. Bomb.* ii. 3. 75 'nothing so fulsome as a shee foole.'

22. *hold the plucking on*: endure the strain of pulling on.

23. *last the running ouer*: detain a careless reader till the end is reached.

27. *deuotion in print*: passion for seeing myself in print.

P. 183, 2. *flatterers a thanke . . . currant*: if anything win favour, there will be plenty to claim the credit of having helped it into notice.

5. *to quippe*: to sneer. Cf. p. 184 'smoth quipping.'

P. 184, 1. *There dwelt in Athens*: betraying the adoption of matter from Guevara (Introd. Essay, pp. 137, 155).

9. *of more wit then wealth, and yet*, &c.: cf. p. 185 'a place of more pleasure then profite, and yet of more profite then pietie'; and p. 84, l. 35 'of greater beautie thē . . . and yet of lesse beautie thē,' &c.

16. *Rose . . . veluet*: repeated, like Venus' mole below, from Ep. Ded. p. 179.

27. *gloses*: panegyrics.

30. *freshest colours soonest fade*: Pettie's *Pallace*, fol. 52 v. 'as the freshest colours soonest fade the hue . . . so [like Euphues] the finer wit he was indued withal, the sooner was he made thral and subiect to loue.'

the teenest Rasor . . . tourneth his edge: I retain *teenest* (altered to 'keenest' by E rest) although not given by Skeat or Whitney, being convinced of its genuineness by the alliteration '*t*eenest . . . *t*ourneth' corresponding to '*f*reshest . . . *f*ade' above, and by its recurrence, *Euph. and his Eng.* p. 34, l. 3 'setting a teene edge.' Probably a popular corruption of 'keen.'

P. 185, 1. *finest cloathe*, &c.: Pettie's *Pallace*, fol. 65 v. 'no Cloth so fine, but Mothes wyl eate it.'

15. *put a rod vnder their gyrdle*: again *Endim.* ii. 2. 14 'Away peeuish boy, a rodde were better vnder thy girdle, than loue in thy mouth.

18. *retchles*: a variant of 'reckless'; so in 17th *Article* 'wretchlessness.'

21. *witte . . . better if . . . deerer bought*: 'Wit is neuer good till it be bought,' John Heywood's *Proverbes*, 1546 (Sharman's reprint, p. 31).

35. *fleetest fishe swalloweth*, &c.: cf. p. 210, l. 12 'the pleasaunt bayte, that causeth y^e^ fleetest fish to bite.'

P. 186, 1. *trayneth*: is attracted. No other inst. quoted of this intransitive use.

5. *soake*: cf. *Hamlet*, iv. 2. 16 'a sponge that soaks up the king's countenance.'

sooth hys person: '*Sooth*, flatter immoderatelie, &c. Baret, 1580' (Skeat). So p. 282, l. 14.

14. *Aristippus*: with Damon (above) and Eubulus (p. 12), he figures prominently in Edwardes' *Damon and Pithias*, lic. 1567.

18. *in Crete, I can lye, if in Greece . . . shift, if in Italy . . . court*: so again vol. ii. p. 24 ll. 18–20.

21. *abstaine with Romulus*: Pliny, xiv. 14 'Romulum lacte non vino libasse, indicio sunt sacra ab eo instituta,' a sobriety due to poverty. Cf. p. 250, l. 20.

22. *watch with Chrisippus*: the Stoic philosopher, whose zeal in learning is mentioned p. 276 (note).

P. 187, 6. *beholdinge*: a common mistake for beholden, as in *Merry Wives*, i. 1. 283 (Skeat).

13. *cockeringe*: again p. 250, l. 35, and *M. Bomb.* i. 2. 27 'his sonne whom with cockring he hath made wanton,' and *King John*, v. 1. 7 'a cockered silken wanton.'

30. *curious knottes*: flower-beds of fanciful pattern: cf. 'treade the knottes,' p. 205, l. 7. Landmann quotes *L. L. L.* i. 1. 249 'thy curious-knotted garden.'

mixe Hisoppe wyth Time: Landmann quotes *Othello*, i. 3. 325 'set hyssop and weed up thyme' (of gardening).

P. 188, 12. *Lacedemonians . . . shewe . . . dronken men*: Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*, c. 28 ὥστε καὶ πίνειν ἀναγκάζοντες πολὺν ἄκρατον, εἰς τὰ συσσίτια παρεισῆγον ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τὸ μεθύειν οἷον ἐστὶ τοῖς νέοις. The other two instances—Persian and Parthian—are perhaps of Lyly's invention, founded on this. I find nothing in Plutarch or Xenophon.

23. *a woman so exquisite . . . Pigmalions Image*, &c.: Landmann aptly quotes *Meas. for Meas.* iii. 2. 49 'What, is there none of Pygmalion's images, newly made woman, to be had now, for putting the hand in the pocket and extracting it clutched?'—one of many passages which prove Shakespeare's close knowledge of *Euphues*; for even if Lyly's story had an original, the reference to Pygmalion, a favourite with him, was probably imported.

P. 189, 7. *pykes*: rocks; properly 'sharp points'; common of hills. Cf. p. 253, l. 25.

8. *Syrtes . . . sincke into Semphlagades*: for the sake of his antithesis Lyly ignores geography, and incurs the imputation of supposing the Symplegades quicksands.

9. *Lacedemonian . . . Neapolitan*: recalling the three instances quoted above; while *the Neapolitan* is the speaker, Eubulus.

13–5. *Is not hee accompted . . . warie?* 'Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum,' quoted *Midas*, v. 2. 38, cited as 'versus vulgò iactatus' in Erasmus' *Adagia*, Basle, 1574 fol. in illustration of Pliny's 'Optimum est aliena insania frui,' *N. H.* xviii. 5. Parallels are also quoted from Cicero and Plautus.

22. *crazed*: apparently of the first slight crack. P. 205 'well dothe he know that the glasse once crased will with the leaste clappe be cracked.'

greenest Beeche burneth faster, &c.: the alchemists in the *Chanouns Yem. Tale*, 375, attribute their failure to the fire being 'nat maad of beech': cf. the Alchemist in *Gallathea*, ii. 3. 78.

25. *most ryfest*: 'most frequently,' properly 'abundantly.' As adj. and adv. in ME, and cf. Pettie's *Pallace*, fol. 29 v. 'freshest colours soonest fade, and ripest fruite are rifest rotten.'

32. *Colliquintida*, &c.: *Othello*, i. 3. 350 'bitter as coloquintida.' The colocynth or bitter apple. With *pottage* (E rest) for *porredge*, cf. *Midas*, Prol.

33. *yron Mole*: our 'iron mould.'

35. *staringe and starke blinde*: Heywood's *Proverbes* (Reprint, p. 141).

37. *sulloume*: sullen.

thy attyre bee comely, &c.: borrowed, like the situation, in *Hamlet*, i. 3, Polonius and Laertes.

P. 190, 11. *Father and fricnde*: so Callimachus to his uncle, in vol. ii. p. 27.

14. *standes mee vppon*: cf. p. 52, l. 16, &c.

16. *controwle you*: i. e. rebuke. "1612 Shelton *Quix.* i. Pref. 9 'To be controaled for the Evil, or rewarded for the Good'" (Murray).

23. *peeuishnesse*: folly. Cf. p. 321, l. 26 'peeuishnesse . . . causeth the to forgo their sences'; *M. Bomb.* i. 3. 90 'Parents in these daies are growen pieuish,' and often.

25. *so many men . . . mindes*: Ter. *Phormio*, ii. 4. 14.

28. *carterly*: 'churlish.'

Plato . . . good company: *Camp.* i. 2. 43 'Plato is the best fellow of all Phylosophers.'

29. *Tymon*: Plutarch's *Antonius*, c. 70.

30. *Stoyckes . . . lyke stockes*: same pun, p. 210, borrowed by Shakespeare, *Taming*, i. 1. 31.

36. *smother*: smoulder. Whitney quotes Quarles' *Emblems*, ii. 14 'What fenny trash maintains the smoth'ring fires?'

P. 191, 1. *perfumes doth refresh*: for the old plural cf. vol. ii. p. 72, l. 20 'them that cares not,' p. 206, l. 11 'windes blasteth towardly blossomes.'

9. *Palme tree to mounte*: possibly Plin. xvi. 81 'Pondus sustinere validae, abies, larix . . . Robur, olea, incurvantur ceduntque ponderi . . . Et palmae arbor valida: in diversum enim curvatur,' &c. Cf. vol. ii. p. 76, l. 35 'the more it is loaden the better it beareth.'

12. *haggardnes*: wildness, *haggard* (p. 219, l. 35) being a wild hawk.

13. *haue no shew*: again, pp. 209, l. 32, 321, l. 8. See note on *wrinckle*, vol. ii. p. 153, l. 13.

16. *pownde spices*: Pettie's *Pallace*, f. 11 v. 'as Spices, the more they are beaten, the sweeter sent they send forth.'

28. *waxinge and melting brayne*: *waxinge* is merely 'ageing,' though of course with pun.

32. *stone Abeston . . . once . . . hotte . . . neuer colde*: the spelling *Abeston* shows that Lyly sometimes looked outside Pliny for his similes. Pliny has only (xxxvii. 54) 'Asbestos in Arcadiae montibus nascitur, coloris ferrei.' But in Barthol. Anglicus, xvi. 12 we find 'Abeston is a stone of Archadia with yron colour: and hathe that name of fire. If it be ones kyndlyd, it neuer quencheth,' and he refers to Isidore of Seville, bk. xv. De Gemmis. *Abeston* does duty again, *Sap. and Ph.* iv. 3. 82, *M. Bomb.* i. 3. 125. Landmann supposed a pun on 'stone.'

33. *fire . . . forced downewarde? . . . Nature . . . after kinde?* Arist. *Eth.* ii. 1. 2 οὐθὲν γὰρ τῶν φύσει ὄντων ἄλλως ἐθίζεται . . . οὐδὲ τὸ πῦρ κάτω, κ.τ.λ.

P. 192, 4. *Impe*: graft, offspring; appropriate to 'Nature,' above. Again, p. 248, l. 8.

6. *Cicero . . . followe and obey Nature*: this Stoic doctrine, or rather Peripatetic modification of it, is the subject of books iii–v of the *De Finibus*: cf. esp. v. 9 'Ita finis bonorum existit, secundum Naturam vivere, sic affectum, ut optime affici possit, ad naturamque accommodatissime.'

8. *Aristotle . . . Nature . . . maketh nothing . . . vnperfect*: often in Aristotle, e. g. *De Caelo*, ii. 11 ἡ δὲ φύσις οὐδὲν ἀλόγως οὐδὲ μάτην ποιεῖ.

22. *youthly*: again pp. 194, l. 7, 250, l. 28 (in G rest), vol. ii. p. 23, l. 23 and *Fa. Queene*, I. v. 7 'fiers, and full of youthly heat.'

P. 193, 11. *eyther . . . eyther*: either . . . or. Again p. 209 'either woulde I were . . . , eyther I would we were,' &c., and p. 271, l. 12.

13. *canckred*: infected or infectious, as in Milton's *Arcades*, 53 'cankered venom.'

18. *it is y^e^ disposition of the thought*, &c. *Hamlet*, ii. 2. 252 'there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so.'

19. *The Sun shineth . . . dungehill*, &c.: in a volume of devotional readings and exercises, *The Treasure of Heauenly Philosophie . . . By T. P.* [Thomas Palfreyman] . . . *Imprinted at London for William Norton*, 1578, 8°, with which Lyly may have been acquainted, occurs

near the end as an illustration of 'Cleane Minde'—'the Sunne . . . is nothing more defiled by shining vppon a fowle puddle, noysome carrion, or stincking doonghil.' Cf. *Hamlet*, ii. 2. 181 'if the sun breed maggots in a dead dog, being a god kissing carrion,' &c.

21. *Christall toucheth the Toade, and is not poysoned*: Pliny, xxxvii. 15 'Adamas et venena irrita facit.'

22. *birde Trochilus lyueth by the mouth*: supports itself on. Pliny, viii. 37 'pabuli sui gratia os eius repurgans.'

29. *moyst braine*: here clearly of weakness of brain. 'Dry brain,' e. g. Touchstone's; is perhaps 'costive brain,' one whose fruits are fragmentary and disconnected, 'vented in mangled forms.'

35. *assone catch a Hare with a Taber*: again *Euph. and his Eng.* p. 99, l. 11. This proverb for impossibility occurs in Heywood (p. 58, Sharman's reprint): the association with music may have originated in the creature's supposed melancholy—'melancholy as a hare,' 1 *Henry IV*, i. 2.

P. 194, 7. *quatted*: surfeited, properly pressed down, oppressed. Greene's *Menaphon*, p. 46, ed. Arb. 'quatted with silence.'

8. *quesie*: nauseating. No satisfactory parallel for this active sense, except R. L. Stevenson's *Inland Voyage*, p. 132 'a queasy sense' that he would never wear dry clothes again (Whitney).

9. *huddles*: *M. Bombie*, ii. 1. 38 'these old huddles'; also v. 3. 77: either of bowed figure or number of wraps (Nares). But cf. p. 247, l. 4, note.

17. *burne hemlocke . . . Bees*: *Sapho*, Prol. at Court, 'burn hemlocke, a ranke poyson.'

21. *Camelion . . . most guttes, draweth least breath*: reversing or altering Barth. Angl. xviii. 21 'and what is in his body is but of lytell fleshe & hath but lytell blood . . . And it is sayde that the camelion lyueth only by ayre,' which Lyly follows more closely *Endim.* iii. 4. 129 'Loue is a Camelion, which draweth nothing into the mouth but ayre, and nourisheth nothing in the bodie but lunges.' Pliny says, xi. 72 'Chamaeleoni (pulmo) portione maximus, et nihil aliud intus,' and xxviii. 29 'cum id animal nullo cibo vivat,' cf. xi. 31. Hamlet (iii. 2. 93) fares 'of the chameleon's dish: I eat the air, promise-crammed.'

25. *wayed without*: i. e. from outside, by others.

27. *Birde Taurus*: Plin. x. 57 'Est [avis] quae boum mugitus imitetur, in Arelatensi agro taurus appellata, alioqui parva.'

thunder . . . a lyttle stone: cf. 'the thunderstone,' *Jul. Caes.* i. 3. 49, *Cymb.* iv. 2. 271; and vol. ii. p. 106, l. 10 'he that hath escaped lightning hath beene spoyled with thunder.'

32. *to looke it*: i. e. look for it. Fletcher, *Wit without Money*, iv. 5 'I come To look a young man I call brother.'

P. 195, 2. *good cheape*: Fr. *bon marché*.

16. *no pennye good siluer*, &c.: silver pennies coined 1561, -2, -4, -9, 1572, -3, -4, -5, -7 (Hawkins). Cf. vol. ii. p. 94, l. 4.

19. *geason*: rare. Stubbes, *Anat. of Abuses* (1583), ii. 5 'Rare birds vpon the earth, and as geason as blacke swans.'

21. *if one bee harde in conceiuing*, &c.: hence, or from the women's talk of men, pp. 249, 253, Shakespeare borrowed Beatrice 'spelling men backward,' *Much Ado*, iii. 1. 60–70.

26. *Quae supra nos nihil ad nos*: ascribed to Socrates in Taverner's Selection from Erasmus' *Adages* (1552), fol. xx.

29. *Sympathia*: common liability to. The word was still new.

30. *but a payre of sheeres*, &c.: i.e. cut out of the same piece, of a piece. *Meas. for Meas.* i. 2. 29, and Basse (p. 61, ed. Bond) 'For certainely went but the sheares betwixt.'

31. *layeth cushions vnder the elbowe*: of flattery or fair speech. Mart. Marprel. *Epistle*, 1588, p. 32, ed. Arber 'you sow pillowes vnder Haruies elbowes ... because you would borow an 100 pound of him.' So *Camp.* iv. 3. 31 'lay a pillowe vnder his head.'

33. *feate*: cf. *Cymb.* v. 5. 88 'A Page ... so feate.'

P. 196, 1. *the Cammocke*: crooked staff or crook. Again, vol. ii. pp. 23. l. 21, 169 l. 15; *Sapho*, ii. 4. 108; *Endim.* iii. 1. 36 'Timely crookes that tree that wil be a camock,' a proverb given among Heywood's (Reprint, p. 159).

3. *the Camomill ... trodden ... spreadeth*: parodied by Falstaff 1 *Henry IV*, ii. 4. 443: see Introd. Essay, pp. 133, 150, notes. But Lyly is pilfering from Pettie's *Pallace*, f. 11 v. 'as the hearbe Camamile, the more it is troden downe, the more it spreadeth abroade,' &c.

12. *occupyed*: used, as above, l. 3, and vol. ii. p. 32, l. 2 'The brasse y^t^ they occupy is brought in from beyond sea.'

24. *stande so on their pantuffles*: of pride, self-reliance. P. 255 'Stande thou on thy pantuffles, and shee will vayle bonnet.' Landmann quotes Cotgrave '*Se tenir sur le haut bout*, to stand upon his pantofles, or on high tearmes.' 'Pantables' made 'higher with corke,' *Endim.* ii. 2. 32.

P. 197, 3–6. *I haue red ... that a friend*, &c.: i.e. in Cicero, *De Amic.* xx–xxii, where occurs 'Est enim is quidem tamquam alter idem.'

18. *eate a bushell of salt*, &c.: i.e. see a good deal of him first. Cic. *De Amic.* xix 'verumque illud est quod dicitur, multos modios salis simul edendos esse, ut amicitiae munus expletum sit.' Again, p. 247, l. 9, and Pettie's *Pallace*, f. 67 r. 'The philosophers wyl vs to eate a bushel of Salt with a man, before we enter into strict familiaritie with him.'

25. *pheere*: fellow. 'Pheare,' p. 230, l. 23, of Lucilla's mate.

32. *dissolued vpon a light occasion*, &c.: from Pettie, f. 1 r. 'The friendshyp amongest men is grounded vpon no law, and dissolued vpon euery lyght occasion.'

P. 198, 23. *Damon to his Pythias ... Lælius*: four of these five instances occur together in Hyg. *Fab.* 257, and the fifth (Titus and Gysippus) appears in a sentence of Pettie's *Pallace*, the exact form of

which is here borrowed—'assure your selfe that neuer Pithias to his Damon, Pylades to his Orestes, nor Gisippus to his Titus was more true, then I wyl be to you,' f. 40 r. Again, in Lyly's Part II, vol. ii, p. 102, l. 37 'Titus must lust after Sempronia, Gisippus must leaue her.' The Revels Accounts record 'The Historye of Titus and Gisippus showen at Whitehall on Shroue-tuysdaie at night [1576-7], enacted by the Children of Pawles' (*Extracts*, p. 114); and the play is probably the origin of these allusions, the plot taken perhaps from some Italian tale of Tito and Giuseppe, for I cannot find that Gysippus is classical.

34. *curiositie*: nice ceremony.

P. 199, 21. *a towne borne childe*: in *M. Bomb.* iv. 2. 223 the wags are 'towne borne children.'

22. *continuance*. The play with 'countenaunce' is repeated, vol. ii. p. 4, l. 36.

34. *wanne . . . worne*: *Much Ado*, v. 1. 82 'Win me and wear me' (Landmann).

36. *banes*: banns, as *M. Bomb.* v. 3. 269.

P. 200, 26. *bringe my shadowe*: Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* vii. 6 uses σκιά for a guest brought unbidden.

P. 201, 15. *He that worst . . . candell*: proverb quoted Pettie's *Pallace*, f. 65 r.

17. *your lyste*: your pleasure, will; so vol. ii. pp. 44, l. 3, 103, l. 12 and *Oth.* ii. 1. 105 'when I have list to sleep.'

29. *It hath bene a question often disputed*, &c.: for the form and substance cf. Pettie's *Pall.* f. 37 'It is a doubt often debated, but yet not decided, whether loue discendeth,' &c.

P. 202, 1-2. *The foule Toade*, &c.: this famous mediaeval superstition, to which Shakespeare's line (*A. Y. L. I.* i. 2. 12) has given universal notoriety, is not found in Pliny, though he speaks of 'batrachites,' a stone resembling a frog in colour, and of 'cinaediae' (xxxvii. 56), a kind found in the brain of the fish 'cinaedus.' Whitney says that 'crapodinus' and 'bufonites' appear in mediaeval Latin, and 'crapaudine' in French of the fourteenth century; while the stone in the toad's head is spoken of as 'borax' by Albertus Magnus and others—the 'botrax' of Barthol. Angl. xviii. c. 17, who borrows the name from Isidore of Seville (Gk. βότραχος or βάτραχος), 12 *Orig.* 4. 35. Steevens' note on Shakespeare's line quotes allusion to it in *A Green Forest or a Natural History*, by John Maplett, 1567, and the following from Edward Fenton's *Secrete Wonders of Nature*, 4°, B. L. 1569 'That there is founde in the heades of old and great toades a stone which they call Borax or Stelon; it is most commonly founde in the head of a hee toad, of power to repulse poysons, and that it is a most soveraigne medicine for the stone.'

8. *in paynted pottes . . . poyson*: so below 'sower poyson in a siluer potte,' and p. 222, l. 15. Scoffed at in Harvey's *Advt. to Papp-Hatchett*

(*Archaica*, ii. 139) 'his gem-mint is not always current; and, as busy men, so painted boxes and gallipots must have a vacation.' It is from Pettie, however (fol. 71 v.) 'as in fayre painted pots poyson is oft put, and in goodly sumptuous Sepulchres rotten bones are rife.' Lyly has the sepulchres below, and again *Camp.* ii. 2. 56.

9. *greenest grasse . . . greatest Serpent*: Pettie, f. 52 v. 'vnder most greene grasse, lye most great Snakes, and vnder entising baytes, intanglyng hookes,' which means no more than that snakes are found in grass. There is no authority for Lyly's perversion. He has the 'hookes' just below.

11–2. *Cypresse . . . no fruite*: Plin. xvi. 60 'fructu supervacua.' Cf. *Loves Met.* i. 2. 11.

19–20. *a sweete Panther with a deuouring paunch*: Plin. viii. 23 'Ferunt odore earum mire sollicitari quadrupedes cunctas': but Lyly lifted it from Pettie's *Pallace*, fol. 34 r. 'the Panther, who with his gay colours and sweete smell, allureth other beastes vnto him, and being within his reache, he rauenously deuoureth them.' Dr. Rich. Morris in *An Old English Miscellany* (Pref. p. viii, 1872) asked—'Without reference to a Bestiary, what meaning has the following passage in Lyly, where he compares flatterers to "Panthers which haue a sweete smell, but a deuouringe minde" [p. 282]?' The panther with its alluring smell is supposed to have furnished one of the Christian emblems in the early *Physiologus* of the fourth or fifth century; but the lines in Dr. Morris' Bestiary present no close resemblance of diction; they interpret the panther's sweet breath of Christ's love, and not of flatterers; and the MS. was not printed before 1837.

22. *make such course accompt of theyr passionate louers*: 'treat their passion so much as a matter of course,' and so 'of no importance'; cf. pp. 235, l. 33, 254, l. 11 'the countenaunce she sheweth to thee of course, the loue she beareth to others of zeale,' and *Euph. and his Eng.* p. 141, l. 3 'Thou thinkest all I write, of course, and makest all I speake, of small accompt.' Cf. p. 261, l. 6 'a course which we ought to make a course accompte off.' Landmann explains it as = 'coarse.'

24. *straight laced, and . . . high in the insteppe*: the former term of manners, here, rather than morals. The latter phrase occurs for pride, *Euph. and his Eng.* p. 179, l. 5, and *Endim.* ii. 2. 34: both together in Heywood's *Proverbes*, 1546 (p. 66 of Sharman's Reprint). Cf. also *Midas*, iii. 3. 33.

27. *traines*: lures.

P. 203, 6. *blacke crowes foote*: this and 'the blacke Oxe,' &c., are repeated as signs of old age in *Sapho and Phao*, iv. 2. 20, and *Loves Met.* iv. 1. ad fin.

7. *blacke Oxe treade on their foote*: proverb for misfortune or decay (Nares). It occurs in Martin Marprelate's *Epitome*, p. 10 'the blacke Oxe hath troden on his foote, he hath had some trial by woful experience.

what small credite . . . there is . . . in disputing with these fellows.' And Heywood's *Proverbes* (reprint, p. 28).

23. *ouerthwartnesse*: lit. 'lying athwart,' then 'contrariness.' Cf. *Cent. Dict.* s. v. Cf. *ouerthwarts* in *Camp.* iii. 2. 38.

30. *affection will shadow it*: i.e. partiality will cloud it, and make her pronounce women the less easily allured. Lucilla 'takes him napping' by asserting the contrary, so that he is compelled to argue for their steadfastness, quite against his previous discourse. It is his ready wit in meeting this demand that so enchains Lucilla, pp. 205, l. 11, 206, l. 26.

P. 204, 17. *stone of Sicilia . . . the more it is beaten*, &c.: again *Saph.* &c. ii. 4. 13 'our Sycilyan stone,' &c.; carelessly from Pettie's *Pallace*, fol. 84 v. 'lyke the stone of *Scilitia*, which the more it is beaten, the harder it is.' The stones of *Cilicia* are mentioned Pliny, xxxvi. 47 as good whetstones.

30. *ciuilitie*: self-control.

35. *alteration*: 'distemper.' Again vol. ii. p. 223, l. 15. Cf. 'altereth,' vol. ii. p. 54, l. 24. See Murray s. v.

P. 205, 4. *frie in the flames of loue*: *Endim.* v. 3. 124 of Tellus 'fryed my selfe most in myne affections.'

6. *entred into these termes and contrarieties*: from Pettie; see Introd. Essay, p. 142.

13. *fyled*: polished. Cf. 'the fine and filed phrases of Cicero,' p. 287, l. 18.

17. *A starter*: one who shrinks from his purpose, a runaway. Whitney quotes Heywood, *If you know not me*, 'You need not bolt and lock so fast; | She is no starter.' Again, p. 222, l. 10 of Jason.

31. *Eagles wynge . . . wast the fether*, &c.: Landmann, 'waste' = 'out-tire'; but cf. Pliny, x. 4 'Aquilarum pennae mixtas reliquarum alitum pennas devorant,' a reference repeated *Gallathea*, iii. 4. 45.

P. 206, 11. *kynde spanyell*: well-bred spaniel, true to his kind. So *vnkynde*, p. 206, l. 31 'unnatural.' Again, p. 249, l. 7 of the spaniel's fawning; and *Euph. and his Eng.* p. 130, l. 29 'the vnkinde hounde . . . or the bastarde Spanyell.'

21. *Emeraulde . . . his wonderfull propertie*: Pliny, xxxvii. 16, assigns it the third place among stones, chiefly for its colour at once so pleasing and restful to the eye. The diamond, and pearl (Indian or Arabian), occupy the first and second places. The sapphire figures long afterwards, in c. 39.

33. *wonne with a Nut . . . lost with an Apple*: i.e. lightly lost, as won. In Heywood's *Proverbes* (reprint, p. 41).

P. 207, 11. *touch*: touchstone, a name given to a hard black granite, used as a test for gold. (Nares.) Again, p. 219, l. 15, vol. ii. p. 122 l. 5.

15. *supersticiously*: scrupulously, as 'supersticious not to desire it,' p. 210, l. 15.

P. 208, 2. *cookemate*: partner, companion. Cf. 'not disdayning their cockmates' of children, pp. 278, l. 22, 280, l. 1. See Murray s.v. Perhaps the prefix is connected with 'cocker,' of children brought up together.

9–10. *Sea Crabbe . . . agaynst the streame*: cf. *Camp.* iii. 5. 35; perhaps remembering Pliny, ix. 51 '(cancri) os Ponti evincere non valent,'—the current being too strong, they make their way by the shore.

20. *The filthy Sow . . . eateth the Sea Crabbe*, &c.: four of these instances of animals seeking cures are adapted from Pliny, viii. 41: (1) 'Hedera *apri* in morbis sibi medentur, et cancros vescendo, maxime mari eiectos. (2) *Testudo* cunilæ [a species of origanum] pastu vires contra serpentes refovet. (3) *Ursi*, cum mandragorae mala gustavere, formicas lambunt. (4) Dictamnum herbam extrahendis sagittis *cervi* (usui) monstravere, percussi eo telo, pastuque eius herbae eiecto.' And for the fifth, the dog, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, xviii. 25, quotes Pliny, bk. viii, as his authority for the statement 'that an hounde that hath filled him of euyl meate eateth an herbe, & by perbrakyng & casting he purgeth him,' while in xvii. 76 this herb is said to be 'gramen'; but Pliny's eighth book does not contain this.

29. *more bitter then the claw of a Bitter*: fact and etymology are invented. 'Bytter' for bittern occurs *Endim.* iii. 3. 56.

30. *the Apple in Persia*, &c.: unobserved by Pliny, who deals with the Persian apple, xv. 11.

P. 209, 3. *casteth water on the fire*, &c.: Pettie's *Pallace*, fol. 41 v. 'as the Smyth his forge by casting on colde water it burneth more fiercely.'

5. *ouerlashinge*: excessive; metaphor from a swollen stream washing over its banks. Again, pp. 246, l. 9, 309, l. 20. The verb is used by Bp. Hall as = exaggerate.

33. *shadowe . . . shadow . . .*: the first for 'close friend' (cf. p. 200, l. 26, note), the second for 'cover' or 'pretext.'

P. 210, 5. *the case is lyght*, &c.: i. e. there is little at stake, if the matter can admit cool reasoning.

7. *caule*: cap, net, headdress.

Giges . . . Candaules: sixth tale of tome i of Painter's *Pallace of Pleasure* (1566), founded on Herodotus, i. 7–13.

12. *pleasaunt bayte . . . fleetest fish*: as before, p. 185, l. 35.

25. *wily Mouse . . . Cats eare*: given in Heywood's *Proverbes* (1546), p. 125 of the reprint.

28. *stone . . . mollyfied onely with bloud*: Pliny, xx. 1 'adamantem . . . infragilem omni cetera vi et invictum, sanguine hircino rumpente.' Again, p. 305, l. 17, vol. ii. pp. 87, l. 3, 224, l. 33.

29. *riuer in Caria*, &c.: contrast p. 289, l. 14 'the stone that groweth in the riuer of Caria, the whiche the more it is cutte, the more it encreaseth'; no authority for either fable.

31-2. *sirrop of . . . Ceder . . . taketh away sight*: again, p. 233, l. 21—a misreport of Pliny, xxiv. 11, where it is said to be 'magni ad lumina usus, ni capiti dolorem inferret'; while Bartholomaeus Anglicus, xvii. 23, says on the authority of Dioscorides that the gum of the cedar 'wipeth and clenseth awaye dymnesse of the eyen.'

P. 211, 7. *defused determination*: fluent and eloquent close.

9. *Oyle out of . . . Ieate*: perhaps founded on a hasty reading of Plin. xxxvi. 34 'Cum uritur [gagates], odorem sulfureum reddit. Mirumque accenditur aqua, oleo restinguitur.'

24. *Philautus entered the chamber*: so in Pettie's *Pallace*, fol. 39 v. the friend of Icilius comes to inquire about his grief.

P. 212, 11. *tainted*: tented, kept open for the use of emollients; a tent being (1) a probe: (2) a piece of lint, horsehair, sponge, &c. Cf. vol. ii. p. 88, l. 20 'launcing the wound thou shouldest taint.'

12. *take hart at grasse*: again *Euph. and his Eng.* p. 54, l. 31, in same form and sense of plucking up the spirits—one among many forms (e.g. 'a grasse,' 'of grease') assumed by a phrase which now survives only as 'heart of grace.' See Murray s.v.

16. *cullisses*: clear strong broths.

24. *the harpy^e fleet Dolphin*: Pliny, xi. 50 '(delphini) cantu mulcentur, et capiuntur attoniti sono.' So below, p. 223 'the Dolphin by the sound of Musicke is brought to y^e shore.' Here, however, the fable of Arion is in Lyly's mind.

29. *Goat . . . fatter . . . lesse fertil*: Pliny, viii. 76 'Caprae pinguitudine steriliscunt.'

37. *curiosity*: affectation.

P. 213, 9. *attached of*: taken prisoner by.

12. *quotidiā fit*: properly a fever of daily recurrence. 'The quotidian of love' (*As You Like It*, iii. 2. 383) for 'extreme.'

36. *recured*: cured; often both as verb and subst., e.g. *Endim.* vol. iii. pp. 33 l. 92, 40 l. 26, 47 l. 21

P. 214, 2. *cure*: patient (Landmann).

7. *cloase*: sympathetic response; properly of music, where discords are resolved at the end. Cf. *Henry V*, i. 2. 182 'congreeing in a full and natural close Like music'; and for a similar verb, *Hamlet*, ii. 1. 45 'closes with you in this consequence.'

15. *comparisons . . . odious*: Bartlett quotes the saying from Fortescue's *De Laudibus Legum Angliae*, c. 19. (circa 1463).

25. *any of them both*: either of them. Cf. p. 233, l. 5 'why go I about to excuse any of them, seeing I haue iuste cause to accuse them both?'; *Moth. Bomb.* v. 3. 109 'who will tender marriage to anie of them?' of Accius and Silena; *Woman in Moone*, v. l. 27 'none of both.'

33. *swallow . . . a gudgen*: i.e. be caught, the gudgeon being used for bait (Landmann). Again, p. 240, l. 1.

P. 215, 1. *Saincts*: term frequently applied to a mistress, e. g. p. 217, l. 21.

4. *Scorpion that stung thee shall heale thee*: Pliny, xxiv. 29 'Prodest ... scorpio ipse suae plagae impositus, aut assus in cibo sumtus, aut potus in meri cyathis duobus.' Cf. below, p. 247, l. 29 'the Scorpion though he sting, yet hee stints y^e^ paine,' and vol. ii. pp. 124 l. 18, 172, l. 9.

9. *painted sheth with the leaden dagger*: again as a proverb for hollowness, p. 255, l. 30; *Midas*, i. 2. 41, perhaps derived from the stage. Landmann compares 1 *Henry IV*, ii. 4. 418 'Thy state is taken for a joined stool, thy golden sceptre for a leaden dagger.'

32. *to pinch courtesie*: stand on ceremony. Halliwell quotes 'I pynche courtaysye as one doth that is nyce of condyscions, *je fays le nyce*,' Palsgrave [657 : 1530]. Like 'strain courtesy,' it may be used either of excess or defect.

P. 216, 29. *the onely imagination*: the mere imagination. Cf. *Gall.* v. 1. 61 'made onely my slumber thoughts,' and *Woman in Moone*, ii. 1. 125.

P. 217, l. 4. *steele glasse*: mirror. Gascoigne's poem, *The Steel Glas*, was printed in 1576.

23. *rounding*: to roun, rown or round, is to whisper. *Cant. Tales*, 5823: 'rounded' in *King John*, ii. 566.

P. 218, 5. *sounded*: swooned. So *Woman in Moone*, i. 1. 217 'She weeping sounds.'

18. *water of free will*, &c.: i.e. neither change my desire, nor restrain it. See Introd. Essay, p. 124.

22. *poyson disperseth it selfe into euerye vaine*: cf. *Rom. & Jul.* v. 1. 60 'A dram of poison, such soon-speeding gear As will disperse itself through all the veins.' Again *Euph. and his Eng.* p. 73, l. 22.

31. *sterue*: ME. *steruen*, starve: in its original sense of 'die' by cold or famine.

32. *Bauin*: faggot.

35. *mawe*: stomach. P. 313, l. 28 'sowre in the mouth and sharpe in the mawe.'

P. 219, 4. *worme ... eateth not the Ceder*: Barth. Angl. xvii. 23 says of the cedar that 'the smell of it driueth awaye serpentes and all maner of venemous wormes,' and that 'bokes which ben vernished with that gũme| be not fret with wormes.' Pliny, xxiv. 11, has merely the general statement that cedar-juice destroys living things, and preserves dead things from corruption.

5. *stone Cylindrus*, &c.: entirely fictitious.

6. *sleeke stone* = smoothing stone; Landmann compares *Euph. and his Eng.* p. 9, l. 19 'She that wanteth a sleeke-stone to smooth her linnen, will take a pibble.' Cf. also p. 254, l. 33 'the sleeking of theire faces.'

8. *Polypus*: in Taverner's selection from Erasmus' *Adagia*, f. 49 v. 'this fysshe [Polypus] . . . as Autours write, do oftentimes chaũge colours.' Cf. Pliny, ix. 46 'Colorem mutat ad similitudinem loci.' Again, *Loves Met.* iii. 1. ad med.

P. 220, 4. *thus shee replyed*: with Lucilla's coquetry and holding-off compare the reply of Virginia in Pettie, fol. 41 r., and still more that of Agrippina to Germanicus in the Third Tale.

26. *Foxe preacheth . . . Geese perishe*: cf. vol. ii. p. 99, l. 12 'it is a blinde Goose that commeth to the Foxes sermon,' where see note.

27. *Crocodile . . . teares*: the fable seems due to Maundeville (c. 1400), xxviii. 288 'In that contre . . . ben gret plentee of Cokadrilles . . . Theise Serpentes slen men, and thei eten hem wepynge.' Sir J. Hawkins (*Hakluyt*, iii. 512) represents the tears as intended to attract the victim (1600) (Murray).

31. *shake handes with*: say farewell to, part with. Whitney quotes Quarles' *Emblems*, iii. 'Shake hands with earth,' &c.

32. *leade Apes in hell*: again, p. 230, l. 26, and *Taming of Shrew*, ii. 1. 34; *Much Ado*, ii. 1. 42–8. See Murray s. v.

P 221, 24. *Hares in Athon . . . Bees in Hybla*: so *Endim.* iii. 4. 145 'common as Hares in Atho, Bees in Hybla,' &c.

33. *trauayle*: i. e. travel, the same word.

34. *kinges . . . long armes*, &c.: 2 *Henry VI*, iv. 7. 86 'Great men have reaching hands.' *Midas*, iv. 2. 5. 'Longae regum manus' is given on fol. 4 of Richard Taverner's selection from the *Adagia* of Erasmus (1539). It is from Helen's epistle to Paris, Ov. *Her.* xvii. 166 'An nescis longas regibus esse manus?'

P. 222, 1. *hew*: hue.

6. *Phillis . . . Demophoon*, &c.: in Pettie's *Pallace*, fol. 20 r. these four instances of infidelity are found together, with the addition of Nero's cruelty to his mother Agrippina. Not found together in Hyginus.

17. *expire thy date*: *Rom. & Jul.* i. 4. 109 'some consequence . . . shall . . . expire the tearme of a despised life.'

18. *wight*: creature, may be fem. and neut., as well as masc.; cf. p. 258, l. 9 'ye lewde wight [hath] the name of a woman as wel as the honest Matrone.'

19. *Scorpion . . . feede on the earth*: if pressed, Lyly would quote Plin. x. 93 'scorpiones terra vivunt.'

20. *Quaile and Roebucke, be fatte with poyson*: Pliny, x. 92 'Venenis capreae et coturnices pinguescunt.'

21. *stone Continens*: Lyly's addition to the mineral world.

25. *seedes of Rockatte*: Pliny, x. 83 'eruca fit aviditas coitus.' Also Plutarch's *Moralls* (Holland), f. 505 'Rogket, and such hot herbs, for to stir up the lust of the flesh.'

26. *leafe Cresse*: Barth. Angl. xvii. 15 'Agnus castus is an herbe

hotte and drye, and hath vertue to kepe men & women chaste | as Plinius sayth.' Pliny, xx. 50, notes 'nasturtium' as an antaphrodisiac.

28. *noisome*: the herb Araxa and the stone in Mount Tmolus seem alike unknown to Pliny.

31. *cast beyonde the Moone*: of wild fancies or schemes. *M. Bomb.* ii. 2. 6.

P. 223, 14. *Eagle . . . Fly*: altered from 'Aquila non captat muscas,' Erasmus' *Adagia* (*Contemptus et Vilitatis*), ed. Basileae 1533, p. 678.

18. *hard winter . . . Wolfe*, &c.: Pettie's *Pallace*, f. 72 r. 'Wolues neuer pray vpon Wolues.'

19. *Bull . . . tyed to y^e^ Figge tree*: Barth. Angl. xvii. 61 'And telleth that fulle cruelle bulles become mylde if they be tyed to a figtree,' as from Pliny through Isidore: I find only Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* ii. 7 ἄγριος δὲ ταῦρος ἀτρεμεῖ καὶ πραΰνεται συκῇ προσδεθείς.

20. *Deare . . . sweete apple*: the red deer plunder by night the orchards round Exmoor.

21. *Dolphin . . . Musicke*, &c.: cf. p. 212, l. 24, note.

34. *Lysander . . . daughters . . . gorgeous apparell*: Plut. *Reg. et Imp. Apophtheg.* Lys. 1 Λύσανδρος, Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου πέμψαντος ἱμάτια ταῖς θυγατράσιν αὐτοῦ τῶν πολυτελῶν, οὐκ ἔλαβεν, εἰπών, Δεδιέναι μὴ διὰ ταῦτα μᾶλλον αἰσχραὶ φανῶσιν.

37. *in Aegypt . . . woemen . . . go barefoote*: Plut. *Conjugalia Praecepta*, xxx ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις ὑποδήμασι χρῆσθαι πάτριον οὐκ ἦν, ὅπως ἐν οἴκῳ διημερεύσωσι.

P. 224, 4. *Leere and Caddys*: Halliwell gives *leere* as Kentish for tape: while *caddys* was cotton wool or worsted yarn used for stuffing—and vol. ii. p. 9, l. 21 by country dames for girding the waist.

4–5. *for the Penne, the Needle*, &c.: in *Gall.* iii. 4. 48 Diana reproaches her nymphs with 'vsing the penne for Sonets, not the needle for Samplers': cf. pp. 320, l. 1, 321 l. 38 and vol. ii. p. 201, ll. 28–9.

31. *chaunge your coppie*: again, p. 236, l. 18 of change of mind or conduct. See Murray s. v.

P. 225, 9. *If I should offende . . . beastly*: Euphues' reply, though the text does not note it.

12. *successe*: sequel. Cf. *Wint. Tale*, i. 2. 394 'our parents' noble names | In whose success we are gentle.' Painter's *Pallace of Pleasure*, tom. i. 49 (vol. ii. p. 27, ed. Jacobs) 'the poore desolate women, fearing least their case would sorte to som pitiful successe.' Again, *End.* iii. 4. 182.

15. *contentation*: used for 'satisfaction' (1494), *Fabyan's Chronicle*, vii. 235, 271.

21. *raine . . . Marble*: Lucret. i. 313 'Stillicidi casus lapidem cavat.'

31. *I force not*: I care not for. Cf. vol. ii. pp. 48, l. 14, 94, l. 24. See Murray s. v.

35. *mannors . . . manners*: again, pp. 267, ll. 32–3, 317, l. 12.

P. 226, 20. *stale*: pretext, i. e. to Philautus, p. 212.

P. 227, 16. *to bride it*: used of Bianca in *Taming*, iii. 2. 253.

17–24. *Mine onely care . . . comely personage*: see Introd. Essay, p. 166, for Shakespeare's borrowings here.

P. 228, 15. *Portingale*: Portuguese.

18. *threateneth*: foretells, anticipates.

25. *Iette gather vp the light strawe*: nothing under 'gagates,' Plin. xxxvi. 34; prob. transferred from amber, xxxvii. 11 (vol. ii. p. 138. l. 9, note).

29. *assuringe*: affiancing, betrothing, pre-contract, a special ceremony in Elizabethan days. Cf. vol. ii. p. 218, l. 34 'wordes of assurance betweene Surius and Camilla,' and note.

P. 229, 33. *wishinge rather to stande . . . any other*: probably of Philautus, who prefers to take his chance of moving Lucilla rather than choose or be chosen by another; but perhaps of Lucilla, preferring to risk being unwed rather than marry where *she* does not choose.

P. 230, 13. *as Homere reporteth*: this must be derived from the following in *The Diall*—'Certen Letters,' ch. vi.—for which I know of no Homeric authority: 'Homere sayth, it was the custome of ladyes of Grece to count the yeres of their life, not from the time of their birth, but from the time of their mariage. . . . Affirming after they had a house to gouerne and to commaund that day she beginneth to liue. The Melon after it is ripe, and abydeth still in the gardeine, cannot escape, but eyther it must be gathered, or els it rotteth,' &c. Lyly explains the feeling, by the sense of the duty of bearing children. Capulet borrows from this passage his epithet 'carrion' for Juliet (iii. 5. 157).

27. *dysease*: trouble, the general negative of 'ease,' as on p. 236, l. 16. Compare the reading 'diseased' of E^2 rest, p. 245, l. 12; and *Midas*, iii. 2. 139 'my teeth disease me.'

33. *pinched Philautus on the parsons side*: i.e. disappointed him of his wedding. I know no other instance.

P. 231, 3. *make it as straunge*: here seems to mean 'hold it [i.e. love] as much at arm's length,' though the phrase was commonly used for being shocked or surprised.

20. *Mirha . . . Biblis . . . Phædra*: the two latter and their crimes are mentioned near together, Hyg. *Fab.* 243; Myrrha in *Fab.* 164. Biblis and Myrrha occur, however, close together in Ov. *Ars Amat.* i. 283–5, and Phaedra in l. 511.

P. 232, 4. *flange*: used as past tense of *fling* in Heywood's *Spider and Flie* (1556), iv. 5 'Full furiouslie he flang | Towards the flie.'

13. *Synon*: *Aen.* ii. 79.

19. *fish Scolopidus*, &c.: so *Endim.* ii. 1. 19 'thy fish, Cynthia, in the floode Araris, which at thy waxing is as white as the driuen snowe, and at thy wayning as blacke as deepest darknes.' It is taken from the *Pseudo-plutarchea, De Fluviis*, vi. Arar (i.e. Saône): 'Nascitur in ipso magnus piscis ab indigenis Clupaea (Gk. κλουπαῖα) vocatus (*in cod.* Scolopidos),

qui secundum aucta lunae albus est, secundum damna vero omnino niger: et quum in extremam crevit magnitudinem a propriis spinis confoditur' (Wyttenbach). Aelian, *De Nat. Animal.* xv. 4 says the fish 'luna,' of dark colour, changes its size with the moon. Mr. P. A. Daniel points out to me that in *A Merrie Knack to Know a Knave* (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vi. p. 558) occurs 'The fish palerna, being perfect white in the calme, Yet turneth black with every storm.'

30. *Ilande Scyrum*: so vol. ii. p. 14, l. 34. Scyros in the Aegean is meant, though I know of no foundation for the story.

P. 233, 5. *any of them*: either of them. P. 214 l. 25 note 'any of them both.'

20. *Cedar . . . siroppe . . . sight*: cf. p. 210, ll. 31–2, note.

P. 234, 14. *Glazeworme*: or Glasse-worme (E rest), i. e. glow-worm.

30. *trauails*: travels, as is clear from 'reduced,' i.e. brought back; originally the same word.

P. 235, 3. *meaten*: meted, measured. Cf. *Euphues* 'melten,' p. 310, l. 24; 'loden,' vol. ii. p. 45, l. 31.

thought it no conscience to: made no conscience of.

7. *by my compasse*: measurement, calculation.

17. *chew vppon*: ruminate on; cf. 'Chewing the food of sweet and bitter fancy,' *As You Like It*, iv. 3. 102.

20 *Aiax . . . Vlysses . . . the armour*: Ov. *Met.* xiii. 1 sqq.

22. *crake of*: crack of, boast of. Again, vol. ii. p. 67, l. 8.

26. *Puttocke*: kite.

33. *so is it of course*: i.e. conventional, lacking in depth, as pp. 202, l. 22, note, 254, l. 11, vol. ii. p. 141, l. 3.

P. 236, 1. *first poynt*, &c.: 'The first poynt of hauking is hold fast,' Heywood's *Proverbes* (1546), p. 110, Sharman's reprint.

3. *Deskant*: Harmony, variety gained by adding parts; i. e. you shouldn't have introduced me to Lucilla; see Skeat s.v.

10. *Iupiter transforme himselfe*, &c.: these various transformations of Jupiter are to be found in Hyginus, *Fab.* 29, 63, 77, 145 (Io), Io being put, by a confusion, for Europa (*Fab.* 178).

13. *Neptune*, &c.: the *Heyfer* I cannot find; *Ramme* refers to his amour with Theophane (Hyg. *Fab.* 188); *Floude* may refer to Hesione (*Fab.* 89), or Andromeda, or his contest with Athene (*Fab.* 164)—but Lyly sometimes writes with the same fluent carelessness of mythology as of natural history.

15. *Apollo*, &c.: Apollodorus, iii. 10. § 4 (fols. 276–7 of the ed. of Hyginus, 1578) relates how Apollo served Admetus as shepherd for a year in penalty to Jove for slaying the Cyclopes.

18. *coppie*: mind or conduct: cf. p. 224, l. 31.

25. *clownes Garlike*: Landmann quotes *Mids. N. Dream*, iv. 2. 43 'And, most dear actors, eat no onions nor garlic, for we are to utter sweet breath.'

26. *Treacle*: a medicinal compound, or else a healing plant: the

modern use is later (Whitney). Cf. Basse's *Eclogues*, vi 'Nor wholesome treacle cleanse his poison'd blood.'

26. *farre fette*, &c.: i.e. fetched. Heywood's *Proverbes* (1546), p. 67, reprint, 'deare bought and far fet | Are dainties for Ladies.'

P. 237, 9. *Euphues was also cast off*, &c.: for this summary announcement see Introd. Essay, p. 141.

12. *in hir muses*: the *Cent. Dict.* quotes *Rom. of Partenay* (E.E.T.S. l. 5511) 'Thys king in muses ther was full strongly.'

21. *glyeke*: *gleek* or *glick* = taunt.

22. *miste the cushion*: you are mistaken. In Heywood's *Proverbes*, p. 165, Sharman supposes it taken from archery: but Dr. Brinsley Nicholson (Glossary to Reginald Scott's *Discouerie of Witchcraft*) refers it rather to some variant of stool-ball or to the cushion-dance, or simply to one missing his seat and coming to the ground.

26. *nipped on the head*: *nipped* is taunted, cf. p. 200, l. 31. *On the head*, as the part one would most wish to defend.

35. *frumpe*: taunting speech.

P. 239, 8. *it nothing toucheth me*: makes no difference, is no consolation—constructed with what follows, not with what precedes.

20. *make*: mate.

22. *Cornelia here in Naples . . . rude Miller*: probably from one of the Italian novelists: not ancient.

35. *an Ele . . . holde of hir taile*: Heywood's *Proverbes*, 1546, p. 41, reprint, 'A woman | Is as sure to hold as an ele by the tayle.'

P. 240, 1. *swallow a Gudgen*: see p. 214, l. 33, note.

14. *openly taken in an yron net*, &c.: the wording of this reference to Venus is reminiscent of Pettie's *Pallace*, fol. 34 v., where Infortunio, in similar case to Euphues, reproaches Venus for being taken with Mars 'togeather starke naked *in an iron nette*.'

22. *Pasiphae*: Hyg. *Fab.* 40, and Ovid, *Ars Amat.* i.

23. *Mirha . . . incensed*: i.e. enflamed. Hyg. *Fab.* 243.

P. 241, 17. *corasiues*: corrosive in their action. Again p. 253, l. 23.

23. *tosse my bookes*: i.e. turn them over. Landmann quotes *Titus Andron.* iv. 1. 41 'What book is that she tosseth so?'

29. *Axiomaes of Aristotle*, &c.: Aristotle, Justinian, and Galen are taken as the great authorities on moral philosophy, law, and medicine just adverted to; but the impression produced (by the use of capitals and italics in all editions) that the titles of special works are here given is only justified in the case of Galen, whose commentary on the *Aphorismi* of Hippocrates was constantly reprinted about the beginning of the fifteenth century, e.g. Florence, 1494 fol., Venice, 1498, 1517, 1520, fol. The great body of law drawn up under Justinian's supervision was known as the Digest or Pandects. It is worth mention, however, that the *Stationers' Register* records, under date January 29, 1592, the entry of 'a booke

intituled Axiomata Philosophica gathered out of Aristotle and other ye moste excellent Philosophers together with certen explications by Bede,' of which there may possibly have been an earlier edition, or some similar and earlier work.

37. *the thing y^e better it is the greater is the abuse*, &c.: compare Friar Laurence, *Rom. & Jul.* ii. 3. 20 (Introd. Essay, p. 167).

P. 242, 11. *dunge out of the Maple*, &c.: I find no authority for this.

22. *still*: distilling glass.

P. 243, 24. *Danaus ... but one that disobeyed*: viz. Hypermnestra, who spared the life of her husband Lynceus (Hyg. *Fab.* 170).

P. 244, 1. *blaze*: blazing star, cynosure (Murray).

17. *cockney*: spoiled child.

cockescombe: fool, the comb and feathers of a cock being used for the Fool's cap (Landmann).

P. 245, 16. *stand to the maine chaunce*: dicing phraseology, where 'the maine' is opposed to 'the by' or 'bye.' Cf. *Euph. and his Eng.* p. 188, l. 6 'haue an eye to the mayne, what soeuer thou art chaunced at the buy.' Lucilla hopes that even if she is disappointed of the bye, i.e. her father's approval, yet he will not deprive her of 'the maine' by forbidding the match altogether.

35. *abhominable*: from false etymology *ab homine* [as Holofernes, *L. L. L.* v. 1. 25], the true being *ab-ominor*, to deprecate as of ill *omen* (Nares).

P. 246, 9. *ouerlashing*: excessive, exaggerated. Again, pp. 209, l. 5, 309, l. 20.

13. *A cooling Carde*, &c.: in temper, though not in actual words, this address to Philautus, as well as the subsequent letter to him, is indebted to Guevara's *Menosprecio de Corte*, which was translated into English by Sir Francis Bryan, 1548, and reprinted 1575 under the title of *A looking Glasse for the Court*, with the further title (fol. 3) *A dispraise of the life of the Courtier, and a commendacion of the life of the husbandman*, &c. See also Introd. Essay, p. 155. *Carde*: in the sense of compass or guide, like the 'shipman's card,' i.e. compass.

32. *tourne my tippet*: in Heywood's *Prov. and Epigr.* 1562, fourteen epigrams are given on this proverb for changing sides, which was perhaps of clerical origin; but cf. the 'Whitehoods' in Ghent, in the time of Philip van Artevelde.

33. *Wiredrawer*: i.e. 'precisian,' not, as Landmann, 'wirepuller.' Metaphor from the mechanical art of drawing out wire fine.

P. 247, 2. *hotte as a toast ... colde as a clock*: Heywood gives the phrase as 'Hot as a toste...cold as kay,' i.e. key. If a physical sense be insisted on *clock* must stand, as sometimes, for 'bell'; but it is more like Lyly to oppose a moral sense, 'free from passion as a machine,' to the physical sense of 'hotte as a toast.'

4. *crye creeke* (or *creake*): to confess oneself beaten. See Murray s.v.

bee olde huddle and twange, ipse, hee: be embraced as her darling, and fiddle or sing, 'I am the man.' So Touchstone to his rival William, 'you are not *ipse*, for I am he' (*A. Y. L. I.* v. 1. 46).

5. *weeting*: wetting. 'Shrink in the wetting,' of a sudden, temporary, and reparable injury, like the cold douche of Lucilla's desertion.

6. *steele to the backe*: it escapes Landmann that physical strength is implied as well as fidelity. Cf. the Elder Loveless' sensitiveness on this subject in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*; his rivals are 'steel-chin'd rascals,' v. 1. 18.

9. *eaten . . . bushell of salt wyth*: see p. 197, l. 18, note.

10. *tenne quarters*: eight bushells in one quarter.

28. *Achilles speare*, &c.: alluding to the story (*Cycli Frag.*) of Telephus being healed by the spear of Achilles, which had wounded him; a cure, says Pliny, xxv. 19, xxxiv. 45, by some explained of the verdigris which he scraped off the spear into the wound with his sword, as represented in some pictures. Cf. Ov. *Met.* xii. 112 'opusque meae bis sensit Telephus hastae.'

29. *Scorpion though he sting*, &c.: so above, p. 215, l. 4, note.

30. *hearb Nerius*: Pliny, xvi. 33 '(Rhododendron . . .) Alii nerion vocarunt . . . Iumentis caprisque et ovibus venenum est. Idem homini contra serpentium venena remedio.'

34. *Hare . . . Hounde*: Heywood's *Proverbes*, Pt. I, ch. 10 (Bartlett).

P. 248, 13–5. *the first draught of wine . . . the seconde . . . the thirde*, &c.: cf. *Euph. and his Eng.* p. 54, l. 24 'the Uine beareth three grapes, the first altereth, the second troubleth, the third dulleth.' Lyly probably borrowed it from Edmund Tylney's *Flower of Friendship*, 1568, sig. C iv. 'Anacharsis the Philosopher sayde, that the Vine bare three kindes of grapes, the first of pleasure, the second of dronkennesse, and the thirde of sorrow.'

29. *fowle*: ugly, as often. This paragraph closely imitated from one in North's *Diall* ad fin. 'Certen Letters,' c. vi.

P. 249, 2. *Mecocke*: Nares explains as 'meek cock,' i.e. hen-pecked, tame-spirited; which has more probability than '*meek* + dimin. *-ock*,' which the *Cent. Dict.* doubtfully suggests, quoting also Fletcher's *Wild Goose Chase*, v. 2 'Fools and meacocks | To endure what you think fit to put upon 'em.' As this is one of the very few passages where the diction positively recalls *The Diall of Princes*, I illustrate it by a few lines from the latter (bk. ii. ch. 16, fol. 111, ed. 1568)—'Oh vnto what perils doth he offer him selfe, whiche continually doth haunte the company of women. For as much as if he loue them not, they despise him, and take him for a foole. If he doth loue them, they accompt him for light. If he forsake thē they esteme him for no body. If he followe them he is accompted loste. If he scorne them, they doe not regarde him. If he doe not serue them, they despyse him. If he wyll haue them, they wyll not. If he will

not, they persecute him. If he doe aduaunce him selfe forth, they call hym importunate. If he flie, they saye he is a cowarde. If he speake, theye saye he is a bragger. If he holde his peace, they saye he is a dissarde. If he laughe, they saye he is a foole. If he laughe not, they say he is solempne. If he geueth them any thing, they say it is little worth: & he that geueth them nothing, he is a pinchpurse. Finally he that haunteth them, is by them sclaundered: and he that doth not frequent them, is esteamed lesse then a man.'

7. *kinde Spaniell*: true-bred spaniel, as on p. 206, l. 11. Landmann quotes *Mids. N. Dr.* ii. 1. 203:

> 'I am your spaniel; and, Demetrius,
> The more you beat me, I will fawn on you.'

8. *foolish Eiesse, which will neuer away*: Pettie's *Pallace*, fol. 82 has 'knowe him to be a Niesse, which wyl neuer away,' perhaps for *niece* = relative, or connected, like 'nuisance,' with *nuire*, or perhaps error for 'an Eiesse,' which baffles me.

9. *woemen deeme none valyaunt*, &c.: see note on '*if one bee harde in conceiuing*,' p. 195, l. 21.

15. *pinglers*: 'Probably a labouring horse, kept in the homestead. *Pingle* is defined by Coles, "Agellulus domui rusticae adiacens, ager conseptus"' (Nares, who quotes this passage).

27–9. *I haue reade . . . a Towne in Spayne vndermined with Connyes*, &c.: all these instances (except that of the 'Mowles') are found together in chap. 20 of T. Fortescue's *Foreste* (1571), fol. 107 v. 'Marcus Varro reporteth, that there was a greate toune in Spaine, situate, or standing in a sandie soile, whiche was by Conies, in such sort vndermined, that in th' ende it suncke, & came to extreame ruine . . . The saied aucthours [i.e. M. Varro and 'Elian'] again reporte, that there was also in Fraunce, a famous toune, whiche by the onely multitude of Todes, and Frogges there, was also by the inhabitauntes, lefte, and forsaken. The semblable chaunsed, as is euident, in Africa, by the onely malice of Locustes, and Grasshoppers.' Lyly's 'these silly Wormes' just below compared with Fortescue's phrase at end of chap. 20 'of many countries, by the onely force of little wormes, brought to be desolate and forsaken,' points to Fortescue as his authority; but so close a student of Pliny can hardly have missed the following, which supplies the missing moles, and was perhaps Fortescue's source—'M. Varro auctor est, a cuniculis suffossum in Hispania oppidum, a talpis in Thessalia: ab ranis civitatem in Gallia pulsam, ab locustis in Africa: ex Gyaro Cycladum insula incolas a muribus fugatos, in Italia Amyclas a serpentibus deletas' (viii. 43).

P. 250, 8. *Hiena, when she speaketh lyke a man*, &c.: Pliny, viii. 44 'Sed maxime sermonem humanum inter pastorum stabula assimulare, nomenque alicuius addiscere, quem evocatum foras laceret,' reproduced by Barth. Angl. xviii. 61 'And hirdes tell that amonge stables, he feyneth

speache of mankynde, and calleth some man by his own name, & renteth him whan he hath hym without.'

11. *Alexander... the wife of Darius*: this and the following instance of Cyrus and Panthea occur together near the end of Plutarch's *De Curiositate*. Cf. also Plut. *Alexander*, chap. 22.

14–6. *Cyrus... Panthea... Araspus*: 'Cyrus and Panthea' [wife of Abradatas] forms the eleventh tale in tome i of Painter's *Pallace of Pleasure*, 1566. Xenophon is the source of the story, which is given also in Plut. *De Curiositate*, and Belleforest, iv. 265.

20. *Romulus... refraine from wine*: so above, p. 186, l. 21 'abstaine with Romulus,' where see note.

21. *Agesilaus*, &c.: Plut. *Apophtheg. Laconica*, Agesil. 76.

22. *Diogenes*, &c.: taken merely as a general example of asceticism.

23. *toucheth pitche*, &c.: the proverb is quoted 1 *Henry IV*, ii. 2. 425, where Shakespeare is parodying Lyly: see p. 150, note 3.

28. *youthfull*: *youthly*, the reading of G and later eds., occurs above, pp. 192, l. 22, 194, l. 7.

37. *these Abbaie lubbers*, &c.: the context implies idleness and self-indulgence, and the phrase must be a cant term for holders of prebendal stalls, or other posts with light duties attached in the abbey. This is borne out by *The Epitome*, p. 6, where Martin Marprelate will have 'not so much as a Lorde B[ishop]... archdeacon, *abbie lubber*, or any such loyterer, tollerated in our ministerie.' Mr. P. A. Daniel points out to me a parallel to what follows in *M. Bomb.* i. 1. 75 'thou shalt eate, thou shalt [?'till thou'] sweate, play till thou sleep, and sleepe till thy bones ake'; and some resemblance in Slipper's 'bill' in Greene's *James IV*, i. 2. p. 193 *a* (ed. Dyce).

P. 251, 14. *fattest grounde*, &c.: proverb repeated 2 *Henry IV*, iv. 4. 54 'Most subject is the fattest soil to weeds.'

16. *which Seneca reporteth*, &c.: Plut. *An sit Seni administranda Respub.* c. xvi. 5 *τόξον μέν, ὡς φασίν, ἐπιτεινόμενον ῥήγνυται, ψυχὴ δὲ ἀνιεμένη.* But Plutarch is sometimes indebted to Seneca.

24. *at an ynche*: close behind.

P. 252, 5. *blast*: i. e. of wind, or 'blasted bud,' as p. 325, l. 13.

18. *straininge disease*: figuratively, of a craving for freedom.

19. *iusts... turnayes*: distinguished as the encounter of two knights, or of two parties, respectively.

29. *tree Siluacenda... Persian trees in Rhodes*, &c.: Pliny, xvi. 58, says generally that trees do not bear except where they are indigenous. I find no mention of any tree called 'Siluacenda.' Lyly substitutes 'Persian' for Assyrian—see next note. Pharos is the island near Alexandria, on which Ptolemy I built the lighthouse.

32. *Amomus, and Nardus... Balsamum onely in Syria*: Pliny, xvi. 59 'Fastidit balsamum alibi nasci [cf. xii. 54 balsamum uni terrarum Iudaeae

concessum] : nata Assyria malus alibi ferre . . . Non ferunt amomi nardique deliciae, ne in Arabia quidem ex India, et nave peregrinari.'

33. *in Rhodes no Eagle . . . no Owle liue in Crete* : Pliny, x. 41 'quarum [noctuarum] genus in Creta insula non est : etiam si qua invecta sit emoritur . . . Rhodus aquilam non habet.'

P. 253, 4. *husband* : husbandman.

13. *water . . . thy plantes* : weep.

14. *Pigges nye* : properly 'pig's eye,' common as a term of endearment. *Moth. Bomb.* ii. 2. 24 'his pigsnie is put vp.'

mammering : hesitation, the idea being that of paralysed powers rather than stammering. AS. *mamor*, deep sleep, unconsciousness. Again, vol. ii. pp. 75, l. 25, 148, l. 22 ; and *Oth.* iii. 3. 70 'stand so mammering on.'

17. *sleeuelesse excuse* : bootless. *Pappe*, vol. iii. 'a sleeueless conscience' (alluding to the sleeveless gown preferred by Puritans). *Troilus & Cr.* v. 4. 9 'of a sleeveless errand,' cf. Skeat s. v. A simple interpretation would be 'half-made-up,' 'ill considered' ; or 'helpless,' 'useless,' alluding to the difficulty of using the arms in any such covering cloak.

23. *a corasiue* : i.e. corrosive, as on p. 241, l. 17.

25. *pykes* : rocks. Cf. p. 189, l. 7.

P. 254, 2. *a longis* : as we should say, 'a maypole' ; again, vol. ii. p. 97, l. 35.

11. *of course* : conventionally, outwardly, as on pp. 202, note, 235, l. 33.

22–3. *no sighte in deskante* : not able to take a part, no knowledge of harmony as opposed to the plain-song of 'chaunting.' Cf. p. 236, l. 3, note.

26. *gagge toothed* : jag-toothed.

33. *sleeking* : cf. 'sleeke stone,' p. 219, l. 6.

34. *slibber* : 'dirty ; cp. slabber, slobber, and slubber' (Landmann).

37. *rowles* : a roll of hair. '*Antiae*, the heare of a woman that is layed over hir forheade ; gentilwomen dyd lately call them their *rolles*,' Elyot, ed. 1559 (Halliwell).

P. 255, 6. *fangles* : trifles, toys. Wood's *Athenae*, ii. col. 456 'A hatred to fangles, and the French fooleries of his time' (Nares).

7. *shadows* : the same as a *bone-grace*, or border attached to a bonnet to shield the complexion from the sun. Cotgrave says in v. *Cornette*, 'a fashion of shadow, or boonegrace, used in old time, and at this day by some old women' (Halliwell). 'Shadowes' and 'spots' (=black patches) are mentioned *Midas*, i. 2. 80.

leefekyes : or 'lyfkies,' bodices ; Mid.Dutch *lijfken*, dim. of *lijf*, body : '*een vrouwen Lijfken*, a Woman's Bodies' (Hexham's *Netherdutch and Eng. Dict.* 1698) [communicated].

14, *haue more strings . . . then one* : Euphues' counsel here has more the air of lover's artifice than of self-mortification, and is extremely inconsistent with what precedes and follows.

27. *fained ashes* : i.e. let her think the flame has been stifled, with (Landmann thinks) a possible penitential sense.

29. *paynted sheathe . . . leaden dagger*: again as a proverb for false appearances, p. 215, l. 9.

36. *Stande thou on thy pantuffles*: of pride, p. 196, l. 24, note. With all this passage cf. the crone Sybilla's advice *Saph. and Phao*, ii. 4. 76–115.

37. *vayle bonnet*: lower cap; Fr. *avaler*, Lat. *ad vallem*. *Merch. of Ven.* i. 1. 28.

ceaze on: seize on.

P. 256, 12–3. *Asiarchus . . . Biarus*: imaginary characters, unknown to Livy, Plutarch, Aelian, Polybius, or Val. Max.; unmentioned in Smith's *Dictionary of Biography*. *Bodkin* is a small dagger, as vol. ii. p. 28, l. 12; cf. *Hamlet*, iii. 1. 76 'a bare bodkin.'

22. *Englishman . . . euery straunge fashion*: cf. vol. ii. p. 194, ll. 11–9 note, and *Merch. of Ven.* i. 2. 73.

23. *dissolute*: i.e. dishevelled.

33. *manchet*: finest white bread or rolls, perhaps fr. Fr. *main*: 'the first and most excellent [kind of wheaten bread] is the *mainchet* which we commonlie call white bread,' Harrison's *Descript. of Eng.* ii. 6 (Whitney).

beefe and brewys: 'brewis' was the broth in which salted beef was boiled, or, more often, bread soaked in that broth. Cf. Lucio's dream in *Moth. Bomb.* iii. 4. 98–101 'I sawe a stately peece of beefe . . . sitting vppon a cushion of white Brewish, linde with browne Breade.' Fletcher's *Mad Lover*, ii. 2. 8 'Beef . . . lined with Brewis.'

37. *meetly*: not 'fitly,' but 'in a measure' (vb. to *mete*), 'moderately.'

P. 257, 5. *take pepper in the nose*: take offence. Nares quotes Tarlton's *News out of Purg.* p. 10 'Myles hearing him name the baker, tooke straight pepper in the nose.'

7. *winch . . . gawlded*: 'wince . . . galled.' *Ham.* iii. 2. 251 'Let the galled jade wince.'

28. *Diogenes . . . abhorre all Ladyes*: probably founded on the ungallant dicta attributed to him in Diogenes Laertius' *Vitae Philosophorum*, vi. 2. 4 and 6, especially § 54 ἐρωτηθεὶς ποίῳ καιρῷ δεῖ γαμεῖν, ἔφη 'τοὺς μὲν νέους μηδέπω, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους μηδεπώποτε.'

33. *a godly Theocrita*: I find no mention of her in Smith's *Dict. of Christian Biography*, nor in other Universal Biographies.

36. *Pieria*: mentioned Plut. *De Mulierum Virtutibus*, 16, as the means of reconciling, through her Milesian lover Phrigius, the cities of Myus and Miletus. Again, vol. ii. p. 159, l. 14 as an instance of chaste love.

P. 258, 7. *wight*: for a woman, above, p. 222, l. 18.

30. *fire stone in Liguria*, &c.: I believe amber is meant. Pliny, xxxvii. 11, reports Theophrastus as saying it was dug up in Liguria, and Philemon as saying that it gives out flame.

31. *rootes of Anchusa*: Pliny, xxii. 23 'Anchusae radix . . . liquari non potest in aqua, oleo dissolvitur.'

P. 259, 5. *the Walnut tree neuer*: not in Pliny, xvi. 80, which discusses the erosion of trees by worms.

EUPHUES AND HIS EPHŒBUS

P. 260. *Euphues and his Ephœbus* is a version of Plutarch's *De Educatione Puerorum*, part paraphrase, part translation, abbreviated in places, slightly expanded in others, and containing some considerable additions by Lyly himself, amounting to about eleven pages, or two-fifths of the whole. I have compared with his text, and with the Greek, five Latin translations existing in 1578, those of Xylander, of J. Metzler (1527), of Fabricius (Antwerp, 1563), of Melanchthon (1519), and of Guarini of Verona (circ. 1480); and find clear evidence of his use of the last-named in his adoption of some mistranslations found in, or suggested by, it alone, e.g. p. 262 l. 19 'Queenes, not Kinges,' p. 269, l. 10 'two seruants and one sonne. and whether wilt thou sell,' p. 281, l. 18 'Not to bring fire to a slaughter' (see notes ad loc.). I believe that Lyly had also before him the black-letter quarto English translation of Sir Thomas Elyot, printed by Berthelet about 1535, of which a copy exists in the British Museum, and the wording of which Lyly occasionally recalls, e.g. 'Princesse,' p. 273, l. 12; 'soone angry,' and 'dissemble,' p. 282, ll. 27, 31, omitting, like Elyot, five lines at the end of Plutarch's eighteenth chapter. That Elyot's translation is in part founded on Guarini is evident from two passages where Lyly agrees with them both, and where the other translations have nothing correspondent: viz. p. 270, l. 35 the mention of a good *locality* for education, where Plutarch speaks only of method, and on p. 268, ll. 4–6 the addition 'whom Pelleus . . . good lyuinge,' which has no representative in Plutarch (see notes ad loc.). There is perhaps only one point which clearly shows Lyly's use of the original Greek, his correction namely on p. 273, l. 8 of Guarini's 'Biantem,' and Elyot's 'Byas' to 'Bion' (Plut. Βίων); but instances where he gives a more accurate rendering of the Greek than Elyot does (instances in which he has however the correct example of Guarini) are found in 'doate through age lyke Saturnus' (Gk. κρονόληρος), p. 282, l. 8, and ib. l. 29 his translation of μισοτεκνίας, and his retention of the passage about the offences of servants and friends in two clauses, ib. ll. 33–7, which Elyot compresses into one. Lyly's own additions will be found on pp. 260–1, 264–6, 267–8, 269–70, 272, 273–6, 279, 283–6, at which point the narrative is resumed. It is naturally in these added passages that his euphuism is most apparent. But even where he adheres to his original, he contrives to be himself: his treatment is not so much a translation as a free paraphrase by an original author, and especially

as contrasted with Elyot, by a poet. His chief omissions are about six lines in Plutarch's c. 4, five lines containing a saying of Diogenes near the end of c. 7, ten lines in the middle of c. 10, and eight at its close, fourteen lines at the end of c. 13, in which Plutarch develops the importance of memory, and five lines exemplifying tolerant treatment at the end of c. 18. I note as significant of our author's own character or opinions the following changes or additions (see notes in loc.): p. 262, l. 2 'trecheries' of conjugal infidelities; p. 263, the necessity of good wits, Plutarch asserting the opposite; pp. 264–6, a warm enlargement on the duty, merely briefly touched on by Plutarch, of mothers nursing their own children; p. 267, l. 35, deprecation of extravagance in sport and parsimony in a child's education; p. 270, l. 12 'It is vertue . . . maketh gentlemen'; p. 271, ll. 12, 33, the advice to write out speeches at first instead of trying to speak extempore; p. 272, a page added to enforce the need of variety in subjects of study; pp. 273–6, the digression on Athens, i.e. Oxford; p. 276, l. 32, exercise to be employed as relief to mental strain; p. 279, a page added to inculcate reticence; p. 282, his sense of the opposition between a tutor's influence and that of a young man's flatterers.

1. *Ephœbus*: this mis-spelling predominates over the proper spelling 'Ephebus,' which is found sometimes in the running-title of the earliest editions. ἔφηβος is used in Xen. *Cyropaed.* i. 2. 8, for one arrived at the age of puberty (ἥβη), i.e. at sixteen or seventeen years of age among the Persians, and occurs in § 4 of the same chapter to mark the stage midway between boyhood and complete manhood.

3. *Experience is the Mistresse of fooles*: see Murray, who quotes two instances of the saying.

6. *heereof*: i.e. of Athens, the place from which the treatise is written, cf. p. 259, l. 16. In the second edition, Lyly, probably feeling the locution awkward, printed 'I have ben heere a,' &c.

20. *Aristotle so precise in his happy man*: in *Eth.* i. 7, the end-in-itself, the chief good attainable by human action, is εὐδαιμονία, defined as ψυχῆς ἐνέργεια κατ' ἀρετήν.

Tullie so pure in his orator: the *De Finibus* or *De Officiis* would have furnished a better parallel to the *Republic* and *Ethics*; but the *De Oratore* has a more strictly educational bearing. Cf. p. 284, top.

26. *Saint George, . . . neuer rideth*: again, p. 313, l. 13. Probably of some coin, flag, or inn-sign, where the critical moment represented induced impatience in one who saw it often.

29. *Estrich disgesteth harde yron*: Barth. Angl. xii. 33 'and [the ostryche] is so hote, that he swoloweth and defyeth (i.e. digests) and wastyth yren'—apparently from Aristotle, but not in *De Animal.* iv. 14, nor in Pliny. Repeated in *Pappe*, vol. iii.

P. 261, 3. *vnfortunate*: without fortune, poor (Landmann).

6. *make a course accompte off*: treat as a matter of course, of no importance: so p. 202, l. 22, note.

8. *y^e^ date of Priamus*: i.e. lifetime, but rather of its end. Cf. 'expire thy date,' p. 222, l. 17.

9. *Cocyx*: Gr. κόκκυξ, cuckoo: probably Pliny, x. 11 'sola omnium avis a suo genere interemta.'

10. *Pellican*: Bartholomaeus Anglicus, xii. 29, said to be taken from Pliny.

12. *proper personage*: attractive personal appearance; cf. vol. ii. pp. 57, l. 34, 70, l. 23, 119, l. 8, 121, l. 14.

24. *stone Aetites*, &c.: Pliny, x. 4 'Tribus primis, et quinto aquilarum generi inaedificatur nido lapis aetites'; xxx. 44 'Lapis aetites, in aquilae repertus nido, custodit partus contra omnes abortuum insidias.'

25. *gemme Draconites*: Pliny, xxxvii. 57 'Dracontites, sive dracontia, a cerebro fit draconum: sed nisi viventibus abscisso nunquam gemmescit, invidia animalis mori se sentientis.'

30. *First touching their procreation*: here begins Lyly's paraphrase of Plutarch, with the latter's second chapter, the first (of three lines only) being replaced by Lyly's own introduction.

31. *entreate off who so euer*, &c.: the colon placed at 'intreate of' by E rest alters the sense of 'entreate off' to 'treat of,' and destroys the connexion between that verb and its object, *who so euer*.

P. 262, 2. *trecheries*: infidelities—stronger than in original or translations.

3–4. *For we commonlye . . . parents*: so Lyly, with loss of point, represents two iambic lines quoted in the original.

4–11. *It is therefore a great treasure . . . boast of their gentrye*: these eight lines are a free expansion and alteration of the original, agreeing neither with Guarini, nor Elyot.

15. *sootheth*: affirms to be sooth or true. Cf. p. 282, l. 14 'they that soothe younge youthes in their owne sayinges': also *Sapho*, ii. 4. 104.

17. *bolde courage*: Gk. τῆς μεγαλοφροσύνης, Elyot 'noble harte,' Guarini 'animi magnitudinẽ.'

19. *Queenes, not Kinges*: Gk. οὐ βασιλέας, ἀλλὰ βασιλίσκους. Guarini, 'nõ reges, sed regiã,' i.e. 'reginas.' Elyot, 'not . . . kynges, but only a linage of kynges.' Metzler, however, has 'reginis.'

21. *bee sober*, &c.: Lyly generalizes what Plutarch says only of the time of cohabitation, but the effect is the same.

28. ¶ *Howe the life . . . be lead*: there is nothing correspondent to this heading in the original or the translations; but it is noticeable in regard to the break that Lyly makes here, and on p. 264, that such breaks are found in these places in Guarini's Latin, and in Elyot's English version, and in no others, nor in any other places in Guarini's version or

in Lyly's, though Elyot's division into chapters continues to the end, the last being the fourteenth in his arrangement.

30. *There are three thinges*, &c.: Lyly omits the opening two and a half lines of Plutarch's fourth chapter, and two lines just below.

P. 263, 5-7. *they had neuer . . . studye sciences*: Lyly's addition, as is 'without . . . miserable,' in the next sentence.

10-5. *But if there be any one . . . in vayne is Nature.* What Plutarch affirms stoutly here is the power of training and industry to repair or replace a natural defect of ability. Lyly says just the opposite, misled perhaps by Guarini's uncertainty at this point, but more probably consciously asserting a different opinion from that of Plutarch.

21. *to nothinge. Besides this*: at this full stop Lyly omits some five lines of Plutarch, about curved chariot wheels and actors' staves, and two at the end of this sentence; he compresses Plutarch's three lines about the tree into one, and substitutes other instances for Plutarch's instance of the training of horses, and of wild beasts.

25. *proyned*: pruned.

27-30. *were not Milo . . . sacked*: not in Plutarch. *Brawnefallen*, 'fallen from their brawny or muscular condition,' occurs again of Milo's arms on p. 307; and *Endimion*, iv. 3. 16.

31. *moste vyle*: Guarini 'abiectissimi'; Gk. ἠπιώτατοι.

34-5. *It is custome . . . perfection*: Lyly substitutes this for Plutarch's assertion that ἦθος and ἔθος are convertible terms.

P. 264, 16-20. *for is there any one . . . pleasure*: these four lines are Lyly's addition, and the next sentence about the 'hyred nurse' is adapted rather than translated.

32—P. 266, 24. *Is not the name of a mother . . . reciprecall order of affection*: these two pages are quite unrepresented in Plutarch's treatise; and the addition, and its warmth of tone, indicate Lyly's strong personal sympathy with Plutarch's doctrine.

P. 265, 24. *Horace a newe vessell*, &c.: 'Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem | Testa diu.' 1 *Ep.* 2. 70.

33. *denyed Mamma*: i. e. denied her breast.

P. 266, 9. *sluttishly fedde*: greedily and wastefully.

10. *fulsome*: satiating, as p. 182, l. 14, and *Moth. Bomb.* ii. 3. 75.

13. *Meter a meterine*: i. e. μήτηρ from μὴ τηρεῖν, or μὴ τείρειν of an animal rubbing and licking her cubs. Or possibly Lyly meant τέρεινα, 'tender,' incorrectly in a moral and active sense. The true derivation is from the root *ma*, which Prof. Max Müller translates 'to fashion.' I leave the text as it stands.

24-32. *Yet if the mother . . . quietnesse and cleanelynesse*: here Lyly returns to Plutarch; but the greater part of this sentence has no representative in the Greek.

31. *forslow*: ME. *forslowen*, to neglect. Ben Jonson's *Every Man*

Out of his Humour, v. 5 'If you can think upon any present means for his delivery, do not foreslow it' (Whitney).

32—P. 267, 10. *for as the parts . . . vertue, and lyterature*: Plutarch closely followed.

P. 267, 8. *Phocilides*: Plutarch quotes the line—*παῖδ' ἔτ' ἐόντα χρεὼν δὴ καλὰ διδασκέμεν ἔργα.*

11–19. *Moreouer they . . . to dissemble*: from Plutarch, c. 6, without addition except 'as the shippe from rockes.' The proverb about the cripple is in Plutarch *ἂν χωλῷ παροικήσῃς, ὑποσκάζειν μαθήσῃ.*

15. *conuersation*: not *talk*, as the context shows, but manner of life.

19—P. 268, 2. *When this younge . . . inherite them*: twenty-one lines tripled in length fromPlutarch, c. 7, where the last sentence 'And sooner . . . inherite them' is unrepresented.

23. *vnlearned . . . ill lyued*: Gk. *ἀνδραπόδοις ἢ βαρβάροις*, Elyot 'slaues or villaynes.'

31. *wittall*: properly 'witwal,' the popinjay, a proverb for a complaisant husband; cf. the cuckoo.

32. *mannors . . . manners*: the pun occurs again pp. 225, l. 35, 317, l. 12.

P. 268, 4–6. *whom Pelleus . . . good lyuinge*: has no parallel in Plutarch, but is represented in Guarini's version by 'quē iccirco Peleus: ut ē apud Homerȝ Achillis curae p̄fecisse dicit: ut ei dicēdi ꝑiter ac faciendi ductor foret: atqȝ magister'; and in Elyot's by 'whom Peleus fader of Achilles (as Homere the noble poete wryteth) ordeyned to haue the rule of his sonne, to the entent that (for his wysedome and eloquence) he shulde be as well in speakynge as doynge his instructour and mayster.' The other translators have nothing correspondent. The passage of Homer referred to is *Il.* ix. 442–3 *τοὔνεκά με προέηκε διδασκέμεναι τάδε πάντα | μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι, πρακτῆρά τε ἔργων.*

11. *before the worlde. As*, &c.: omitting Plutarch's *Πηγὴ γὰρ καὶ ῥίζα καλοκἀγαθίας, τὸ νομίμου τυχεῖν παιδείας*, and giving the 'husbandmen' sentence with some freedom.

15–32. *Many parents . . . calmest sea*: about two-fifths as long again as in Plutarch, without addition of idea, but with slight change of sense.

32—P. 269, 32. *Good God . . . owne conceites*: first part of this page closely from Plutarch, the latter part slightly expanded. The four lines, 'then the Father curseth . . . to good letters,' not in Plutarch nor the translations, and Lyly omits the last five of Plutarch, c. 7.

35. *Crates*: so the old texts and translations, and Elyot. Firmin-Didot's ed. of Plutarch, *Σωκράτης*.

P. 269, 8. *groates*: Gk. *δραχμάς*, Xyl. 'denarios,' Guarini and the rest 'drachmas,' Elyot 'xx li.' The weight and consequent value of the Greek drachma varied in different states; the heaviest, the Aeginetan,

was worth more than one shilling of our money ; the lightest, the Corinthian, about sixpence.

10. *thou shalt haue two seruants and one sonne, and whether wilt thou sell?* Lyly (who also prints 'seruauntes' in the preceding line, where the Gk. has *ἀνδράποδον*) altogether spoils the point. In the Greek, Aristippus, in answer to the man's remark that he could buy a slave for that sum, says *Τοιγαροῦν δύο ἕξεις ἀνδράποδα, καὶ τὸν υἱόν, καὶ ὃν ἂν πρίῃ*, i. e. 'but if you leave your son uneducated, he too will be no better than a slave.' The source of Lyly's misrendering is to be found in the slipshod punctuation of Guarini's version—'Duos inquit habebis seruos & filium : & quem mercaberis :' the other translations leave no doubt.

13. *secure of his nurture*: careless of it. So 'securitie' below, l. 27.

18. *trowans*: for *trowants*, ME. form of 'truants,' in sense of idlers. I believe Lyly is referring to the parable of the wise and foolish virgins.

33—P. 270, 34. *It is good nurture . . . grace of vertue*: a close rendering of Plutarch's eighth chapter, with some embellishment of poetry or rhetoric by Lyly, who omits three lines of Plutarch about wealth being a mark for the attack of the malevolent and slanderous, and being shared with the worst characters, and also the description of Stilpo as *ὁ Μεγαρεύς*.

37—P. 270, 2. *as Vlysses sayde to Aiax . . . accompt ours*: unrepresented in Plutarch and his translators. Lyly inserts it from Ovid's *Metam.* xiii. 140—

> 'Nam genus, et proavos, et quae non fecimus ipsi,
> Vix ea nostra voco.'

P. 270, 12-6. *It is vertue . . . most happy*: these four lines are represented only by the very different statement *Παιδεία δὲ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν μόνον ἐστὶν ἀθάνατον καὶ θεῖον.*

17. *knowledge, and reason*: Gk. *νοῦς καὶ λόγος*, *νοῦς* ('knowledge') being the one that 'commandeth.' Elyot translates by the same words.

26. *wonne the Citie*: i. e. of Megara, implied in *ὁ Μεγαρεύς* applied to Stilpo, which Lyly omits. Elyot has 'citie of Megarie.' Demetrius' sack of Megara was in 295 B. C.

34—P. 272, 12. *But as there is nothing more . . . lothsomenesse to the eare*: these fifty-three lines correspond to Plutarch's ninth chapter, and reflect Plutarch's unprepared transition from general education to the special training of an orator.

35. *in such a place*, &c.: nothing about place in Plutarch, who is speaking merely of sound and wholesome *method*: Lyly is following Guarini, 'incorrupta ac salubri patria insistere,' as does Elyot, 'that he sette them in a holsome and vncorrupted countreye'; and the change harmonizes with Lyly's purpose of making severe reflections (below) on Athens, i. e. Oxford.

P. 271, 1. *studye to please the multitude*, &c.: Lyly omits Plutarch's

quotation from Euripides, and the argument that those who flatter the passions of the mob are little likely to have control over their own.

4-7. *When I was heere a student . . . rawely*: four lines unrepresented in Plutarch, though the deprecation of impromptu speech-making is his.

12. *eyther penned, eyther*, &c.: 'either penned, or,' &c., as on pp. 193, l. 11, 209, l. 8. Plutarch has no representative of 'penned,' which is Lyly's addition.

18. (*Demosthenes*) . . . *inuectiue agaynst Midias*: the reference is *In Midiam*, 191; Plutarch quotes the passage correctly enough, but Lyly substitutes 'without due consideration . . . to be spoken' for τοιαῦτα παθὼν καὶ πάσχων.

23. *the exercise of the witte*: Plutarch, τῶν λόγων τὴν ἑτοιμότητα.

32. *sauor of his former penning*: Plutarch, τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς ἑρμηνείας χαρακτῆρα φυλάσσουσι; Guar. 'eundē stillū īterpraetis obseruāt'; Elyot (evidently following Guarini) 'yet wylle they folowe the stile of an interpretour (whiche is with longe taryenge and moche studye).'

34. *immoderate kinde of humilitie*: i. e. lowness and poorness of style, absence of dignity. Plutarch, ματαιολογίας τῆς ἐσχάτης; Guar. 'extremae garulitatis'; Elyot, 'extreame clatterynge and ianglynge.'

35. *A certein painter brought to Appelles*, &c.: Plutarch's story is repeated in *Campaspe*, iii. 4. 76 of 'Aurelius.'

P. 272, 4–5. *swellyng . . . lyttle modestie . . . nothing moueth*: Plutarch, Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὑπέρογκος ἀπολίτευτός ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ ἰσχνὴ λίαν ἀνέπληκτος—'the inflated style is unsuitable for politics, the meagre style produces no impression.' Guar. 'Tumidum nāqꝫ orationis genus ciuile nequaq̄ est. Tenue uero nusq̄ mouet.' Elyot, 'Inflate and proude speche lacketh gentyllnesse,' &c.

6-12. *Besides this . . . lothsomenesse to the eare*: these seven lines represent the close of Plutarch's ninth chapter, which advocates variety in speaking.

12—P. 273, 2. *It is varietie . . . I will proceede in the Education*: here, for nearly a page Lyly embroiders on the theme of the necessity of variety, and, freed from the fetters of an original, indulges in his euphuism. The words 'I will proceede in the Education' mark his return to Plutarch.

14. *Homer woulde say*, &c.: Lyly seems to be reproducing Plutarch, *De Garrulitate*, c. 5 τῶν δὲ περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγομένων ἀληθέστατόν ἐστιν, ὅτι μόνος Ὅμηρος τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀψικορίας περιγέγονεν, ἀεὶ καινὸς ὢν καὶ πρὸς χάριν ἀκμάζων· ἀλλ' ὅμως εἰπὼν καὶ ἀναφωνήσας ἐκεῖνο περὶ αὐτοῦ, τό,

Ἐχθρὸν δέ μοί ἐστιν
αἶθις ἀριζήλως εἰρημένα μυθολογεύειν. [*Odyss.* xii. 453.]

23. *quiddities*: trifling niceties, quibbles; properly the statement of the *quid* or essence.

25. *Astrologians*: astronomers.

P. 273, 3-28. *I would haue them . . . ouercome with anger*: here for twenty-six lines Lyly follows very closely the first half of Plutarch's tenth chapter; then he breaks off into a digression, quite unrepresented in his original, on the vices of Athens, i. e. of University life at Oxford, which lasts for some three pages, until with the words 'But retourne wee once agayne to Philo' (p. 276, l. 14) Plutarch's tenth chapter is resumed, after the omission of about ten lines.

8. *Bion*: Plutarch Βίων, Guarini 'Biantem,' Elyot 'Byas,' which clearly shows that Lyly had the original before him. Probably Plutarch means the Scythian philosopher who lived *c.* B.C. 250.

12. *as the onely Princesse of all Scyences*: Plutarch ὥσπερ τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας κεφάλαιον; Guar. 'aliarū artium & scīarum uti principē'; Elyot 'as princesse of al other doctrines.'

21. *obay our parents*, &c.: in Plutarch, Guarini, and Elyot, the various classes of people who have relations with us are simply enumerated first, and the nature of our obligation towards them is given in a second sentence. Lyly gives the obligations twice over.

28. *And heere I cannot but lament Athens*, &c.: here commences the digression, three pages long, on the disorders of University life at Oxford in Lyly's day; reflections which evidently roused a good deal of displeasure, since he thinks it necessary to append something of a disclaimer to the second edition. Doubtless instruction was irregular, and the discipline bad; but doubtless, too, these circumstances had much enhanced Lyly's own enjoyment of college-life. See Life, pp. 6–12.

P. 274, 9. *in steede of blacke cloth blacke veluet*: cf. the alternative title of Greene's *A Qvip for an Vpstart Courtier: or, A quaint dispute between Veluet breeches and Cloth-breeches* (1592), i. e. between new-fangled extravagance and antique simplicity.

29. *in England of Oxford & Cambridge*: Lyly, as he tells us in *The Glasse for Europe*, vol. ii. p. 192, l. 37, had been a student in both. Here, while pretending to distinguish them from iniquitous Athens, he nevertheless pronounces them 'starke nought.'

37. *fraight*: i. e. 'freight,' 'freighted.'

P. 275, 7. *to the carte*: i. e. for conveying criminals to the gallows. Landmann supposes it to mean 'to trade,' i. e. farming.

17. *no chaungelinges*: i. e. supposititious children, who would fail to exhibit the family characteristics. Construct with it 'When of olde,' &c. = 'from the old time when.'

sayde to a Lacedemonian, &c.: adapted from Plutarch, *Apophtheg. Lacon.* (Varia), 52, where also occurs the story about the old man at the Panathenaea, alluded to again vol. ii. p. 100, l. 14.

28. *all thinges are honest there*, &c.: Plutarch, *Apophtheg. Lacon.* (Varia), 62.

P. 276, 2. *Chrisippus . . . maide Melissa*, &c.: this story, repeated

in *Campaspe*, i. 3. 6, is told by Valerius Maximus, viii. 7. 5, not of Chrysippus, but of the philosopher Carneades, who after reclining at table used to forget to eat: 'Sed eum Melissa, quam uxoris loco habebat . . . dexteram suam necessariis usibus aptabat.'

4. *Aristotle . . . ball of brasse*: Diog. Laert. v. i, *Aristoteles*, § 9 καὶ ὁπότε κοιμῷτο, σφαῖραν χαλκῆν βάλλεσθαι αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν χεῖρα λεκάνης ὑποκειμένης, ἵν' ἐκπεσούσης τῆς σφαίρας εἰς τὴν λεκάνην, ὑπὸ τοῦ ψόφου ἐξέγροιτο. It also occurs on fol. 15 of 'A Treatise of Morall Philosophye containynge the Sayings of the wyse,' 1567, 8°.

6-7. *the tymes . . . as Ouid sayeth*: 'Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis.' But this, like some other well-known quotations, is not classical, but mediaeval. Matthias Borbonius, in *Deliciae Poetarum Germanorum*, vol. i. p. 685, assigns it to Lothair I of Germany (*vix.* 795-855), who wrote—

> 'Omnia mutantur nos et mutamur in illis;
> Illa vices quasdam res habet, illa vices.'
>
> *Dict. Class. Quot.*, p. 197 (Harbottle).

15-30. *There is amongst men . . . gouerne their cities*: this passage represents ten lines in the latter half of Plutarch's tenth chapter, Lyly's sole addition being the mention of 'the Epicures' as occupied in the third kind of life, of ignoble self-indulgence. He omits ten lines in the middle of the chapter, and eight at its close. Plutarch borrowed this trifold division of life from Seneca, *De Otio Sapientis*, c. 32.

30. *gouerne their cities*: Plutarch applies the same word ἐπολιτεύσατο to all the four names; and so Guarini, 'ciuilia tractauit officia;' and Elyot in the same way. Archytas took a prominent part in the government of Tarentum about 400 B.C. Dion overthrew the power of the younger Dionysius at Syracuse B.C. 356.

30—P. 277, 11. *For y^e exercise of the bodye . . . hawke and hunt*: taken from Plutarch's eleventh chapter; save that Lyly recommends physical exercise as a relief of the mental strain (of which there is nothing in Plutarch and his translators), omitting Plutarch's view of athletics as a preparation for soldiership, and his anticipation of the objection that his scheme of education is only possible for the rich.

P. 277, 13-26. *I would not haue him scourged . . . owne opinions*: contains the whole of Plutarch's short twelfth chapter.

15. *seruaunts the which the more . . . care for it*: probably suggested by Guarini, 'q durati rigescunt.' Plutarch means rather that well-born children, harshly treated, become stupid and idle: nor has he anything corresponding to *those of obstinate & blockish behauiour*.

26—P. 278, 10. *I haue knowen many fathers . . . profite in lerning*: translated almost literally from Plutarch's thirteenth chapter, Lyly's sole additions being 'giueth ouer in the playne fielde' (i.e. in mid labour) for οὐ δέχονται τὴν μάθησιν εὐηνίως, and the idea of 'tuning the harp.'

P. 278, 7. *are in minde to be mislyked*: Plutarch Ἄξιον δ' ἐπιτιμᾶν; Guar. 'Increpādi plerique merito sunt'; Elyot 'be to be blamed.'

10–19. *For if the father . . . mother of perfection*: these nine lines are freely rendered, but without importation: fourteen lines of Plutarch, enlarging on memory, are omitted.

17. *furtheraunce*: a poor rendering of Plutarch's ταμεῖον, Guar. 'cella penaria,' Elyot 'store-house.'

19—P. 279, 36. *Children are to be chastised . . . much lesse in a sonne*: corresponds to Plutarch's fourteenth chapter, but departs from it widely. The first 4–5 lines are Plutarch's; as are the stories about Socrates, Archytas, and Plato (who in Plutarch delegates the slave's chastisement), and the injunctions to restrain 'hot and heady humor,' to control the tongue, and to teach children to speak the truth. But much of the chapter is omitted; and a whole page about reticence supplied by Lyly from other sources.

P. 279, 5–7. *It neuer hath . . . recalled*: closely from Plutarch, who at the end of the *De Garrulit.* attributes the saying to Simonides.

7–32. *We maye see the cunning . . . face of the Tyraunt*: not in the *De Educatione.* It is noticeable that Elyot, too, chooses this place to insert some three pages about Polyphemus and Ulysses. Lyly's insertion is from Plutarch's *De Garrulitate*, from which we found him quoting on p. 272, l. 14. The tongue guarded by Nature with teeth is from chap. 3 of that treatise, where also occurs ἀπιστοῦνται δ' οἱ λάλοι, κἂν ἀληθεύωσιν (see below). The advice to refrain from wine, and the 'olde Prouerbe' quoted, are from chap. 4 (though not 'the glasse of the minde,' Aesch. *Frag.* 274; cf. vol. ii. p. 83, l. 7, note), as are the stories of Bias and Zeno; while that of Anacharsis occurs in chap. 7, and that of Zeno's tongue at the beginning of chap. 8.

21. *the Kings Legates*: i. e. the Persian King's.

37—P. 280, 16. *But the greatest . . . Lacedemonian to the other*: these seventeen lines represent Plutarch's fifteenth chapter, in which he discusses with hesitation the question whether lovers of boys should be admitted to their company. Lyly's hesitation is naturally less, and his repudiation of the vice in Plutarch's mind more emphatic, e. g. he inserts 'as a most daungerous and infectious beast.' This direct evidence of Elizabethan opinion is of value. Elyot omits the whole chapter.

P. 280, 7. *Sœbetes*: probably printer's error for 'Cebetes,' which Lyly must have supposed to be the nominative case of Guarini's 'Cebetem,' Plutarch, τὸν Κέβητα. Cebes of Thebes was a disciple of Socrates, introduced by Plato in the *Phaedo*, and the author of Πίναξ, wherein the dangers and temptations of human life are symbolically represented in a table which is explained by an old man to some youths.

17—P. 281, 5. *But hauing sayde . . . the feare of punishment*: translated with some freedom from Plutarch's sixteenth chapter, e. g. τοὺς

μοχθηρῶν ἐθῶν εἰσηγητάς becomes 'the nature of diuers parentes,' and the metaphor 'bridle . . . snaffle . . . bit,' is Lyly's; and ll. 25–7 'eyther with threates . . . be rewarded' is Lyly's substitute for the two causes suggested by Plutarch for childish errors, the tutor's neglect, or the pupil's mischievous disregard of him; and ll. 33–5 'for hard it is . . . ouerlashinge affections' is other than the sense of Plutarch. 'Wise parentes . . . punishment' closely follows the original.

24. *escapes*: see Murray s. v.

P. 281, 5—P. 282, 20. *But chiefly parents . . . deuouringe minde*: this page and a half is close in sense to Plutarch's seventeenth chapter, with slight compression, or more pictorial language, e. g. ῥᾳθυμεῖν becomes 'layeth a cusshion vnder his eldbowe to sleepe,' and there is small fidelity in 'Heerof it cõmeth . . . slaues by free wil.'

12. *goe aboue the ballaunce*: Plutarch, μηδὲ ζυγὸν ὑπερβαίνειν, which all the translators render by 'stateram'; Guarini, 'Iugum stateramque ne transcẽdere.' *Neyther for feare . . . parcially* is Lyly's addition.

13. *Not to lye in idlenesse*: Plutarch, μηδὲ ἐπὶ χοίνικα καθίσαι, 'to sit idly eating.' The χοῖνιξ was a measure of 1½ pints or 1 quart, taken by Hdt. vii. 187 as a man's daily allowance of corn.

18. *Not to bring fire to a slaughter*: Plutarch, Πῦρ σιδήρῳ μὴ σκαλεύειν, Elyot, 'Cutte not the fyre with weapon.' Lyly's mistranslation is due to a hasty reading of Guarini, 'Ignem ferro caedi minime decere,' where he mistook 'ferro' for 'ferre.' He explains the proverb correctly, after Plutarch: cf. *Sapho*, ii. 4. 110 'fire to bee quenched with dust, not with swordes.'

25. *in Scapio*: Plut. εἰς ἀμίδα. Guar. 'in scaphio,' i.e. chamber-pot, used in that sense in Martial or Juvenal. Elyot 'in a traye,' to the sacrifice of sense.

P. 282, 5–8. *soone gone . . . lyke Saturnus*: somewhat freely from Plutarch, Lyly adding 'lyue lyke a seruaunt.' Plutarch's epithet, κρονόληρος, is closely rendered, perhaps from Guarini, 'Iam pater uti Saturnus qdam aetate delirat,' Elyot having merely 'thinkynge that in age his father doteth.'

14. *soothe . . . in their owne sayinges*: i.e. assent to them; cf. p. 262, l. 15.

19. *Panthers . . . sweete smell . . . deuouringe minde*: see note on p. 202, l. 20. Not in Plutarch.

20–37. *yet woulde I not haue parentes . . . somtimes with our sonnes*: closely after Plutarch's eighteenth chapter, adding 'causeth a redresse . . . childe,' l. 25, and 'he becommeth desperate . . . owne duetie,' l. 30, and substituting for five lines of practical examples at the end, the sentence about 'the fairest Iennet.'

37. *Iennet*: a small Spanish horse. Arabic word from 'Zenāta,' a tribe of Barbary celebrated for its cavalry. Cf. p. 313, l. 1.

P. 283, 2–11. *If thy sonne . . . then to their wife*: corresponds closely to Plutarch's short nineteenth chapter.

11–26. *But to retourne . . . youth is past grace*: an expansion of the first half of Plutarch's twentieth and closing chapter, the last sentence enlarged from Plutarch being ὅπου γὰρ γέροντές εἰσιν ἀναίσχυντοι, ἐνταῦθ' ἀνάγκη καὶ νέους ἀναιδεστάτους εἶναι, while Elyot reproduces also the remaining fourteen lines.

27. *The sum of all*, &c.: all from this point is Lyly's addition, as the euphuism shows. He resumes his narrative, p. 286, l. 23.

P. 284, 1–3. *Platoes common weale . . . Aristotle . . . Tullye*, &c.: as at the commencement, p. 260, l. 20, note.

18. *yron mowle*: i. e. rust-stain, as on p. 189, l. 33.

23. *Pyrrhus . . . striken to the hearte*: all the editions read 'Pyreus,' but probably Lyly is recalling Plutarch's *Pyrrhus*, where Antigonus Gonatas compares him to a gambler. c. 26. Ὅθεν ἀπείκαζεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντίγονος κυβευτῇ πολλὰ βάλλοντι καὶ καλά, χρῆσθαι δὲ οὐκ ἐπισταμένῳ τοῖς πεσοῦσι. He was killed B.C. 272.

36. *as Seneca sayth*: the saying is from the *De Brevitate Vitae*, c. i 'Non exiguum temporis habemus, sed multum perdimus. . . . non accepimus brevem vitam, sed fecimus . . . vita, si scias uti, longa est.' Lyly's careless rendering is repeated *Campaspe*, v. 4. 46.

P. 285, 2. *Appelles . . . no day . . . without a lyne*: Pliny, xxxvi. 84 'Apelli fuit alioqui perpetua consuetudo numquam tam occupatum diem agendi ut non lineam ducendo exerceret artem, quod ab eo in proverbium venit.'

4. *sayde of Hesiodas*, &c.: from the Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι, 276–80.

> Τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νόμον διέταξε Κρονίων·
> ἰχθύσι μὲν καὶ θηρσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς πετεηνοῖς
> ἔσθειν ἀλλήλους, ἐπεὶ οὐ δίκη ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς·
> ἀνθρώποισι δ' ἔδωκε δίκην, ἣ πολλὸν ὀρίστη κ.τ.λ.

Plut. *De Solertia Animalium*, vi. 3, quotes part of it.

8. *the Turtle for loue*: so *Mother Bombie*, i. 3. 121 in Livia's sampler.

15. *I can not tell*, &c.: a hesitation quite inappropriate to Euphues, the resident of Athens, but natural in Lyly wishing to soften a little his indictment of Oxford.

30. *note you of*: brand you with.

P. 286, 1. *an olde man in Naples*: Eubulus, whose precepts on pp. 189–90 'Descende into . . . friendes desire,' are here verbally reproduced.

P. 287, 10. *a greate horse*: a war-horse, as in *Gallathea*, iii. 3. 35, and in Middleton and Massinger's *Love's Cure*, ii. 2, of the martial Clara.

11. *a smacke in*: a smattering of, as p. 316, l. 29, and More's *Utopia*, Ded. p. 12 'one that hath a little smack of learning' (Whitney).

18. *filed phrases*: cf. 'fyled speach,' p. 205, l. 13.

19. *Eligies of Ouid*: thinking of the *Heroides*, *Fasti*, and *Amores* ('Elegia I,' 'II,' &c.) written in the elegiac metre.

P. 288, 32. *Hippomanes*: i.e. Hippomenes, the victor and husband of the Boeotian Atalanta, daughter of King Schoeneus of Onchestus. Ov. *Met.* x. 565–605.

P. 289, 9. *bird in the limebush*, &c.: i.e. limed bush, bush smeared with lime, used in Ben Jonson's *Barth. Fair*, iii. 1. Landmann compares *Hamlet*, iii. 3. 68 'O limèd soul, that struggling to be free | Art more engaged.'

12. *Nectar*, &c.: not in Ovid, nor in Homer.

14. *stone . . . in the riuer of Caria*: on p. 210, l. 29, this river turned its drinkers to stone. Pliny missed it.

21. *manuary*: 'manual'; no other instance quoted, though used by Bishop Hall for 'artificer.'

EUPHUES AND ATHEOS

P. 291. ¶ *Evphves and Atheos*: I find no special original for this dialogue, though the dialogue-form may have been suggested by Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, from which the stories about Dionysius (pp. 291–2), and Cleanthes' four reasons for admitting the existence of God (p. 293), are taken: but both in manner, proceèding by invective and threats of divine punishment rather than by argument, and in matter, agglomerating texts from different parts of the Bible that seem to support the cause in hand, the pamphlet resembles a pulpit-discourse more than a logical discussion. One can conceive that the young author of twenty-five was rather proud of it, his critical faculty being perhaps swamped by the real strength of his religious convictions: he seems curiously insensible of the fallacious nature of some of the arguments to which Atheos is made to succumb. His euphuism is little felt, because the pamphlet is so largely composed of the actual words of Scripture.

Analysis—*Atheos* (pp. 291–2) proposes the discussion, asserts that if God were a reality there would be more awe of Him and less sin, and suggests that the physical world is perhaps the real God. *Euphues* (pp. 292–6) with pious horror replies that even the most savage people have the idea of God; quotes Plato, Aristotle, and Cleanthes as witnesses to Him; and, dismissing philosophy, since 'manifest truthes are not to be proued but beleeued,' cites a number of Scriptural texts, wherein God asserts His divinity and attributes, passing (pp. 294–5) to others threatening punishment against blasphemy, idolatry, and unbelief. He earnestly exhorts Atheos to submit, and paints the terrors of the day of Judgement. *Atheos* (p. 296) not unreasonably replies that to prove God from Scripture is illogical, since its authority rests on a belief in Him; and questions the authenticity of the present books, since Antiochus commanded all the copies of the Law to be burned. *Euphues* (pp. 297–300)

answers that a persuasion of the divine inspiration of the Scriptures is the effect of the Holy Ghost; but urges, as 'seconde helpes' to establish their truth, their orderly disposition and consistency, the heavenly nature of their doctrine and the simplicity of the words that convey it, the antiquity of the books of Moses as compared with those of other religions, and his impartial relation of facts against his own relatives, the striking miracles attending the publication of the Law, and the fulfilment of some prophecies. The authority of the prophetical books is also established by the fulfilment of prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. For the inspiration of the New Testament he urges the simplicity and the eloquence of its language, the remarkable circumstances attending the call of some of its authors, the general belief of all ages and nations, and the martyrs' blood shed in testimony to its truth. On p. 299 he asserts that God preserved some copies of the Law from being burned at the time of Antiochus' proclamation; from which the Greek translation was afterwards made. He threatens Atheos with hell for his inquiring disposition, falls back on the sound position that the conviction of God is an instinct in men's hearts, and while announcing that he must forswear the atheist's society promises to pray for him. *Atheos* (pp. 300–1), somewhat easily overcome by these arguments, now professes the greatest distress of mind, and cites against himself a number of damnatory texts; whereupon *Euphues* (pp. 301–4) labours to reassure him, laying stress on the mercy and forgiveness of God, and urging the sufferings endured by Christ on behalf of sinners, and the examples of forgiveness supplied by Mary Magdalen, Matthew the publican, and St. Paul. *Atheos* (pp. 304–5) thanking him, calls him to witness his faith, and *Euphues* gives the glory to God.

P. 291, 14. *frenticke*: spelt with *e* or *a* in ME.; OF. *frénétique*, fr. late Lat. *phreneticus*, a corruption of Gk. φρενιτικός from φρενῖτις, delirium (Whitney).

23—P. 292, 4. *Tullye disputinge of the nature of Gods, bringeth Dionisius... rewarde our Sacriledge*: these sixteen lines are derived from the following passage in Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 34 'Dionysius (de quo ante dixi), cum fanum Proserpinae Locris expilavisset, navigabat Syracusas: isque cum secundissimo vento cursum teneret, ridens, "Videtisne," inquit, "amici, quam bona a Diis immortalibus navigatio sacrilegis detur?" Atque homo acutus, cum bene planeque percepisset, in eadem sententia perseverabat: qui, cum ad Peloponnesum classem appulisset, et in fanum venisset Iovis Olympii, aureum ei detraxit amiculum, grandi pondere, quo Iovem ornarat ex manubiis Carthaginiensium tyrannus Gelo. Atque in eo etiam cavillatus est, aestate grave esse aureum amiculum, hyeme frigidum; eique laneum pallium iniecit, cum id esse ad omne anni tempus diceret. Idemque Aesculapii Epidauri barbam auream demi iussit: neque enim convenire, barbatum esse

filium, cum in omnibus fanis pater imberbis esset. Iam mensas argenteas de omnibus delubris iussit auferri; in quibus quod, more veteris Graeciae, inscriptum esset, "Bonorum Deorum," uti se eorum bonitate velle dicebat. Idem Victoriolas aureas, et pateras, coronasque, quae simulacrorum porrectis manibus sustinebantur, sine dubitatione tollebat; eaque se accipere, non auferre, dicebat; esse enim stultitiam, a quibus bona precaremur, ab iis porrigentibus et dantibus nolle sumere.'

25. *Apollo*: not in the text of the passage from Cicero; Lyly adds it from a note, or previous knowledge.

P. 292, 5. *Protagoras*: Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* i. 2 'dubitare se Protagoras [dixit],' and i. 12 'Protagoras, qui sese negat omnino de Diis habere quod liqueat, sint, non sint, qualesve sint.'

6. *if there be any God, it is the worlde*, &c.: an opinion several times suggested in the *De Nat. Deor.*, e. g. attributed to Aristotle, i. 13.

20. *stroken*: struck, cf. p. 293, l. 20, vol. ii. p. 17, l. 27. The *o*, confined in ME. to the past tense, was extended later to the participle.

29. *The Heathen man sayth, yea that Tullye*, &c.: in *De Nat. Deor.* i. 17, Velleius, quoting the opinion of Epicurus, says 'Quae est enim gens, aut quod genus hominum, quod non habeat, sine doctrina, anticipationem quandam Deorum?'—the resemblance to this passage in Lyly goes no further—and in c. 23 Cotta replies 'Equidem arbitror, multas esse gentes sic immanitate efferatas, ut apud eas nulla suspicio Deorum sit.'

P. 293, 2. *to goe on pilgrimage to images*: in Langland and Chaucer are many allusions to pilgrimages to the shrine of St. James at Compostella in Galicia, e. g. *Piers Plowman*, i. 48, v. 122, &c.

6. *Plato . . . woulde often say*, &c.: the immortality of God is asserted in the *Phaedrus*, 246 (ad fin.), but Lyly seems to be writing from a general recollection rather than recalling a particular passage.

10–2. *Aristotle . . . O thing of things*, &c.: the exclamation for the same cause is put into Aristotle's mouth in *Campaspe*, i. 3. 31 'O ens entium miserere mei.' The story, also repeated by Nash, is not in Diog. Laertius' life of Aristotle; nor can I find it in the latter's works, though in the *De Audibilibus*, 803, and *Problem.* § xxxvi. 4 is some speculation on the cause of the huge waves in the channel of the Euripus.

13–34. *Cleanthes alleadged foure causes . . . some omnipotent Deitie*: these twenty-two lines are an almost literal translation of another passage in Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 5, which I give—'Cleanthes quidem noster quatuor de causis dixit in animis hominum informatas Deorum esse notiones. Primam posuit eam, de qua modo dixi, quae orta esset ex praesensione rerum futurarum: alteram, quam ceperimus ex magnitudine commodorum, quae percipiuntur coeli temperatione, foecunditate terrarum, aliarumque commoditatum complurium copia: tertiam, quae terreret animos fulminibus, tempestatibus, nimbis, nivibus, grandinibus, vastitate, pestilentia, terrae motibus, et saepe fremitibus, lapideisque imbribus.

et guttis imbrium quasi cruentis; tum lapidibus, aut repentinis terrarum hiatibus; tum, praeter naturam, hominum pecudumque portentis; tum facibus visis coelestibus [Lyly's 'firie impressions in the Elemente,' l. 22]; tum stellis iis, quas Graeci cometas, nostri crinitas, vocant (quae nuper bello Octaviano magnarum fuerunt calamitatum praenuntiae); tum sole geminato, quod, (ut e patre audivi) Tuditano et Aquillio consulibus evenerat: quo quidem anno P. Africanus, sol alter, exstinctus est: quibus exterriti, homines vim quandam esse coelestem et divinam suspicati sunt. Quartam causam esse, eamque vel maximam, aequabilitatem motus, conversionem coeli; solis, lunae siderumque omnium distinctionem, varietatem, pulchritudinem, ordinem: quarum rerum aspectus ipse satis indicaret, non esse ea fortuita.'

P. 293, 22. *firie impressions in the Elemente*: i. e. in the air. Cf. vol. ii. p. 34, l. 23, 'straũg sights in y^e^ elemẽt.'

27. *Tuditanus*: Cn. Sempronius Tuditanus, consul B. C. 129 with M'. Aquilius.

P. 294, 27. *It is written, bring out . . . stone him*: from Lev. xxiv. 14–16.

P. 296, 9. *You shall conceyue heate . . . lyke fire*: possibly adapted from Jer. v. 14.

34. *Antiochus commaunded*, &c.: Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, occupied Jerusalem on the close of his fourth Egyptian expedition, 168 B. C. He designed to make it a strong fortress; and, being supported by enemies of the Jews, issued several proclamations directed against the national customs and worship, desecrated the Temple, forbade the observance of the Law, and instituted a search for copies of the books of the Law, which he burned (1 Macc. i. 56). This act does not seem to have included the prophetical books: it is recognized as helping to invest the ancient books of the Jews with their sacred character.

P. 297, 1. *milke of a Tygresse*: nothing in Pliny nor Barth. Angl.

20. *Leuy . . . Aaron . . . Marie*: Gen. xxxiv; Num. xii.

23. *myracles . . . infallyble proofes*: Lyly forgets that miracles which rest only on the testimony of Scripture cannot be cited as evidence of the truth of Scripture. The fallacy is repeated in a longer paragraph, p. 298.

25. *Moses . . . assigneth gouernment to the Tribe of Iuda*: Gen. xlix. 10.

27. *telleth before of the callynge of the Gentiles*: presumably the words used at the call of Abraham are referred to—'in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed' (Gen. xii. 3).

31. *Esay telleth before of the captiuitie of the Iewes and their restoryng*, &c.: Isaiah prophesies the captivity of 588 B. C. in ch. xxxix. 6, and the restoration by Cyrus (536 B. C.) in ch. xliv. 28. The date of Isaiah's death is uncertain, but may be put between 710–695 B. C., while

the birth of Cyrus may perhaps be dated between 590–580 B. C., his first political exploit, the conquest of Astyages, dating 559 B. C.

33. *Ieremy . . . apointeth their exile to continew threescore and ten yeares*: Jer. xxv. 11 and 12 'these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years. And it shall come to pass, when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon,' &c. The duration of the Babylonian empire from Nebuchadnezzar to Nabonedus or Nabopalassar was sixty-seven or sixty-nine years; but the seventy years are, says Cook (Commentary to his Bible) 'usually calculated down to the Jewish restoration,' 536 B. C., i. e. presumably from Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Palestine from Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, in 605 B. C.

35. *Ieremy and Ezechiel beeinge farre distaunt in places*: Jeremiah, writing at Jerusalem, prophesies the captivity by Nebuchadnezzar in xxi. 7, and the restoration in xvi. 15. Ezekiel carried captive by Nebuchadnezzar with other nobles in 599 B. C. was settled with a Jewish colony on the banks of the Chebar, 200 miles north of Babylon. He did not begin to prophesy before 595 B. C. His earlier chapters foretell the disasters awaiting Jerusalem; his thirty-seventh prophesies the restoration of the Jews to their own land.

36. *Daniel . . . sixe hundreth yeares after*: Daniel's ninth chapter, written 538–7 B. C., foretells the Messiah's death.

P. 299, 4. *by & by followed the translating of them into Greeke*: Lyly is here misinformed. The Septuagint version was made, or at least commenced, in the time of the earlier Ptolemies, in the first half of the third century B. C. Antiochus' proclamation about the books of the Law was long afterwards, in 168 B. C.

20. *It were an absurditie in schooles*, &c.: the cases are by no means parallel. Atheos might have replied that the logical force of an argument is, indeed, not affected by the question of Aristotle's authorship of it or no; but that the denial of the inspiration of the Scriptures touches very closely the credit of what they report, though not of what they argue, about God. *In schooles . . . beeing vrged*, &c., refers to the public disputation necessary as one of the qualifications for a degree. See Life, p. 10.

32. *idle heades would be scoffed with adle aunsweres*: i. e. invite such treatment. The antithesis of 'idle' and 'addle' occurs once or twice, e. g. p. 325, l. 13.

P. 301, 25. *his wordes are like fire*, &c.: Jer. v. 14 'behold, I will make my words in thy mouth fire, and this people wood, and it shall devour them.'

P. 303, 4. *Themistocles . . . Philip y^e^ king of Macedonia . . . sonne Alexander*: the story is really told of Admetus, king of the Molossians, in Plutarch's *Themistocles*, c. 24. Themistocles died 449 B. C., Alexander was not born till 356 B. C. The mistake is not creditable to Lyly's grasp of history.

28. *endured euen the torments of the damned spirites*: the same ignoring of the distinction between Hades and Gehenna is visible in the treatment of The Harrowing of Hell in some of the Mysteries.

31. *record*: remember. Again, vol. ii. pp. 87, ll. 2–3, 224, ll. 24–5.

P. 305, 17–18. *Adamant... warme bloude of a Goate... bursteth*: so 'that stone which may bee mollyfied onely with bloud,' p. 210, l. 28, note. Also vol. ii. pp. 87, l. 3, 224, l. 33.

LETTERS OF EUPHUES.

P. 306, 1. *Certeine Letters*, &c.: the epistolary form, of which we have already had instances, pp. 233, –5, –46, and shall have others in Part II, was probably suggested, as Landmann pointed out, by those in Guevara's *Libro Aureo*, translated by Sir Thomas North as *The Diall of Princes*, 1557, and reprinted in 1568, with the addition of a Fourth Book from another work of Guevara, inserted before the 'Certen Letters written by M. Aurelius.' M. Jusserand points out that Richardson borrows this method for his heroine Pamela, who in some of her views strongly resembles Euphues (*The Eng. Novel in the time of Shakespeare*, pp. 130, 141, ed. 1894).

11. *preuenting age*: making himself old before his time.

P. 307, 5. *aslake*: Skeat cites an AS. compound *ascleacian* as well as *scleacian*, 'to grow slack.' Cf. 'abate,' contr. to 'bate.' Again *Endim.* i. 4. 40 (note).

27. *whether*: whither.

30. *brawnefallen*: cf. Milo, p. 263, l. 27.

P. 308, 10. *the Emperour*: the first we have heard of him, though on p. 246 Philautus was said to be 'addicted to the court.' The anachronism is borrowed, like the Empress, p. 319, and Athens, from North's *Diall.* See Introd. Essay, p. 155.

10. *the Poet say to truely* Exeat aula, &c.: Lucan, *Pharsalia*, viii. 493–5.

23. *w^t Crates... trudge to Athens*: Plut. *De Vitando Aere Alieno*, c. viii Κράτης δὲ ὁ Θηβαῖος, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀπαιτούμενος, οὐδ' ὀφείλων, αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς οἰκονομίας καὶ φροντίδας καὶ περισπασμοὺς δυσχεραίνων, ἀφῆκεν οὐσίαν ὀκτὼ ταλάντων, καὶ τρίβωνα καὶ πήραν ἀναλαβὼν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν καὶ πενίαν κατέφυγεν. But the recommendation to go to Athens is hardly consistent with Euphues' previous *exposé* of that university.

24. *with Anaxagoras dispise wealth*, &c.: Anaxagoras' (born c. 499) abandonment of his patrimony as likely to distract him from higher pursuits is recorded Diog. Laert. ii. 3. 2, but Lyly probably took it from Plutarch's *Pericles*, c. xvi.

33. *straight accompt*: narrow, close account.

P. 309, 12. *skinneth*: is skinned over. No other intrans. instance quoted.

13. *Thunder bruseth*, &c.: probably grounded on Pliny, ii. 53, of thunderbolts which strike directly, not obliquely, and are thought to issue from the earth 'quoniam ex repulsu nulla vestigia edunt.' Again vol. ii. p. 75, l. 37.

20. *ouerlashinge*: above pp. 209, l. 5, 246, l. 9.

22. *Time*: thyme.

P. 310, 1. *Euphues to Eubulus*: the first edition heads this letter 'Euphues to Ferardo,' to whom its offered consolation for the loss of a daughter, 'amyable but yet sinful,' makes it at first sight more appropriate. Lucilla's death is, moreover, the subject of the ensuing letter. But Ferardo died, p. 245; and the opening allusion to 'graue aduice' offered in vain to the writer indicates Eubulus as the fitter recipient, though no daughter of his has been introduced to us. Probably Lyly, careless here as elsewhere of the facts or plan of his tale, wrote and meant 'Ferardo' in his MS., but altered the name in the second edition. Setting aside the ghastly priggishness of such an address by a young man to an old—a quality Euphues develops in Part II—the letter is one of the best. It may have been modelled on Seneca's *Consolatio ad Polybium* or Plutarch's *Consol. ad Apollonium*, which borrows (ad med.) from Arist. *De Anima* the story of Silenus and Mydas (next note).

20. *The Philosophers... chiefest felycitie neuer to be borne*, &c.: this is the gist of some verses sung by the philosopher Silenus to King Mydas in *The Diall*, bk. iii. ch. 32. The story is told in Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 48, 114 'Non nasci homini longe optimum esse; proximum autem, quam primum mori.' Repeated Pliny, vii. 1. Erasmus (*Adagia*, ed. 1574, p. 346) says that Athenaeus (*Dipnosophistae*, bk. iii) shows the original to be two verses of the comic poet Alexis [*vix. c.* B.C. 394–288 (106 years)]—

τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι μὲν κράτιστόν ἐστ' ἀεί·
ἐπὰν γένηται δ', ὡς τάχιστ' εἶναι τέλος.

24. *melten*: no other instance. AS. and ME. partcp. is *molten*, cf. 'meaten,' p. 235, l. 3.

26. *she shold haue dyed*: i.e. would. Cf. *Macb.* v. 5. 17 (1623) 'She *should* haue dy'de heereafter; | There would haue beene a time for such a word.' For the converse use of 'would' where we use 'should' cf. p. 299, l. 32 'would be scoffed,' &c., p. 317, l. 29 'thou wouldest endeauour,' &c.

28. *ruleth y^e sterne*: i.e. the rudder, as in Holland's Plut. *Moralls*, p. 301, top 'set them to steer and guide the stern.' Landmann says *sterne* = stars, but *stern*, *sterne* is ME. sing.; the pl. being *sterren*.

P. 311, 12. *art to goe with manye*: i.e. hast many, but art not yet gone.

P. 312, 9. *the states*: 'people of rank and position' (Landmann).

Cf. vol. iii, *Whip for an Ape*, l. 104 'ye States and Nobles of this land,' also ll. 16, 47; and vol. i. p. 428 l. 27

P. 313, 1. *The Iennet*, &c.: repeated from p. 282, l. 37.

7. *for choice*: (1) as being choice; (2) in the matter of choice; (3) Landmann says *choice* = choiceness.

13. *S. George . . . neuer rideth*: above p. 260, l. 26, note.

18. *Euphues to Botonio, to take his exile patiently*: the idea of including such a letter is borrowed, as Landmann points out, from those on a similar subject addressed by Marcus Aurelius to Domicio and Torquado respectively, in *The Diall of Princes*, bk. iii. chh. 34 and 41; but Euphues' letter itself is hardly at all indebted to Guevara or North (Domicio indeed has been banished on account of a quarrel, but the dominant note in both of Guevara's letters is the fickleness of fortune), but directly to Plutarch's *De Exilio*, from which it is partly adapted, partly translated, with the same freedom of treatment as in *Euphues and his Ephœbus*. The succeeding notes indicate all the passages which are borrowed from or suggested by Plutarch. The name Botonio is not found either in North or Plutarch; and Lyly adds the idea of Botonio being exiled unjustly, and (from Guevara's *Menosprecio*) that of the happiness of getting away from Court-life, as urged on Philautus above, and professed by Livia below.

26-31. *Thou sayest banishment is bitter . . . whet the sight*: lines adapted from Plutarch's third chapter; the passage 'There bee manye meates . . . whet the sight,' being a loose translation. Plutarch's two opening chapters are quite unrepresented.

28. *sowre in the mouth and sharpe in the mawe*: the antithesis is not Plutarch's; on p. 218, l. 35 we had 'hot in the mouth' and 'colde in the mawe.' *Mawe*: stomach.

32— P. 314, 2. *I speake this . . . heale thy hurt*: seven lines freely paraphrased from the beginning of Plutarch's fourth chapter.

P. 314, 3-9. *Nature hath giuen . . . or liuings*: Plut. c. v Φύσει γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι πατρίς, ὥσπερ οὐδ' οἶκος, οὐδ' ἀγρός, οὐδὲ χαλκεῖον. *Socrates would neither . . . y^e world*: Plut. c. v Ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης βέλτιον, οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος, οὐδὲ Ἕλλην, ἀλλὰ κόσμιος εἶναι φήσας. *Plato would . . . Moone shined*: Plut. c. v καὶ οὐδεὶς οὔτε φυγάς, οὔτε ξένος, οὔτ' ἀλλοδαπός, ὅπου τὸ αὐτὸ πῦρ, ὕδωρ, ἀήρ, ἄρχοντες οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ διοικηταὶ καὶ πρυτάνεις, ἥλιος, σελήνη, φωσφόρος. Lyly has dropped some of the poetry, and attributed the saying to Plato.

9. *euery place was a countrey . . . quiet minde*: unrepresented in Plutarch or North. Gaunt repeats it to his exiled son—

'All places that the eye of heaven visits
Are to a wise man ports and happy havens.' *Rich. II*, i. 3. 275.

11-20. *But thou art driuen out of Naples? . . . made in Mantua*: ten lines translated almost literally from Plutarch's sixth chapter, 'Naples' being

substituted for Sardis, five lines omitted, and the honey of 'Hybla' and 'Mantua' being Lyly's addition.

11. *Naples*: adopted by Lyly as the Italian centre of his tale, and evidently both from line 27 below, and from the letter to Livia, p. 323, l. 6, the residence of the Court.

12. *Colliton... Pitania*: Collytus, Craneium, and Pitane were favourite suburbs of Athens, Corinth, and Sparta, respectively.

17. *out of farre countries*: i.e. get thy living out of. Cf. Introd. Essay, p. 125.

21–6. *cast in Diogenes . . . countrey*: from the end of Plutarch's seventh chapter; the remainder and nearly half the sixth omitted.

21. *Synoponetes*: the people of Sinope on the Euxine. 'Sinopenses' is the correct form, as Xylander, Basileae, 1570 fol. p. 550.

banished hym Pontus: Landmann quotes *Rich. II*, i. 3. 139 'we banish you our territories.'

24. *Stratonicus*: either the statuary and silver-chaser, flor. B.C. 240, or the musician, of Athens, *temp.* Alexander the Great.

25. *maist auoyde the myschiefes*, &c.: in Plutarch the guest of Stratonicus is an inhabitant of Seriphos, an escape from whose narrow limits is the object of the satirical suggestion.

27–31. *And surely . . . followinge traines*: five lines unrepresented in Plutarch or North. *Traines*: subtilties, intrigues.

32–6. *Choose that place . . . how little serueth*: these five lines are adapted from Plutarch's eighth chapter. I give all of the Greek which is laid under contribution. Οὗ δὲ ἡ τύχη τὴν ἰδίαν ἀφῄρηται, τούτῳ δίδωσιν ἔχειν τὴν ἀρέσασαν. Τὸ γὰρ καλὸν ἐκεῖνο παράγγελμα τῶν Πυθαγορείων, 'Ελοῦ βίον ἄριστον, ἡδὺν δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ συνήθεια ποιήσει, κἀνταῦθα σοφόν ἐστι καὶ χρήσιμον. 'Ελοῦ πόλιν τὴν ἀρίστην καὶ ἡδίστην, πατρίδα δ' αὐτὴν ὁ χρόνος ποιήσει· . . . (ten lines omitted) . . . ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου λογιζόμενος· πεσὼν γὰρ ἐν παλαίστρᾳ, καὶ μεταστραφείς, ὡς εἶδε τοῦ σώματος τὸν τύπον· Ὦ Ἡράκλεις, εἶπεν, ὡς μικροῦ μέρους τῆς γῆς φύσει μετέχοντες, ὅλης ἐφιέμεθα τῆς οἰκουμένης.

36—P. 315, 2. *Zeno . . . Philosophy*: this story is from the beginning of Plutarch's eleventh chapter, his ninth, tenth, and the rest of the eleventh being wholly unrepresented.

P. 315, 5–27. *When thou hast not one . . . lysteth Diogenes*: this two-thirds of a page is taken, with but a little freedom, from Plutarch's twelfth chapter; the sentence about the 'fayre Orcharde' being generalized from a concrete instance of Archilochus' dispraise of Thasos. 'The kinges of Persia,' 'Aristotle,' 'Diogenes,' are all in Plutarch.

23. *his Summer in Naples*: Lyly forgets that he is writing to one exiled from Naples.

30–1. *But thou sayst . . . aged*: these two lines are adapted from the beginning of chap. xvii Ἀλλ' ἐπονείδιστον ὁ φυγάς ἐστι; Παρά γε τοῖς

ἄφροσιν, οἱ καὶ τὸν πτωχὸν λοιδόρημα ποιοῦνται, καὶ τὸν φαλακρόν, καὶ τὸν μικρόν, καί, νὴ Δία, τὸν ξένον, καὶ τὸν μέτοικον. Chaps. xiii–xvi are wholly omitted, unless ll. 34–5 'lesse shame . . . for mallyce' are suggested by Plutarch's remark that it is less desirable to be Κλώδιος ὁ ἐκβαλὼν ἢ Κικέρων ὁ ἐκβληθείς.

32. *vpon choller*: owing to offence taken.

35—P. 316, 13. *But thou fearest . . . pleasure*: these last fourteen lines seem suggested by the close of Plutarch's seventeenth (and last) chapter; though the resemblance is not close, e.g. there is no mention of pine-trees, nightingales, or the sea, though he quotes from Pindar lines about the woods of Ida in Crete.

P. 316, 2. *Pharo*: Pharos, the island near Alexandria, was used on p. 252, l. 29 to point an illustration from trees.

4–6. *the wiseman . . . pleasaunt*: Plutarch, c. xvii ἀνθρώπου δ' οὐδεὶς ἀφαιρεῖται τόπος εὐδαιμονίαν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἀρετήν, οὐδὲ φρόνησιν.

14. *Euphues to a young gentleman in Athens named Alcius*, &c.: see Introd. Essay, p. 155.

Athens: the second and later editions read 'Naples,' on the ground, no doubt, that Euphues, the writer, is himself at Athens. But 'Vniuersitie' at the end of the superscription justifies the earlier reading; and the opening words of the letter answer the objection.

P. 317, 5. *a blast*: a blasted bud. Again pp. 322, l. 9, 325, l. 13, but not in other writers.

8. *neyther was Helen made a Starre . . . Castor*: i.e. the fact that she too was Leda's daughter did not avail to procure her the immortality allotted to her brothers Castor and Pollux. Cf. p. 325, l. 26.

12. *mannors . . . manners*: cf. pp. 225, l. 35, 267, l. 32.

17. *neate*: clear, pure (the original sense). Fr. *net*.

29. *wouldest*: cf. note on p. 310, l. 26.

35. *with Vlysses . . . then with Aiax*, &c.: i.e. when contesting for the arms of Achilles, as related in Ovid, *Met.* xiii, esp. 152–3 'nec sanguinis ordo, | Sed virtutis honos spoliis quaeratur in istis.'

P. 318, 3. *Dogge . . . in the maunger*: number 241 in an edition of *Aesop's Fables*, Lyons, 1571.

29. *meane*: 'moderation,' not 'means.'

P. 319, 23. *leese*: the ME. form of 'lose.' AS. *leósan*.

P. 320, 1. *nedle . . . pen*: i.e. samplers and sonnets, as pp. 224, l. 5, 321, l. 38, &c.

P. 321, 2. *the Adamant cannot drawe yron if y^e^ Diamond lye by it*: again vol. ii. p. 111, l. 35. What Pliny says, xxxvii. 16, is 'Adamas dissidet cum magnete lapide in tantum, ut iuxta positus ferrum non patiatur abstrahi: aut si admotus magnes apprehenderit, rapiat, atque auferat'; and so too Isidore of Seville, book 50, and Barth. Anglicus, book xvi. c. 9. But the apparent contradiction lies only in Lyly's choosing the word

'Adamant' to translate 'magnes,' while he correctly translates Pliny's 'adamas' by 'Diamond.'

26. *peeuishnesse*: folly, as is clear from 'forgo their sences.' So pp. 190, l. 23, 204, l. 25, &c.

38. *Psalmes . . . Sonnets*: opposed by Lucilla, p. 224, l. 5; cf. p. 321, l. 38.

P. 322, 3-4. *come out of a warme Sunne into Gods blessing*: this old proverb, used again vol. ii. p. 93, l. 36, occurs reversed in Heywood's collection, 1546 (p. 115, Sharman's reprint), 'Out of God's blessing into the warme Sunne,' and *King Lear*, ii. 2. 155—

> 'Good king, that must approve the common saw
> Thou out of heaven's benediction comest
> To the warm sun.'

Its origin is probably Biblical: compare Isa. xxv. 4 'O Lord, thou hast been a shadow from the heat,' and xxxv. 2 'as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.' But see Glossary.

9. *blasts*: cf. pp. 317, l. 5, 325, l. 13.

10. *Nylus breedeth the pretious stone*, &c.: 'Nylus' for 'Egypt.' Among other Egyptian stones Pliny, xxxvii. 17, mentions the emerald. *The poysoned Serpent* is probably the crocodile.

32. *no regard of gathering*: i. e. of care how wealth is gotten.

P. 323, 5. *Saba*: i. e. the queen of Saba or Sheba, cf. vol. ii. p. 212, l. 34 '*Nicaulia* the Queene of Saba,' following Josephus, *Antiq. Iud.* viii. c. 6.

6. *if thou bee in Naples*: i. e. at Court, as above, p. 314, l. 11.

9. *bayte*: refreshment. Cf. vol. ii. p. 35, l. 9.

11. *consciences*: so. ed. 1613 and rest, correcting *consciues* of earlier eds., a misprint whose error is partly that of a turned *n*. Landmann's suggested explanation 'concives,' 'fellow-citizens,' ignores the antithesis.

20. *within one Summer*: i. e. this First Part being finished in the late summer or autumn of 1578, he hopes to get the Second written by the end of the summer of 1579.

TO THE GENTLEMEN SCHOLERS OF OXFORD

P. 325, 1. *lyke Appelles Prentice*: I cannot find the story in Pliny xxxv.

9. *sẽding me into the country to nurse, . . . three yeares*: see Life, pp. 10–12.

10. *tyred at*: pulled at. Fr. *tirer*. Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, xiv.

> 'Upon whose breast a fiercer gripe doth tire
> Than did on him who first stole down the fire.'

13. *addle egge . . . idle bird*: cf. 'idle . . . adle,' p. 299, l. 32. Landmann quotes *Troil. & Cr.* i. 2. 145—

'If you love an addle egg as well as you love an idle head.'

18. *Douer . . . Hampton*: i.e. he will land at Southampton, rather than be further tossed in the voyage to Dover. The 'tossing' is meant to excuse the delay in the appearance of the sequel, which was due in summer or autumn of 1579 (cf. p. 323, l. 20 'within one Summer'); and the change of landing-place is a promise of expedition. When it appears, however, the friends land, not at Hampton, but Dover, vol. ii. p. 35, ll. 5–16. See Life, pp. 21–3.

26. *Iupiters Egge*, &c.: refers to the famous story of Leda and the Swan (cf. p. 317, l. 9). Leda produced two eggs, from one of which issued Helen, from the other Castor and Pollux. Cf. Ovid, *Heroid.* xvii. 55 'Dat mihi Leda Iovem, cycno decepta, parentem.'

33. *badder*: 'badder,' 'baddest' are found as late as De Foe, 1721, though Shakespeare never uses these forms.

37—P. 326, 1. *aunswere themselues*: answer to their characters, and friendship for himself; cf. 'If thy appearance answer loud report,' *Samson Agon.* 1090. Or *aunswere* may mean 'satisfy,' 'answer their own doubts.'

BIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

SINCE the Life was printed off I have made discoveries that necessitate the following additions.

I. I find that a copy of Lyly's Second Petition to the Queen exists in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, definitely dated 1601. It occurs in *Tanner MS.* 169 (f. 69), being the 'Second part of the Commonplace Book of Sir Stephen Powle, containing copies of tracts, letters, &c., by himself and others.' Powle was son of Thomas Powle, a clerk of the Crown in the Court of Chancery, and himself held a similar position. His letters, preserved in this MS., extend from 1577 to 1620, and are written to some of the best known people of his day. Lyly is not among these correspondents; but the familiar 'Jack Lilly' of his entry of this document in the Index, made with his own hand, may imply a personal acquaintance. At any rate this seems to be the only copy of either Petition extant on which any date appears; and though it is contradicted by the autograph letter in the Record Office, of Dec. 22, 1597 (cf. Life, pp. 64, 68), it is confirmed by two other letters at Hatfield now acknowledged to have been written by our author (below, pp. 391–5). I therefore accept finally the date 1601 for this Second Petition, which enables us to date the First in 1598, and to fix that of the Queen's vague promise to him in 1588.

As the document exhibits some differences of wording from that printed on pp. 70–1, I think better to give it. The reader will note that the Latin line with which it opens is found in some copies appended, with a second signature, to the First Petition (above, p. 65). In a copy of both Petitions in the Cambridge University Library, however (MS. Ee. 5. 23), it appears, as here, and better, at the beginning of the Second. Two other copies of them, seen but not noted by me in the Life, exist in the Bodleian (*Tanner MS.* 82, ff. 23–4; *Ashmole MS.* 781, ff. 76–7); and a third in the library of University College, Oxford (MS. CLII. art. 2). None of these four copies, now first mentioned, exhibit date or marked difference.

(From Bodleian Library: *Tanner MS.* 169, f. 69, being the second volume of Sir Stephen Powle's Commonplace Book.)

Mr Lillyes peticon to the Queene.

1601: about the tyme of
my Ld of Essex followers fall [1]

Non ero qui nunc sum (te [2] miserante) miser.

⟨*marginal note in Powle's hand, but carelessly written*⟩ He was a suter to be Mr. of the Reuelles and tentes and Toyles but eauer crossed.

Most gratious and dread Soueraigne, Tyme cannot worke my peticons, nor my peticons Tyme.

After many yeeres, since yt pleased yor Highnes to except against Tentes and Toyles, I wish yt for Tentes I might put in Tenementes: Soe should I be eased of courtly Toyles: Some landes, good fines or forfeitures, yt shall comme [3] to yo Matie, by yt just fall of those false Traytors; That seinge nothinge will come to me [4] by Revells, I may pray vppon the Rebells.

Thirteene yeeres your Highnes servant: but yet nothinge.

Twenty frendes, yt though they saye [5] they will [6] be suer, I find suer to be slowe.

A thousand hopes, but all nothinge, a hundred promises, but yet nothinge.

Thus castinge vp the Inventorye of my frendes, hopes, prommisses, and tyme: The Suña totalis amounteth in all to iust nothinge.

My last will, is shorter then my Inventorie: But three Legacyes, Patience to my Creditors, Melancholly wthout measure to my frendes, & Beggery not wthout shame to my posteryty [7].

Si placet hoc meruiq; quid o [8] tua fulmina cessant.
Virgo, parens, princeps.

In all humillity intreate [9]: yt I may dedicate to yor sacred handes, Lilly de Tristibus; wherein shalbe seene, patience, labours, misfortunes.

Quorum si singula nost⟨r⟩i
frangere non poterunt, poterant tamen omnia mente⟨m⟩.

The last and the least, yt if I be borne to haue nothinge, I may haue a proteccon to pay nothinge; wch sute is like his, yt following the Court for recompence of his [10] seruice, comitted a Robbery, & tooke yt out in a pdon.

II. I find, further, that Lyly was the author of certain speeches and shows offered to the Queen in the years 1590, 1591, 1592, 1600, 1602, and perhaps 1606. A list of them is given below (*Entertain-*

[1] about . . . fall] these words are added, like the marginal note, in Powle's own handwriting, the rest of the document being in another hand. In the Index at end of MS., also made by Powle himself, the document is thus entered, f. 221 v.: 'Lilly. Jack Lilly to Queene Elisabeth: 255. ther be 2. sh. ⟨i.e. such⟩ this is the later.'

[2] te] tu *MS.* [3] comme *inserted above the line in MS.*
[4] to me *inserted above the line in MS.*
[5] saye] *may be intended as* sayd *MS.* [6] will] *altered to* would *in MS.*
[7] posteryty] *written over* family *erased MS.*
[8] o] *written over* cur *erased MS.*
[9] intreate] th *added in smaller hand MS.* [10] his *inserted above the line MS.*

ments—Introduction), where, or in the Notes to each, the evidence for his claim is discussed. My attention was drawn to these anonymous compositions by an article on dramatic Pastoral in England in *Modern Language Notes* for April, 1899, by Mr. A. H. Thorndike, which led me to examine Nichols' *Progresses* more closely, and to perceive, what had escaped Mr. Thorndike, that Lyly must be the author of many of the pieces there printed. Their recognition as his is important to his biography in one or two ways.

Firstly, it throws more light on his occupations during 1591–1606, and breaks to some extent the improbable silence of his last fifteen years. It shows him employed, almost immediately on his entry of the Revels Office [1], in producing, in addition to his plays, occasional devices of a dramatic or pastoral kind, as his predecessor Buggyn may have done [2]; and as appealed to for aid in such matters by various noblemen wishing to entertain the Queen. Besides attending the annual celebration of the Accession (Nov. 17) at the Tiltyard, Whitehall, he must, I think, have been present at Theobalds in Herts on the Queen's visit to Burleigh in May, 1591; at Cowdray near Midhurst in Sussex, and Elvetham in the north-east corner of Wilts, in August and September of the same year; at Sir Henry Lee's house at Quarrendon near Aylesbury in Aug. 1592; at Bisham Abbey in Berks, Sudeley Castle in Gloucestershire, and Rycote between Thame and Oxford, in Aug. and Sept. of the same year. I find no further proof that he participated in the reception of the Queen at Oxford, which she visited just before Rycote, than is supplied by the heading of the song 'Hearbes, wordes & stones' (*Sudeley*, p. 482) as given in *England's Helicon* [3], 1600. This suggests a borrowing from the Sudeley show of more than the song, and makes it probable that the whole portion of that Entertainment, prevented there by bad weather, was brought in at Oxford. Further I suspect that Lyly may have been the author of one of the two comedies (in Latin?) given before her at Christ Church on the evenings of Sept. 24 and 26, to wit *Bellum Grammaticale* and *Rivales* [4]. Of

[1] Cf. note on 'A Cartell for a Challenge,' p. 518. [2] Life, p. 41.

[3] 'Another Song before her Maiestie at Oxford, sung by a comely Sheepheard, attended on by sundrie other Sheepheards and Nimphes.'

[4] 'At night [Sunday] there was a Comedy acted before hir Highnes in the Hall of that Colledge; and one other on Tuesday at night, being both of them but meanely performed (as we thought) [i.e. Stringer and his Cambridge companion, Henry Mowtlowe], and yet most graciouslye, and with great patience, heard by hir Majestie. The one being called "Bellum Grammaticale," and the other intituled "Rivales."' (Philip Stringer's account, printed in Nichols' *Progresses*, iii. 155.)

the second we know nothing: the first, as is clear from Sir John Harington's allusion quoted below[1], was a dramatized version of Andreas Guarna's humorous prose tale *Grammaticale Bellum*, published at Strasburg 1512, 4to, repeatedly reprinted, and translated into English by William Hayward in 1569[2]. It was a subject that would appeal to the schoolmaster in Lyly, and had already suggested the similar jokes in *Sapho*, *Endimion* and *Mother Bombie*: but in the absence of any printed or MS. copy of the Christ Church play, or of definite testimony, the suggestion must remain unconfirmed.

An interval of ten years separates the Rycote speeches from any others in which I trace him with any certainty. I half suspect his hand in one part of the *Gesta Grayorum*, 1594, but only a description survives[3]. Similarly there lacks evidence of his concern in the masque of eight ladies who danced before the Queen at the marriage of Lord Herbert and Anne Russell at Blackfriars on Monday,

[1] 'What is a noun substantive? . . . where shall we try it? . . . Well then, in Oxford be it, and no better judge than *M. Poeta*, who was chief captain of all the nouns in that excellent comedy of *Bellum gramaticale*. For, without all peradventure, when he shall hear that one of his band and so near about him, is brought to that state, that he is neither to be seen, smelt, heard, nor understood, he will swear gogs nouns, he will thrust him out of his selected band of the most substantial substantives, and sort him with the rascal rabblement of the most abject adjectives.'—*The Metamorphosis of Ajax* (1596), ed. 1814, pp. 126–7.

[2] *Bellum Grammaticale A discourse of great War and Dissention betweene two worthy Princes, the noune and the verbe contending for the chefe Place or Dignitie in Oration. Very pleasant and profitable. Turned into English by W.*[*illiam*] *H.*[*ayward*] 1569. 16°. There was another edition, 1576, 16°; another entitled *The Grammer Warre* [1635], 12°; and it was reprinted in the *Somers Tracts*, vol. i. pp. 533 sqq.; cf. p. 539, 'The Verbe hath to name *Amo*, and the Noune *Poeta*.' The Verb wins.

[3] That, namely, reprinted from the quarto of 1688 in Nichols' *Progresses*, iii. 262 sqq. At p. 281 we read that on Jan. 3, 1594–5, by way of accommodating the difference, real or pretended, arisen on a previous 'Night of Errors' between the members of Gray's Inn and of the Temple, a device was presented in which four pairs of friends, 'Theseus and Perithous, Achilles and Patroclus, Pylades and Orestes, Scipio and Lelius,' offered in succession incense on the altar of the Goddess of Amity, round about which 'sate Nymphs and Fairies with instruments of musick, and made very pleasant melody with viols and voices, and sang hymns and prayses to her deity.' Last came Graius and Templarius; 'but the Goddess did not accept of their service: which appeared by the troubled smoak, and dark vapour, that choaked the flame, and smothered the clear burning thereof,' till certain propitiatory ceremonies were performed by the archflamen and hymns sung by the nymphs, after which the flame burnt more clearly than for any of the former couples. This is sufficiently like Lyly (cf. *Euph.* i. 198 l. 23; and *Loves Met.* iv. 1. 12).—I note here that the speeches of the Prince of Purpoole's Six Councillors, pp. 287–96, who advise him in turn to address himself to War, Philosophy, Building, Absoluteness of State and Treasure, Vertue and Gracious Government, Pastimes and Sports, speeches quite rightly, I think, assigned by Spedding to Francis Bacon (*Works*, viii. 326–43: cf. Bacon's devices at the Tilt-yard, Nov. 17, 1595, *Progresses*, iii. 371–9), were certainly suggested by the similar speeches of the three Councillors in Lyly's *Midas*, i. 1.

June 16, 1600; though the part taken therein by folk with whom he had been connected suggests the idea, e.g. the bride, married from her mother's house, was the daughter of Lady Russell of the Bisham Entertainment, her sister Elizabeth was one of the eight masquers (these sisters may have played Sybilla and Isabel in the scene with Pan at Bisham eight years before), and the bride was led from church 'by the Earles of Rutland and *Cumberland*[1].' The next Entertainment one can definitely claim for him is that given at Harefield Place in the north-west corner of Middlesex in 1602. For his participation therein, on which I had previously decided on internal grounds, I find there is external evidence in the entry, in the money-accounts preserved in the Egerton Papers (cf. Notes, pp. 533–4), of 'x^{s}' as paid 'to M^{r} Lillyes man, which brought the lotterye boxe to Harefield'; and, from the further payment 'for carriage of tentes from St. Johnes . . . ix^{s},' we should naturally infer that he was responsible for this use of material from the Revels Office, and still held his post therein with supervision of the Tentes and Toyles. I cannot repress a sense of pleasure in thus establishing Lyly's connexion with an occasion that was marked by the first performance of *Othello*, and with a place rendered further illustrious thirty years later (1634) by the performance of Milton's *Arcades* before the hostess of this occasion, Alice Countess Dowager of Derby.

To one other festivity I think he may have contributed something —the welcome, namely, accorded to Christian, King of Denmark, on his visit to his brother-in-law, James I, in July, 1606: an occasion on which several poets were employed. I claim for him, but doubtfully, a song at Theobalds on July 24, not included in Ben Jonson's brief Entertainment of that date; and, less doubtfully, a song (with

[1] The letters of Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney give some details of the occasion. Writing before the event he says:—'There is to be a memorable maske of eight ladies. They have a straunge dawnce newly invented. . . . These are the maskers: My Lady Doritye, M^{rs} Fetton, M^{rs} Carey, M^{rs} Onslow, M^{rs} Southwell, M^{rs} Bess Russell, M^{rs} Darcy, and my Lady Blanche Somersett. These eight dawnce to the musiq Apollo brings [cf. the last line of the Epilogue to *The Maydes Metamorphosis*, very possibly given on Tuesday or Wednesday night of the same occasion—Fleay's *Biog. Chron.* ii. 324]; and there is a fine speach that makes mention of a ninth, much to her honor and praise.' Writing after it, he records how Mistress Fytton led the masque, 'and after they had donne all their own ceremonies, these eight ladies maskers chose eight ladies more to dawnce the measures. M^{rs} Fetton went to the Queen and woed her to dawnce. Her Majesty asked what she was? *Affection* she said. *Affection*, said the Queen, is false. Yet her Majestie rose and dawnced,' æt. 67—poor old thing! She returned to Greenwich on the Tuesday, but the festivities were maintained till Wednesday night. (Nichols' *Progresses*, iii. 498-9.)

lost dialogue) between a Shepherd and Shepherdess at the Fleet Street Conduit on the two kings' entry of the City on July 31; see Notes, pp. 537–8. Also there is the possibility that he was author of the play *Abuses*, given before the kings at Greenwich by the Paul's Boys on the preceding evening; a play which Mr. Fleay endeavours (*Biog. Chron.* ii. 312) on grounds which seem to me too shadowy, to identify with that of *Sir Thomas More*, dated by him 1595–6, but by Dyce c. 1590. The dramatic gulf between 1590 and 1606, inconceivable were it not a fact, makes it unlikely that such old work would be revived for this smart occasion, though the unlikelihood weighs perhaps equally against the choice of a play by Lyly.

This completes the tale of Entertainments I have felt able to claim for my author. That those here printed represent his total output in this kind is most improbable. They are merely all at present, perhaps at all, recoverable. An immense number of such devices, and some even offered to royalty, must have perished, or else lie mouldering in manuscript form in unexplored chests in the libraries of great country-houses. At several other seats visited, for example, merely on the three progresses of 1591, 1592 and 1602 (for which see Notes)—notably at Tichfield in 1591—there may have been shows, and written by Lyly. The probability is increased both by his carelessness of those which have survived, as reflected in Joseph Barnes' brief Preface to *Bisham*, *&c.*[1], and by the anonymity he chose to maintain here, as in his Poems. In the two cases where descriptive matter or matter connecting the actual speeches is given, *Cowdray* and *Elvetham*, it has been supplied by other hands; in the others we are left to piece things as we can. This lack of proper stage-directions may be accounted for, as in the plays, by the supposition that they were supplied orally by Lyly himself in coaching the performers; but the reader, asked to accept as his a body of work never yet claimed for him, will expect me to furnish some probable reason for the absence of his name on the three contemporary quartos[2]. It existed, perhaps, in his feeling that these exercises, incident to his position, well enough adapted to the purpose they were meant

[1] '*To the Reader.* I gathered these copies in loose papers I know not how imperfect, therefore must I crave a double pardon; of him that penned them, and those that reade them. The matter of small moment, and therefore the offence of no great danger. *I. B.*'

[2] The Tiltyard, Theobalds, Quarrendon and Harefield speeches remained unprinted till 1788 and later; and the two songs of 1606 descend to us only in a general description by an unknown contemporary.

to serve, and possessing importance for the modern literary historian, were nevertheless too slight and too reminiscent of his more elaborate work to add anything to his literary repute. This would certainly seem to have been his attitude in regard to the contents of Barnes' quarto, perhaps the best. But both here and in the other cases there may have been the further reason that his connexion with such shows was a private matter between himself and the various entertainers—work for which he received, perhaps, substantial consideration, and which might strictly be looked upon as an unwarrantable use of his position at the Revels Office for his private profit. It is evident from the Egerton money-accounts of the Harefield show that some of the 'stuff' of the Office was carted right across Middlesex to serve on that occasion; and though the Queen must have been more or less conscious of the practice, and could hardly fail to recognize in the speeches recited to her the hand of her Court dramatist, it might be better not to obtrude on the title-pages of published work the fact that she was being entertained partly at her own expense or by aid of her own resources. Her resentment of such a practice may, in fact, be the origin of the royal complaint about Tentes and Toyles to which he alludes in his Second Petition, 1601 (see Life, pp. 66, 71). The tone there taken implies that the complaint was a thing of the past; and the letter to Sir Robert Cecil of Jan. 17, 1594–5, printed below (p. 390), points us perhaps to that Christmas-tide as the occasion when the Queen's sense of an abuse of which the Gray's Inn Revels (p. 380) may have furnished a recent instance, culminated in a positive prohibition of any further share being taken by Lyly in such affairs. His letter, however, rather implies some reflection on the quality of the intellectual ware he provided; and in any case she would seem to have subsequently waived her protest. The Revels officers, like others in her service, seem to have suffered from her parsimony or necessities (Life, p. 69), and she probably resigned herself to an abuse which afforded them chances of compensation.

I will only add that the infusion of woodland life in these shows, the part played by hunting and hawking, and the knowledge of fishing shown in *Cowdray*, are eloquent of one who had a professional connexion with sport; and further support for Lyly's authorship might be found in the lavish use of music. Also their double vein of venery and pastoral lends a probability to his having shared in the rivalry of Silvio and Gemulo in *The Maydes Meta-*

morphosis, a play of which one is further reminded by Apollo, Daphne, and the Shepherd in *Sudeley*.

Further these Entertainments are of interest as bringing Lyly into connexion with a number of important folk—Montague, Hertford, Lady Russell, the Knollys—who afford us further possible instances of the 'Twenty frendes' of whose backwardness he complains (p. 378), and two at least of men who took a more active interest in him. In Sir Henry Lee, the old Champion, and the Earl of Cumberland his successor, for whom I believe him to have composed the Tiltyard and Quarrendon speeches, we have acquaintances who throw direct light on the hitherto isolated and disconnected fact of his membership of Parliament for Aylesbury, Feb. 1592–3, and Appleby, Sept. 1597, seats doubtless controlled by those important landowners[1]. Acquaintance with Lee is further specially appropriate to one whom I have conjectured (Life, pp. 4–5) to be born at Boxley, near Maidstone, son of William Lyllye, yeoman of that place. For Lee was connected with the Wyatt family, who owned Allington Castle and Boxley Abbey in the near neighbourhood of Maidstone[2]; his father having married Margaret, sister of Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder[3]. Sir Thomas the younger had forfeited his estates by his rebellion in 1554, but Mary had restored them in the following year to his widow, on whose death her son George succeeded[4]. The restoration can have been but partial; for not only did Elizabeth grant the 'site and mansion of the monastery of Boxley to John Astley' in

[1] See Life, p. 48. Quarrendon is some two miles north-west of Aylesbury. Appleby Castle was one of the Clifford family-seats: see Whitaker's *Hist. of Craven*, ed. 1878, pp. 312, 348–9.

[2] Each is about two miles from it, and from the other; and one or the other may be in Lyly's mind when he makes Fidus tell us that Iffida's 'abiding was within two miles of my Fathers mantion house' (cf. passage quoted from *Euph.* ii in Life, p. 3). At Boxley three centuries seem to have obliterated all trace of Lyly's family. On the tombstones in the churchyard or on the floor of the nave or aisle inside the church is no inscription now decipherable earlier than late seventeenth or eighteenth century, save on two brasses (one of 1576) unconnected with Lyly: and the only inhabitant of the name I could hear of, a farm-labourer, came originally from Faversham.

[3] Sir Henry Wyatt, ob. 1537

Sir Thos. Wyatt (elder), 1503?–1542	Margaret = Sir Anthony Lee
Sir Thos. Wyatt (younger), 1521?–1554	Sir Henry Lee, 1530–1610 (N.B. In 1573 Lee had chambers in the Savoy; Life, p. 17 note)
George Wyatt (lord of the manor of Boxley, 1570–1623)	

[4] See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* art. 'Wyatt, sir Thomas (1503?–1542).'

1569 [1], but as recorded above (Life, p. 4) the Crown leased eighteen acres of the manor of Boxley in 1572 to William Lyllye, whom I believe to be our author's father. Possibly the complete restoration was made after that date, when Lyly's father would become George Wyatt's tenant. George Wyatt, at any rate, was the leading landowner and representative of the family from 1570 or before till 1623. It was probably he who procured Lyly his introduction to Lord De la Warre and to Burleigh [2]; and if we were to press the autobiographical significance of the Fidus and Iffida story, we should be obliged to find in Lyly's early love a niece of George Wyatt [3], of whom, however, I can find no trace. But it was doubtless Burleigh to whom Lyly owed some help at college and his introduction at Court [4].

Among the men of letters with whom these Entertainments may have brought him into connexion are George Peele, who composed the Hermit's Speech at Theobalds, May 1591; possibly Nicholas Breton in regard to *Elvetham*, 1591; Bacon at Gray's Inn, 1594–5; Sir John Davies [5] at Harefield, 1602; and Ben Jonson at Theobalds in 1606;

[1] Hasted, ii. 125.

[2] By way of strengthening the claim of the highly-reputed father of Fidus to be the father of Lyly himself, I append from the *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* in the Record Office, vol. ii. p. 313, the summary of two documents, which show that there were prosperous Lylys in Maidstone half a century before his birth.

'Kent. B. 2552. Grant by Thomas Torner of Maydeston, to John Lylly of the same, of land at Northanckland, with a lane called "bromelane," in the parish of Maideston, 4 June, 22 Henry vii [i. e. 1507]. *Fragment of seal.*'

'Kent. B. 2553. Release by Thomas Wells of Maidestone, and Robert Welles of Ayssheforde, the sons and heirs of Richard Welles late of Maidestone, deceased, to William Lylly the elder of the same, of their right to a quarry, with "le voydynge" at Bokelande in the parish of Maidestone. 30 July, 15 Henry vii [i. e. 1500]. *Two seals, one broken.*' This might be the author's great-grandfather.

[3] Cf. 'went to hir Vncles,' passage quoted from *Euph.* ii on p. 4 above.

[4] I have already noted the autobiographical element in the 'Glasse': cf. his tribute to Burleigh, *Euph.* ii. 198: 'This noble man I found so ready being but a straunger, to do me good, that neyther I ought to forget him, neyther cease to pray for him,' &c.

[5] Among some poems first included by Grosart among Davies' *Works*, 1869–76, i. 460 (Fuller Worthies Library), from a MS. of Laing's now in the Edinburgh University Library, is a sonnet that appears (though Grosart does not say so) to be presented to some lady with a copy of *Euphues*. It begins:

'In his sweete booke, y^e^ treasury of witt,
All virtues, beautyes, passions, written be:
And with such life they are sett forth in it
As still methinkes y^t^ which I read I see,' &c.

I add here a contemporary reference, omitted in the Life, p. 79, from Greene's *Menaphon*, 1589, p. 51, ed. Arb.:—'*Samela* made this replie, because she heard him so superfine, as if *Ephœbus* had learnd him to refine his mother tongue, wherefore thought he had done it of an inkhorne desire to be eloquent; and

though, notwithstanding the somewhat isolated character of his work, there was always the independent probability of his acquaintance with these and others. William Basse, born c. 1583, was too young to have been at Thame when the Queen visited the neighbouring Rycote: his association with either place—and Rycote was one of his haunts—can hardly date before 1596. The only case, however, where I see reason to suspect formal collaboration[1] is at Elvetham in 1591, where William Watson perhaps supplied a song and the Poet's Latin address. It is to be noted that Watson, whose *Hecatompathia* in 1582 had been dedicated to Lyly's patron, and prefaced by a letter from Lyly, was at this time probably his near neighbour in St. Bartholomew's Hospital (Life, pp. 66–7); so at least we should infer from the following record in the Register of St. Bartholomew the Less, which, as said, served the Hospital as a parish church:—'26 Sept. 1592. Thomas Watson, gent, was buried[2].'

III. The fact that these Entertainments contain many songs, some of them markedly euphuistic, e. g. that on the phoenix in *Cowdray*, and 'Hearbes, wordes and stones' in *Sudeley*, not only corroborates Lyly's claim to those in the plays, but increases the probability that he wrote others. I have therefore instituted a much more thorough search, in MSS. and in the printed Anthologies and contemporary Song-books, where nearly all work is anonymous. As result I print as probably his a considerable body of verse, most of which has hitherto remained unprinted and unassigned. The poems vary widely, both in merit and in the degree of probability I attach to the attribution, which, so far as time allowed, I have supported by marginal references. One or two of them will be recognized as old favourites which have been uncertainly ascribed to Raleigh: one, the *Bee*, has been generally assigned to Essex; but few, I believe, will question the superiority of Lyly's claim, and that we have here an interesting testimony by himself to the fact that his First Petition was answered, and to the kind of answer it received. Several others, of poor poetic

Melicertus thinking that *Samela* had learnd with *Lucilla* in *Athens* to anatomize wit, and speake none but *Similes*, imagined she smoothed her talke to be thought like *Sapho*, *Phaos* Paramour.' Likewise I have been reminded of the stanza in Henrie Vpchear's commendatory verses to the same tale, the accuracy of which need not be pressed:—

'Of all the flowers a *Lillie* on⟨c⟩e I lou'd,
Whose labouring beautie brancht it selfe abroade;
But now old age his glorie hath remoud,
And Greener obiects are my eyes aboade.'

[1] Except, perhaps, Davies' in *Harefield*: see Notes, p. 535.

[2] Collier's *Bibliog. Catalogue*, ii. 490.

quality, bear unmistakable marks of his hand. It must not be forgotten that, in his letter to Watson of 1582 (Life, p. 27), he acknowledges that he has produced love-poems (in an irregular metre? cf. those vol. iii. pp. 464–7) which he has no intention of printing. One or two are included less for any likeness to his style or sentiment, than because they fit the place of some missing song in the plays. Some seem altogether too good for the poor and halting rhymester of others; and compel us to remember the similar inequality of those in the plays. I am constrained to admit the possibility that the best of these latter are by some other hand, while still maintaining the probability of Lyly's authorship. For his anonymity I offer the simple explanation, grounded partly on his letter to Watson, partly on the poverty of some I do not doubt for his, coupled with the sense of art he very evidently possessed, that he felt but little pride in these efforts; but of course he may have shared or affected the reluctance to appear in public as a poet, which Puttenham declares was fashionable[1]. I have preferred to label the whole collection as doubtful, though of many I entertain no real doubt. The reader of the Introduction prefixed (vol. iii. ad fin.) will find some helps to distinction.

IV. I have alluded in the Life, pp. 49 sqq., to the difficulty of distinguishing the precise share of Lyly and Nash respectively in surviving Anti-Martinist work. In addition to *Pappe* and the doubtful *Whip for an Ape*, which latter the Harveys seem to have regarded as Lyly's (p. 57), I believe we should include a considerable portion of the rhymes in *Mar-Martine*. Not only do the verses themselves (e. g. 1st rhyme, st. 2, 4th rhyme, st. 1, 12th rhyme, st. 2) bear some resemblance to Lyly, of whose verse-style I have supplied the reader with fuller materials for judging; but a passage in the reply *Marre Mar-Martin*, the impartial attitude of which, attacking either side, exactly reproduces that of the Harveys (cf. p. 57), represents 'Lucian' as leader of the whole libelling crew[2], and another describes Mar-Martin

[1] *Arte of Poesie*, 1589, p. 37, ed. Arb.

[2] 'On Whitson euen last at night,
I dreaming sawe a pretie sight,
Three monsters in a halter tide,
And one before, who seemde their guide.
The formost lookt and lookt againe,
As if he had not all his traine:
With that I askt that gaping man
His name: my name (said he) is *Lucian*
This is a *Iesuite*, quoth he,
These *Martin* and *Mar-martin* be.

and Martin as wrangling at cards about 'the elder hand,' a point on which Lyly puns in *Pappe*[1]. Moreover the passage from the *Protestatyon* (quoted p. 50, note) certainly implies that Mar-Martin was the author of the play in which Martin (as Nash tells us in *Martin's Months Minde*, quoted p. 52, note) was 'made a Maygame vpon the Stage,' i. e. the first of the Anti-Martinist comedies (cf. pp. 52–3), the authorship of which rests between Lyly and Nash. I add therefore, after the 'doubtful' *Whip*, such parts of *Mar-Martine* as I think *may* similarly have been written by Lyly, placing it now about May or June, a little later than stated on p. 52.

V. I include among Lyly's undoubted works *A Funeral Oration vpon the death of Elizabeth*, 1603, professing to be written by 'Infelice Academico Ignoto' (below, pp. 509–16). Nichols who, among other details and tributes, prints *The True Order . . . at the Funerall* which forms the complement of the tract, gives only (iii. 620) the bare title of the Oration—accident, as usual, conspiring to keep Lyly in the background: but a brief notice of this unclaimed tribute in Brydges' *Restituta*, vol. iv. 10–14, led me to examine it, and examination convinces me it is Lyly's. The euphuism is, as we should expect, considerably modified since he wrote *Euphues* in 1578–80, but there is no marked difference from the style of the descriptive 'Glasse for Europe'; and the perhaps inevitable likeness to that panegyric (vol. ii. pp. 206–15) in tone and subjects is well supported by other points, e. g. the reticence about Elizabeth's sufferings under Mary (p. 511), the comparison to Alexander, the tiresome puns on 'grace' and 'Anglia' (pp. 511, 513), and especially the old Lylian habit of free transcript from the classics—the reader of the Notes will find passages closely reproduced from Plutarch's *Life of Pelopidas* and Aristotle's *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus*, and references to Crates, Diogenes, and to Plato's *Phædo*, which Lyly has employed before. In particular I would beg notice for the similarity of language in the last paragraph (p. 514), 'I am amazed,' &c., to that used by Lyly in the letter of condolence with Sir Robert Cecil on Burleigh's death

I seeke but now for Machyuell,
And then we would be gone to hell.'—Sig. A 3.

Compare the passage in the *Advertisement to Papp-Hatchett* (Grosart's *Harvey*, ii. 215), where Lyly's phrases in *Pappe* are said to 'sauour whotly of the same Lucianicall breath, & discouer the minion Secretarie aloofe.' The reader may consider that Lucian and Mar-Martin are directly distinguished; but that does not affect the other passage, and I take it that Harvey thinks of Lucian because he has previously thought that Mar-Martin is Lyly.

[1] Vol. iii. p. 405 l. 31.

(below, p. 393), where, too, he quotes the same sentiment from Seneca. The verses with which he concludes are well worth preserving, as Brydges recognized; and there is interest in his reference to Spenser and Drayton. The signature 'Infelice Academico Ignoto' is argument that he had not, up to the time of the Queen's death, received any recognition of his claims; and the tribute, under these circumstances, is far more to his credit than was the flattery of the *Glasse*. It appears to me improbable that it was actually delivered on any public occasion.

VI. Sixthly I offer the reader a batch of five new autograph letters. Four of them, addressed to Sir Robert Cecil, are at Hatfield. They had been miscatalogued as by 'Dr. Lyly' or 'Thos. Lyly'; but Mr. R. T. Gunton, Lord Salisbury's private secretary, discovered the error in regard to one of them, and has since, at my request, confirmed my suspicions about the rest. All are undoubtedly Lyly's, and in his hand. The fifth I owe to Mons. A. G. Feuillerat, lecturer at the Rennes University, who is preparing a critical survey of Lyly's life and works, and, following me at Hatfield, had independently ascertained the Lylian authorship of the other four. Hearing of my forthcoming edition and seeing it must appear before his work, he very generously communicated to me his documents, of which this fifth letter was new. He had found it—it is not specified in the Catalogue Index—in one of the Cotton MSS. It is addressed to Sir Robert Cotton, under date April 30, 1605; and, though brief, is of no little interest, and forms our latest certain record of the author before his death in Nov. 1606. As regards his Life, the only change which these letters necessitate is that we must now date the Petitions in 1598 and 1601, three years later than there stated; and probably also his entry of the Revels Office in 1588, not in 1585. See under Letter iv.

I give them in chronological order, with brief prefatory comments.

i. 'Ja. 17. 1594'⟨-5⟩: see Life, p. 64.

Complains to Cecil of some unspecified, therefore probably just recent, restriction laid upon the exercise of his literary or dramatic powers, on which we should infer some reflection had been passed by the Queen or others. It might be referred to the Queen's resentment of a satire on herself in *The Woman* (Life, p. 63; and vol. ii. p. 256, note); but I incline to date that play, and therefore any annoyance caused by it, about a year earlier (Intr. vol. iii. p. 234).

As a protest against the inhibition laid upon the Paul's Boys before Oct. 1591 and still in force, the letter would be still more belated; though the Queen's complaint may have related to a slackening in his output consequent on that embargo, which would greatly diminish his receipts. A third and, I think, better suggestion has been made above (p. 383), that the occasion of this letter is identical with the Queen's 'exception against Tentes and Toyles' mentioned in the Second Petition—some action, namely, taken in consequence of his misuse of the Office properties, which she chose at the time to colour by reflections on his unproductiveness, if indeed such reflections are not imaginary on Lyly's part. If at this time he actually lost his post in the Revels Office, he must have been reinstated before the letter of Dec. 22, 1597 (p. 68)[1].

(Cecil Papers 24/99.)

my duety humbly remembred

Among all y^e^ overthwartes of my poore fortunes, this y^e^ gretest, y^t^ wher I most expected to shew my dutifull affection, I am cutt of from y^e^ meanes.

My wittes wer not so low bitten by eating & neuer filled ['envy' struck out and altered to] misery but y^t^ some Inuention might haue grased, yf not for Content, yet for servic. I haue presumed to writ thus much to yo^r^ Ho: for y^t^ I wold not lett goe y^t^ hold in yo^r^ opinion, y^t^ I haue euer endevored, to kepe fast. But I find occasion bald both before and behind, for whersoeuer I snatch, I meet w^th^ a bare scalpe. My praiers for happy success, and encreas of yo^r^ Ho: house shall be supplied in deuotion. And so humbly crauing pardon, I end. Ja: 17. 1594.

yo^r^ Ho: in all duety

Jh Lyly

⟨*Addressed*⟩ To y^e^ right honorable Sir Robert Cecil knight, one of her Mãtis most Ho: privy Counsell.

⟨*Endorsed*⟩ M^r^ Lillie to my M^r^.

1 *p.*

[1] As said above (p. 63, and cf. vol. ii. p. 256, note 1), it is unnecessary to connect with any displeasure of the Queen the fact that *The Woman*, ent. *Sta. Reg.* Sept. 22, 1595, was not then printed; but the evident interference of the Censors with William Warner's *Albion* (3rd ed. 1592, wherein just as he is about to fulfil the promise of earlier editions and launch on his account of Elizabeth, whom he has called Pandora, he pulls up with a 'non plus . . . Vel volo, vel vellem'—Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* ii. 484) may have furnished some enemy of Lyly's with a pretext for representing his play to contain similar 'matter of state,' and so getting the book stayed. A fourth ed. of *Albion*, giving the promised account of Elizabeth's reign, appeared, like Lyly's play, in 1597.

ii. 'Ia. 23. 1597'⟨–8⟩: see Life, p. 69.

Begs Sir Robert, then on the eve of his departure for France[1], to leave him three or four lines which may win access for a petition he contemplates, i. e. the First, presented 1598. This letter, then, forms a sequel to that of a month earlier (pp. 68–9), and implies, what I could not assert before, that Cecil had given some consideration to that appeal. Both letters and the Petition itself are directly occasioned by the promise of the reversion of the Mastership to Sir George Buc, to which the simile of the stone thrust between the shells of the oyster is now clearly seen to allude. 'Beeston' must be the 'Sy^r Hugh Beeston' of Letter v, not yet knighted, and probably a son of Sir George Beeston of Cheshire, who for many years commanded the block-house at Gravesend, and was 85 in 1596[2].

(Cecil Papers 59/13.)

I dare not presume in yo^r Ho: affayres to intrud for access, nor to be tedious in writing, only this I humbly entreat, (as encoraged by a motion w^ch I mad to Beeston) y^t you^r H: will leaue three or foure lynes, w^th any one, it shall seam best in yo^r Judgment, y^t if, I have any occasion ether to deliuer a peticion, or preferre a reasonable suit in yo^r absenc, it may be countenanced for yo^r sake, so shall I think y^t I am not robbed of my hopes, though I be differrd. pardon this p^rsumption. And so in all duety I pray both for yo^r Ho: prosperous returne, & success. Ia. 23. 1597

Yo^r H: in all servic JH. LYLY.

⟨*Addressed*⟩ For y^e right Ho: Sir Robert Cecil knight Principall Secretary to her Ma^tie.

⟨*Endorsed*⟩ M^r Lyllie to my M^r.

1 *p.*

iii. 'Sept. 9, 1598': see Life, p. 72.

Conveys his expressions of condolence on the loss of Lord Burleigh, who had been ailing on Cecil's return and died on Aug. 4: and at the same time takes occasion to remind the Secretary of his claims.

[1] He was sent to Paris on an embassy to prevent Henri IV from making separate peace with Philip II; he reached Paris March 3, and was back in England April 29. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

[2] *Calendar of Hatfield MSS.* vols. iv. p. 240, vi. p. 218. In these MSS. from 1595 onwards, the son figures generally as 'M^r. Beeston,' a friend of Cecil, and also of Raleigh, at whose return to England in the autumn of 1595 he expresses extreme pleasure (*ib.* vol. v. p. 391). In a memorandum of Cecil's dated nine days before Lyly's letter, Jan. 14, 1597–8, he is named among other courtiers who had offered to accompany him to France (*ib.* vol. viii. p. 16).

The First Petition, with which the expression 'ten yeres' leads us to associate it, had probably ere now been presented. From the *Bee* poem, which also speaks of 'ffiue yeares twise told' and 'promises perfume' (vol. iii. p. 497), we should certainly infer that it had received a very discouraging reply (stt. 2–4); but in the interval the Queen, who had possibly seen the poem, may have softened. There is no certainty, however, that her pleasure 'y^{t} y^{or} Ho: and M^{r} Grevil may be her Remembrauncers' refers to Lyly's case: the words may be used quite generally of their assumption of functions vacated by Burleigh's death, from which Lyly ventures to draw some private encouragement. The most interesting point is the mention of 'a Brother of myne, chaplayne of y^{e} Savoy,' some Latin verses of whom on Burleigh's death are added. It forms an exception to my statement on p. 6 that Lyly mentions no relative beyond his wife and children. 'A Master Chaplain and four other chaplains' were included on the foundation of the Savoy in the licence given to the executors of Henry VII by his successor in 1512, and seem to have been appointed regularly until the dissolution of the Hospital in 1702[1]; but no list of them survives, and the only other mention I can find of chaplain Lyly is in a letter among the Sutherland MSS., dated June 14, 1596, which shows that he had held the chaplaincy for some years[2]. Possibly he should be identified with the Peter Lyllie who occasionally discharged the episcopal function of book-licenser in the years 1597, 1598, and 1600 (p. 44, note 3), and is confused with our author in the entry of the *Sixe Covrt Comedies*, Jan. 9, 1627–8 (see vol. ii. p. 302); but more probably that individual was the grammarian's grandson, who received the rectory of Fulham May 17, 1598, and a prebend at St. Paul's Ap. 16, 1599[3].

(Cecil Papers 64/5.)

my duety remembred.

I hope your honnor will pardon this unexpected p^{r}sumption, to serve you, w^{t} a writt of Tandem aliquando[4], being the last y^{t} offer a Remembraunc of my deuotion. When I ballaunced y^{e} matter w^{t} wordes, I found

[1] Lockhart's *The Savoy Chapel*, pp. 10–11.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Commiss., Fifth Report*, p. 139 a. It is from 'W. Moune' [i. e. Dr. William Mount], Master of the Savoy, to Lord Cobham at Court, about a Mr. Bigge, chaplain of the Savoy, who, when charged before the Archbishop with marrying without licence, had defended himself by saying 'he thought he might well do it, as his fellow chaplains, M^{r}. Horwode and M^{r}. Lyllye, had married without licence as many or more than he had.'

[3] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* art. 'Lily or Lilly, Peter (d. 1615).'

[4] Opening words of the second Catiline Oration.

y^e worth to weighdowne all witt. He that studies, to be longest in y^e Comendacõn, must come short. I Leave discourses to thos, y^t have more Copy of words but not more feeling of greif, and Content my self, y^t all my Epitaphes be written in amazednes, leving them as heads for other to Anotamize, concluding w^t y^t true saing. Leves curæ loquntur, ingentes stupent[1]. I have inclosed, a few verses of a Brother^s of myne, chaplayne of y^e Savoy, who is a partner of the Comõn loss, and sheweth both his affection & duety.

And so as one of y^e Queens patients, who have nothing applied thes ten yeres[2] to my wantes but promises, I humbly end, hoping that seing her matie is plesed y^t y^or Ho: and M^r Grevil may be her Remembrauncers, I shall find a spedy repayre of my ruined expectation/. Sept. 9 1598

humbly deuoted to yo^r h: dispositñ

JHON. LYLY.

1

Cæcilius moritur; lachrimæ hoc singultibus addant,
Omnis in hoc vno concidit orbis honos.

2

Virtutes in se prudentia continet omnes,
ipsaq$_3$ tecum obiit Cecĩli; dic vbi Virtus?

3

Foelix, o nimium foelix, bona si mea nossem
Anglia . dixerat hæc, gemiturq$_3$ ecumbit anhelans

⟨*Addressed*⟩ For y^e right honorable Sir Robert Cecil Knight Principall Secretary to her Ma^tie.

⟨*Endorsed*⟩ 9 September 98 D^r Lyly[3] to my M^r. Epitaphe upon the death of my lo. Thrēr.

iv. 'Feb. 27, 1600'⟨–1⟩: see Life, p. 74.

Suggests that something might be allotted him out of the property forfeited by the rebels, i. e. undoubtedly, Essex and the supporters of his rash movement at the beginning of this month, Feb. 8. Essex had been arrested at his own house on the evening of that day, brought to trial and condemned

[1] Phaedra in Seneca's *Hippolytus*, 607. [2] See on next letter.

[3] 'Dr. Lyly' is probably a mistake of Cecil's secretary, who was confusing the evidently obscure chaplain of the Savoy with the well-known Dr. Edmund Lilly, nominated by Lord Buckhurst, the Chancellor of Oxford, for the Deanery of Christ Church two years before; about which nomination, and Essex's opposition thereto, Buckhurst writes to Cecil on May 27, 1596 (*Calendar of the Hatfield MSS.* vol. vi. p. 197). On the back of another letter, unconnected with the subject, Cecil made two days later a list of Doctors of Divinity, in which 'Lyllye' appears, but no duplicate or variant of the name (*ib.* p. 199). Cf. also Dr. Edmund Lilly's letter to Cecil of Dec. 9, 1596 (*ib.* p. 510.)

on the 19th, and executed (after Elizabeth had once recalled her signature of the warrant) on the 25th, i. e. two days before Lyly's letter. The language used in regard to these 'Rebells' is so close an anticipation of that of the Second Petition (pp. 70–1) as requires us to suppose the two documents to refer to the same events and be written approximately at the same time. This, like that, speaks moreover of '13 yeres servic'; just as the 'ten yeres' of the preceding letter corresponds with the 'Tenn yeares' of the First Petition. Moreover we have the definite date 1601, affixed to the copy of the Second in Stephen Powle's MS., placing it at least a month after the present letter. Clearly I have, in the Life, antedated them by three years. Even some of the language in the letter of Dec. 22, 1597 (pp. 68–9) would come more appropriately shortly before the First; especially the opening, the phrase 'vnwearied pacienc' repeated in that Petition, and the allusion to the promise of the Mastership to Buc which would correspond to the 'dead hopes' in the same. Yet its figures, on the strength of which I dated them in 1595 and 1598, are fully as explicit as those of these later letters, which require 1598 and 1601. Writing Dec. 22, 1597, he says he has waited patiently 'thes 12 yeres,' and hopes for satisfaction 'in the 13': while 1585, to which this points as the date of his entry of the Office, might, on other grounds, seem a better year for such entry than 1588. By way of reconciling the discrepancy we might suppose the Queen's vague promise of the Mastership made, not on his entry in 1585, but some three years later; and that, in the formal Petition, Lyly rectified an error of memory, or an exaggeration, made in the private appeal to Cecil in the preceding December. Since, however, the actual words 'I was entertayned yo^{r} Ma^{ties} servant . . . I dare not saye wth a promise, butt a hopeffull Item, of the Reversion' rather imply a promise made at the time of his entry, I think better, now, to place that entry in 1588, which is more in accord with the witness of the Revels Accounts (cf. p. 41), and to explain the contradiction of dates by supposing 'thes 12 yeres' of the letter of Dec. 1597 to refer rather to his vice-mastership of the Boys, the commencement of which may still be put in 1585. In that capacity, though working for the Queen in the composition of plays for her amusement, his connexion with the Office was merely informal and incidental (pp. 34–6); and it would become formal only on his receiving the Clerk-Controllership in 1588. By separating, then, two steps in his career hitherto assumed as simultaneous, we get rid of the difficulty, and correct

a mistake which without the fresh evidence must have remained undetected.

(Cecil Papers 77/14.)

Right Ho: vousalf to cast an eye to 2 lynes. I wold be an humble Suter to her Ma^tie, to haue something out of y^e landes, leases, goods or Fynes, y^t shall fall unto her highnes, by the true fall, of thes false, desperat and dislioll Traytors. I am not so impudent as to intreat yo^r Ho: as a [1] motioner, but a favorer, yf happily it be moued y^t after 13 yeres servic & suit for y^e Revells, I may turne all my forces & frends to feed on y^e Rebells. In all onely I end, wishing the end of all ther lives to be such, as goe about untimely to seek an end of her hignes and yo^rs. Feb 27. 1600 yo H to be disposed JH : LYLY

⟨*Addressed*⟩ For y^e right Ho: Syr Robert Cecil knight Principall Secretary to her Ma^tie.

⟨*Endorsed*⟩ M^r Lilly to my M^r

½ *p.*

v. 'April the Last, 1605': Life, p. 76.

The Cotton letter, which I owe to M. Feuillerat, is among the MSS. damaged by the fire at Ashburnham House on Oct. 23, 1731, before the Cotton Library found its final home at Bloomsbury (1753): but the portion destroyed is but one eighth or ninth of the whole, and, being at the side, can pretty certainly be restored from the context. Very possibly M. Feuillerat's restoration may differ slightly from mine, nor do I know if he shares my view of the letter's purport. It runs as follows:—

(Cotton MSS. Jul. Cæs. iii. f. 246.)

Yf I may intreat 3 or 4 lynes from ⟨you⟩ to Mr Sollictor who hath my booke ⟨sent⟩ to him by Sy^r Hugh Beeston, in my ⟨behalf[2]:⟩ both for his good Counsell & quick dispatch[3] I hon ⟨nor him⟩ being a great Scholer, & you my good ⟨frend also tender⟩ me very well, you have ⟨known⟩ me long, though never rich, honest ⟨thoug⟩h never happye, & to effect of[4] ⟨which⟩e[5], you^r Judgment must sett downe, for ⟨my⟩ good, what shall pleas you; my man

[1] yo^r Ho: as a] *the MS. reads* yo^r a Ho: a.

[2] The tail of some long letter followed by a dot (or the top of an *e*) is just visible. It might be 'abſenſe.'

[3] & quick dispatch] *written above the line as an insertion.*

[4] & to effect of] *Lyly first wrote* & the effect of, *and it is uncertain whether his erasure of* the *is meant to include the* &, *or whether* of *is or is not erased.*

[5] ⟨which⟩e] *the surviving letter may be* r, *in which case perhaps* ⟨yt soone⟩r, *should be read.*

⟨sh⟩all Carry yo^{r} Letter. And so w^{h} my very ⟨hear⟩ty Com^{d}^{is}: I Committ yo^{u} to y^{e} Lord, ⟨Ap⟩ril the Last . 1605.

Yo^{rs} to vse/
JHON LYLY.

⟨*Endorsed*⟩ To y^{e} Right H⟨bl⟩e
my verye good frend
⟨Syr⟩ Rober⟨t⟩ Cotten
Knight

From this important letter we gather that among Lyly's friends for some time past had been the famous antiquary, whose house in Westminster near the river, on a site at present occupied by the House of Lords, had before Elizabeth's death become a resort of leading statesmen and men of letters, and the regular meeting-place of the Society of Antiquaries[1]. There, probably enough, Lyly had met Ben Jonson and Camden, Bacon and Raleigh, and many another bearer of a famous name, including perhaps Shakespeare himself, whose genius was long ere this abundantly declared. Sir Hugh Beeston, mentioned in Letter ii, and knighted perhaps on James I's accession, is still interesting himself on Lyly's behalf. 'M^{r} Sollictor' is, of course, the Solicitor-General, Sir John Doddridge, who had been appointed to that office on Oct. 29 of the previous year, 1604, and did not resign it to Francis Bacon till June 25, 1607. Doddridge had entered the Middle Temple in 1577, and was among the earliest members of the Society of Antiquaries[2]. Now what is the 'booke' of Lyly's that has been sent to Doddridge on his behalf? We have no information of anything published by him since *Loves Metamorphosis* in 1601; and, had he written fresh play or novel, it would surely have seen the light. A fresh edition of *Euphues*, the first since 1597, was indeed issued in this year, 1605, by William Leake; but Lyly would hardly be recommended to a public man by sending to the latter a work of a quarter of a century ago, with which he was in all likelihood already familiar; and the year on April 30 is barely six weeks old, which makes equally against our identifying the 'booke' with another perhaps possible work of this year, which however I have rejected[3]. The single point that favours the notion of literary reference is the allegation that Doddridge—for he, I think, and not

[1] Cotton took his B.A. at Cambridge in 1585; he joined the Society (founded 1572) in 1590 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). In a list of members of it in the reign of Elizabeth pub. in Th. Hearne's *Collection of Curious Discourses*, 1771, 8°, vol. ii. 421–49, the 38 names include those of Andrewes, Camden, Cotton, Davies, Doddridge, Lambard and Stow, but not Lyly's, nor Beeston's, nor the others mentioned in the text.

[2] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[3] See below, p. 399, note i.

Beeston, is meant—is 'a great Scholer'; words which Lyly may intend merely as a general reason for his respect, a compliment which Cotton might reproduce in his requested note of introduction. The letter plainly has some practical and particular end in view, one to which Doddridge's 'good Counsell & quick dispatch' will be of service, one about which Lyly himself will lose no time, and therefore begs that the bearer—so I understand it—may be entrusted with Cotton's note at once. This summary, hardly courteous, method does not look like a literary affair. I take it that the 'booke' sent to the eminent lawyer by Beeston, the man of affairs, was no product of our author's brain, but a much more matter-of-fact charter or deed of conveyance of land[1]. The drawing of such a 'booke' was sometimes a very intricate affair, especially if it concerned Crown land, or land in which the Crown had rights. Special privileges, conflicting claims, questions of arrears of rent for which it was desirable to accept a composition, might have to be settled before the legal transfer could be made; and there can be little doubt that a law-officer of the Crown, apart from the legal weight attaching to his decisions, might, if he chose, considerably expedite procedure. I cannot illustrate this better than by quoting in a note a letter of ten years earlier, in which Beeston had also been concerned[2].

In a word, the interpretation I put upon this final letter of Lyly is that, whether as a result of that *third* petition of which he encloses a copy (now lost) in the letter to Cecil of Feb. 4, 1602[–3] (p. 75), or of fresh applications made to her successor, the 'poor patient' has at length got the 'something' he craved, has actually received some

[1] This ancient legal term, seen in the AS. *bóc-land*, was even now becoming obsolete; the latest instance the N. E. D. quotes is from the Bible, 1611, *Jerem.* xxxii. 12 'The witnesses that subscribed the booke [1885, R. V. 'deed'] of the purchase.' Cf. 1 *Henry IV.* iii. 1. 224 'By that time will our Booke, I thinke, be drawne.'

[2] RICHARD PERCIVAL TO SIR ROBERT CECIL—1595, July 11.—'This book between Sir William Hatton and you is fully agreed upon and will be engrossed and ready to be sealed by tomorrow, 8 of the clock in the morning. Myself and Mr. Willis are named to the intent the whole moiety shall not settle in Mr. Beeston, who is very desirous to lay out £88 more, which maketh a full third part. The book between Longford and you is not yet agreed, being a conveyance so intricate as Mr. Hesketh desireth to have Mr. Serjeant Warburton's advice, which shall be had. Mr. Longford will move you that he may receive his rents, over and above his third part due at Whitsuntide last, because he reconciled himself to the church before that time; meaning by this stratagem to draw some £100 more from you. But he may be answered that the land is in extent for arrearages due for many years past to the Queen, which cannot be discharged by his coming to the church; whereas if all arrearages were paid and that he stood on even ground at Whitsuntide, you might shew him that favour which now you cannot.—From your house this present Friday morning.'—*Endorsed*: '11 Julii, 1595.' *Holograph* ½ p., 33/32. (*Calendar of Hatfield MSS.* vol. v. p. 277.)

grant of Crown land, the legal conveyance of which is now, April 1605, in hand. The grant itself, if it survives, has escaped my researches at the Record Office; but the explanation seems more probable than one which should relate the letter to some lost literary work. It is pleasant to be able, at the very end of my task, and almost of Lyly's life, to discern, if but faintly, some break and lifting in the cloud of anxiety and disappointment that had brooded over him so long; and I believe we may find confirmation of it in the fact that when the Revels Accounts are resumed, in the year Nov. 1604 to Nov. 1605, Edmond Pagenham appears in the office of Clerk-Controller, which Lyly had probably held at least as lately as Aug. 1602 (p. 381, above). It is natural to connect this circumstance with the letter; and to suppose that he had raised money on his new possession and retired from duties of which he had long grown weary, or that resignation was understood as a condition of the grant. If this be so, the interval for which Accounts are lacking, 1588–1604, exactly covers, by a singular coincidence, the period of Lyly's tenure of his post (above, p. 394). But, grant or no grant, he seems to have remained at St. Bartholomew's, where he is buried on Nov. 30, 1606[1].

Chronological Summary.

Oct. 9. Oct. 8.	
1553– 1554.	Birth.
1569 (Spring).	Enters Magd. Coll. Oxford. Spends three years in 'the country,' perhaps as a tutor. B.A. April 27, 1573. M.A. June 1, 1575.
1575–6.	Perhaps at Cambridge. M.A. there, 1579.
1577–8.	Acquaintance with Harvey 'in the Savoy.'
1578 (Dec.).	Publication of *Euphues*, Part I.
1579.	Private Secretary to the Earl of Oxford.
1580 (Easter).	Publication of *Euphues*, Part II.
1580–4.	Production of *Campaspe*, *Sapho and Phao*, *Gallathea*.
1585 (April).	Vice-master of the Paul's Boys.
1586–8.	Production of *Endimion* and *Loves Metamorphosis* (earlier form).
1588.	Clerk-Controller of the Revels and of Tentes and Toyles.
1589.	*Midas* produced.

[1] I am told by Dr. Norman Moore that the burial-ground was situate on the south side of the present square of the Hospital. The church is on the north.

1590.	*Mother Bombie* produced.
1591.	Inhibition of the Paul's Boys.
1590–2.	Several *Entertainments* produced.
1593.	*The Woman in the Moone* produced.
1594–5.	The Queen's displeasure.
1597.	The Revels Mastership promised to Buc.
1598.	The First Petition.
1599.	*The Maydes Metamorphosis* produced.
1601.	The Second Petition.
1602.	Harefield Entertainment.
1602–3.	A Third Petition (lost).
1604.	Probable grant of land and resignation of his post in the Revels Office.
1606 (Nov. 30).	His burial at St. Bartholomew's.

NOTE I.—For a long time I was minded to include among Lyly's works one which would have suggested that, before the letter to Cotton was written, he had spent some time abroad, especially in Italy—to wit, *An Olde Mans Lesson and a Young Mans Loue*, published 1605 4° as 'By Nicholas Breton.' In a signed dedication to Sir Thomas Linwraye, Breton speaks of its wit, learning and judgment with a want of modesty unusual in an Elizabethan poet; and in a further address to the Reader describes it as a discourse he has 'met with of late . . . written by I know not whom.' Grosart, regarding this as merely a playful device, an 'ever-recurring trick of expression,' included it in his edition of Breton's *Works*, 1879, vol. ii; but Hazlitt in his *Handbook* (p. 60) had classed it as 'edited' by Breton[1]. In general tone and in the subjects treated (the Terentian opposition between age and youth, represented by the interlocutors 'Chremes' and 'Pamphilus,' the old man's distrust of travel and the importance he attaches to money, the opposition between Court, country, and University life, the advice on marriage, the jokes on Latin grammar, the batch of favourite natural-history allusions) the piece is extremely like Lyly; the position and character of Chremes—a wealthy yeoman, proud of and indulgent to his clever son, though with a private assurance of the superior reliance to be placed on his own native shrewdness and experience—exactly tallies with what we know, or have surmised, of Lyly's father (Life, pp. 3–5); and the dialogue has several reminiscences of *Euphues* and *Mother Bombie*. These last, however, are mainly proverbial or expressive of general sentiment, not the close reproductions of special phrase which helped us in the Entertainments. The general run of the style exhibits

[1] Brydges' *Censura Literaria*, ii. 180, has a brief note on it. Percy pronounced it Breton's; Reed, to be edited by Breton.

unlikeness even in the likeness, e.g. the brief rattling exchange of conceited question and reply, which recalls the talk with Cupid in *Gallathea* and *Loves Metamorphosis*, is found elsewhere in Breton, and lacks something of the point with which Lyly would have infused it; and there is, besides, an occasional inconsequence in the reasoning or language which Lyly would hardly have passed. I notice, moreover, one or two things that occur in other of Breton's works; there is an improbability about his concern in it, if Lyly's; and finally, after long hesitation, I decide not to claim it.

NOTE II.—Inasmuch as the writer of the article on Bishop Joseph Hall in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* suggests the identity of my author with a character whom I ignored in the Life—'a witty and bold atheist, one M^r^ Lilly, who, by reason of his travels and abilities of discourse and behaviour' was able seriously to hamper Hall with his patron Sir Robert Drury on his presentation to the living of Halsted in Essex in 1601, and whose subsequent removal by the Plague, smoothing his path before his marriage in 1603, Hall regards as a providential interposition (*Observations* on his own life, p. xxxvii of S. W. Singer's ed. of the *Satires*, 1824), I think better to point out that the suggested identity is contradicted by, *inter alia*, dates.

NOTE III.—'No Greek, I suppose?' is a question sometimes put me in regard to Lyly's attainments: and so I state here my opinion that, though he probably read Latin with far more ease, and leaned, like most of his contemporaries, on Latin translations of Aristotle, Plutarch, and the Greek authors generally, yet he did possess some knowledge of the language; as is shown by his correction, in *Ephœbus* of the 'Biantem' of Guarini and 'Byas' of Elyot to 'Bion' with Plutarch (see Notes, p. 352), by his fanciful derivation of μήτηρ in another passage supplied by himself (see Note on p. 266 l. 13), and by his coinage of imaginary Greek names to colour some natural-history fiction of his own e.g. 'though the stone *Cylindrus* at euery thunder clappe, rowle from the hill,' *Euph.* i. 219 l. 5, 'the stone *Pansura*, which draweth all other stones, be they neuer so heauy,' *Euph.* ii. 184 l. 3, and '*Anyta*, which being a sweet flower at the rising of the sunne, becommeth a weede, if it be not pluckt before the setting,' *Saph.* ii. i. 91—for none of which do I find any original in Pliny. Cf. 'a sparke fell into the eyes of *Actina*, whereoff she dyed,' *Euph.* ii. 171 l. 30. On the other hand he blindly follows the mistakes of Abraham Fleming's translation of Aelian's *Varia Historia* (1576 4°. fols. 21, 152, 156): cf. notes on *Euphues* ii. 107 l. 28, 166 l. 35,203 l. 34.

NOTE IV.—In view of Lyly's very probable connexion, in a literary sense, with Spenser and that elder group of scholars and poets—Sidney, Greville, Dyer, and Harvey—who were strongly sensible of the value of Chaucer's work, I collect here one or two passages or points wherein he may have been influenced by that poet.

In *Euphues* i. 316 the letter to Alcius about true 'gentilesse' may be due to the famous passage in *The Wyf of Bathes Tale* D. 1109-64; in *Euph.* ii. 43 l. 2 we have 'a Caunterbury tale' as synonym for a fable, and in ii. 83 l. 9 'a fine taste noteth the fond appetites,' &c. may be reminiscent of the *Wife's Prologue* D. 466, 'A likerous mouth moste han a likerous tayl,' while 'coltes tooth,' l. 602, occurs *Euph.* ii. 172 l. 25.

In *Gallathea* we have all the matter of the Alchemist, including his desertion by Peter, clearly borrowed (with probably the intervention of Reginald Scot) from the *Canon's Yeoman's Prologue and Tale*, wherein the exclamation 'Peter,' l. 665, may have suggested the name of Lyly's rascal, while the name of Robin, the miller's son, and the tale of the Astronomer falling into a pond, may be taken from *The Milleres Tale*; in the same play, and in *Endimion*, fairies are introduced, perhaps from Scot, perhaps from the *Wyf of Bathes Tale*, and, if we consider the lines of Aureola, the Fairy Queen, in *Elvetham* (where see notes), the latter source seems probable; while the burlesque figure of Sir Tophas follows, closely though not obviously, the main lines of Chaucer's Sir Thopas (see notes on the play). And further, much proverbial wisdom, though found in the intervening collection of that evident Chaucer-lover, John Heywood, may have been taken by Lyly direct from the older poet; among such I note Memphio's remark in *Mother Bombie*, i. 1. 73-5, which may be reminiscent of the *Wife of Bathes Prologue* D. 278-80, 'dropping houses, and eek smoke, | And chyding wyves, maken men to flee | Out of hir owene hous'; and Rixula's proverb about the 'gray goose in the lake' in the same play, iii. 4. 13-4, is quoted by the same communicative lady D. 269-70; while that about the cripple in *Euph.* ii. 92 l. 8 and *Gall.* iv. 1. 46 occurs in *Troylus and Criseyde*, iv. 1458, from which poem, rather than from Boccaccio's *Filostrato*, Lyly probably derived his knowledge of that purely mediaeval tale, alluded to in *Euph.* i. 219 l. 11 'Troylus was to faithfull to Cræssida.' For the suggestions about the names Peter and Robin, the Astronomer, and the smoke I am indebted to Professor Littledale of University College, Cardiff. Much else might no doubt be collected by exhaustive search.

NOTE V.—Even now the tale of Lyly's productions is not quite exhausted. I find it necessary to include (vol. iii. 427) some amazing verses which he chose to entitle *The Trivmphs of Trophes*, and to announce as written 'In Saphic verse of Iubiles,' but the irregularities of which it is impossible to adjust to any metrical scheme, classical or other. In tone and style these dreadful lines are an anticipation of the *Whip* and *Mar-Martine*, his claim to which they somewhat strengthen; for, bad as these *Trivmphs* are, they exhibit a good deal of classical learning, and a verification of the references I have inserted opposite ll. 15, 21, 71, 108, 113-4 (especially), will, I believe, allay all doubts of his authorship. I take it that the publication was unauthorized, and that the 'L. L' of the signature at

the end is the piratical publisher's misreading for I. L. of the MS. copy: had Lyly meant to publish them, he would probably have put his name on the title-page rather than 'by a Courtier.' The lines were occasioned, of course, by the discovery of Babington's plot in 1586, fourteen of the conspirators therein having been condemned and executed before Mary herself was brought to trial in the autumn. She is referred to in stanza 8 as 'Romish Iesabell' and 'the onlie Circes'; while in stanza 17 Elizabeth is designated 'Cynthia,' as when opposed to Tellus (=Mary) in *Endimion*, a play written I believe in the previous year and performed on the Feb. 2 preceding this plot (see vol. iii. p. 11).

ENTERTAINMENTS

ENTERTAINMENTS

INTRODUCTION

THE Entertainments I claim for Lyly are the following :—

(1) A few isolated speeches or poems, all (except the *Ode*) probably delivered at the Tiltyard, Whitehall, on the occasion of one or other of the anniversaries of the Queen's accession, Nov. 17 : among them the famous 'sonnet' hitherto assigned to Peele, 1590, and a speech by the Earl of Cumberland, 1600.

(2) Speeches at Theobalds (Gardener and Molecatcher) 1591

(3) „ „ Cowdray on the Queen's Progress . „

(4) „ „ Elvetham „ „ . „

(5) „ „ Quarrendon „ „ . 1592

(6) „ „ Bisham, Sudeley and Rycote „ . „

(7) „ „ Harefield Place „ „ . 1602

(8) (Doubtful) a slight share in the shows at the King of Denmark's visit in 1606, especially one of a shepherd and shepherdess at Fleet Street Conduit, of which only a song and some reported details survive.

Besides these, as already stated in the Biographical Appendix, I think it probable that he was whole or part author of other shows and perhaps even of one or two plays, now lost. For detailed arguments in support of his claim to those here printed I must refer the reader to the Notes in each case. Here I will only say, generally, that his position after 1588 in the Revels Office and that of Tentes and Toyles—especially if he held the post of Clerk-Controller, to which in the case of his predecessor, Edward Buggyn, had been attached the production of designs for masques—indicates him as a person to whom noblemen wishing to amuse the Queen might naturally apply for aid ; and that the devotion of at least a portion of time to such work mitigates the intrinsically improbable sterility of the last fifteen years of his life. The style, too, throughout these shows is thoroughly Lylian, abounding in puns, alliteration and the perpetual antithetic balance characteristic of *Euphues*, to a degree unexhibited by any of his imitators, though the prose of Nicholas Breton some-

times makes a near approach to it. Doubtless in the latest instance, the Harefield Entertainment, the euphuistic characteristics are a good deal modified; but this is no more than we should naturally expect, and a useful external proof of his connexion with the Harefield show is supplied by the occurrence of his name in the full accounts of expenses incurred on that occasion preserved in the *Egerton Papers* (cf. Notes). *Cowdray* is specially reminiscent of *Endimion*, which, as it was published in 1591, Lyly may have been revising about the same time; *Elvetham* is premonitory of *The Woman in the Moone* some two years later; *Bisham* recalls *Midas* (published in the same year 1592); *Sudeley* and *Quarrendon*, *Loves Metamorphosis*; while *Quarrendon* and *Rycote* renew the old themes of *Euphues*. To exhibit the detailed connexion by full quotation, either here or in the Notes, would swell my already swollen volumes to an impracticable bulk. I must perforce trust to the reader's mastery of the characteristics of Lyly's style as set forth in the Essay on Euphuism, and to his diligence in verifying the references sown pretty thickly along the margin of the text, which will show that the marked resemblance of style is abundantly confirmed by reproduction of Lyly's favourite phrases and sentiments, of which the new matter is sometimes simply a mosaic.

For a taste, let him take, in the *Sonet*, the allusion to bees in helmets, and the antithesis of psalms and sonnets, found also in *Euphues* and *Campaspe*: in the Gardener's speech the exact likeness of the legend on the box to the doggrel oracles of Mother Bombie: in *Cowdray*, let him compare the Angler's speech, pp. 427–8, with Epiton's mention of a Western barge and angling in the same breath as types of tediousness (*Endim.* iv. 2. 53–7), with Floscula's remark (*Endim.* i. 2. 75–7), 'you shal finde that loue gotten with witch-craft is as vnpleasant as fish taken with medicines vnwholsome,' and with *Euphues*, ii. 143 l. 14 'the Camill first troubleth the water before he drinke': in *Elvetham* let him note the lines of the scroll 'Aöniis prior & Diuis,' &c., p. 445, reproduced, with the same inversion of them, in *The Woman*, iii. 1. 111–5: in *Quarrendon*, p. 462 l. 16, the loose article of dress to be worn by a loose character (cf. Helen in *Euph.* p. 179, above): in *Bisham*, p. 473, the proverb 'two Pigeons may bee caught with one beane' (from *Euph.* ii. 173 l. 23): in *Sudeley*, p. 477 l. 19 'a black sheepe is a perilous beast' from *End.* ii. 2. 154: in *Harefield*, p. 494 ll. 1–7, the likening of the Queen's visit to the broad bounty of the sun as in *Euph.* ii. 39 ll. 5–7 'a bright Sunne

shineth in euery corner, which maketh not the beames worse, but the place better.' Those who will look up the marginal references will find numbers of such cases; there are others of which I am conscious, but which elude my search; and, where they are not numerous, there is some other cogent argument, e. g. in *Quarrendon*, where it appears to me wellnigh impossible that any but Lyly can have written the dialogue between Constancy and Liberty.

In five cases, those of Cowdray, Elvetham, Bisham, Sudeley and Rycote, the speeches are preserved for us in contemporary printed quartos (the last three, in one), with the actual editing of which Lyly was not, I believe, directly concerned. The Printer's mention of 'loose papers' in his address prefixed to *Bisham Sud. Ryc.*, indicates the literary form in which Lyly left his work; but, from the close correspondence of the speeches with the details of action given in the narrative in *Elvetham*, as well as from the absence of proper stage-directions in *Quarrendon*, we should argue that he was not only the deviser but, as with his plays, the practical stage-manager of all these shows, to whom the various hosts communicated their wishes at the outset, especially in regard to any presents of jewellery, &c., to be introduced. The Theobalds, Quarrendon and Harefield speeches have been printed within the last century from contemporary MSS. On the question of Lyly's anonymity in all of them I have made one or two remarks in the Biographical Appendix, above, pp. 382–3.

The last two (doubtful) songs are from a quarto tract in the British Museum, of which I print the title and some long extracts. It is 'written to a gentleman in the northern parts'; and its clumsy long-winded construction of sentences quite excludes the idea of Lyly's authorship. Neither song appears in Henry Roberts' account of the visit as given by Nichols (*Progresses of James I*, ii. 54–69).

Taken altogether these shows form a body of work of some importance in the history of Pastoral in England. The certainty that much similar work, not always offered to royalty, has perished leaves us in some uncertainty as to Lyly's models; but he adheres with considerable fidelity to the lines laid down by Gascoigne and Sidney, whose *Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth* (pub. 1576), and *Lady of May* (given at Wanstead 1578)[1] are the earliest and only preceding

[1] It should be noted that *The Lady of May* was not printed till it appeared at the end of the 1613 ed. of *Arcadia*; but Lyly might have seen it in MS. or even witnessed the performance.

examples extant. The idea of such pastoral, with its introduction of mythological characters, was no doubt derived from Italy; though it has been well pointed out that pastoral shows form only a natural development of the written eclogue. They were, indeed, pretty sure to appear in any country where classical culture and a native poetry already existed[1]. In a most interesting and useful article in *Modern Language Notes* for April, 1899, Mr. A. H. Thorndike of the Western Reserve University gathers together from Fleay's *Chronicle*, Nichols' *Progresses*, and elsewhere, all that is known on this subject. He mentions the lost 'Mask of Wylde men,' performed at a marriage at Greenwich 1573[2], as the earliest indication of pastoral; he recalls how Gascoigne, at Kenilworth, introduced a 'Humbre Salvagio,' also Pan, Sylvanus god of woods, Diana with nymphs, hunting-horns, and allegorical characters, such as Deep Desire, speaking from trees to which they had been transformed; and how Sidney, in 1578, first gave us a distinct pastoral setting, exhibiting a singing match between a forester and a shepherd for the May Lady, and further introducing comic elements and native figures in Rombus the village pedant, Lalus the old shepherd, and the 'honest mans wife of the country,' alongside the more ideal and conventional figures of Therion and Espiles. The resumption of the Queen's progresses in 1591 gave a fresh impulse to such composition; and Mr. Thorndike, combating the notion that pastoral was a new thing in the hands of Daniel (*Queens Arcadia*, 1605), or Fletcher, summarizes some established features of it as follows:—'Before 1600 the chastity-motive, the setting of shepherds and hunters, the story of unrequited love, the singing-contest, the hunting-party with sounding horns[3]—all these had become material of the pastoral drama. Some characters, too, such as the satyr-type, the rude forester, and the venerable shepherd, were pretty familiar. . . . The mixture of pastoral with native comic characters is perhaps more distinctively

[1] See Note on Italian Influence, vol. ii. pp. 473 sqq.

[2] Fleay's *Chronicle*, ii. 341. The Revels Accounts also mention in connexion with the same Christmas, 1573–4, 'the foresters mask,' pp. 53–4, and 'the hunters Mask on New yeres Nighte,' p. 59; and on or about Dec. 23, 1574, 'the pedlers Mask,' pp. 87–8; while on the first Sunday of the New Year, 1578–9, was shown at Richmond 'A Pastorell or historie of a Greeke Maide,' p. 125; and in 1584 'A pastorall of Phillyda et Choryñ . . . on S^t. Stephens daie at night at Grenew^ch.'

[3] Elsewhere Mr. Thorndike adds the Echo-dialogue, rival discussion of hunters' and shepherds' lives, writing verses on a tree, celebration of a festival by nymphs, and transformation of a maiden to a tree. He generalizes from Lyly's plays and the *Maydes Met.*, as well as from the shows I print.

an English development. It may indeed possibly be taken as an evidence of the influence of contemporary public plays, though to some extent this mixture was anticipated in Spenser's and Barclay's eclogues. Pastoral poetry, at any rate, 'anticipated the pastoral drama in the introduction of contemporary satire' (col. 235). It does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Thorndike that Lyly, the chief author of 'public plays' before 1590, was also the author of most of the shows he discusses; nor does he notice that Melebeus and Tyterus in *Gallathea* (before 1585), and Pan in *Midas* (1589) have already exhibited something of the same comic-pastoral that appears in the Cutter of Cotswold in *Sudeley* (cf. the Angler and Netter at *Cowdray*, and the treatment of Silvanus in *Elvetham*).

To say truth Lyly, into whose hands the tradition passes about 1590, though he introduces great variety into the genre which he perpetuates and polishes, does not add any very distinctive typical feature, save perhaps that of allegorical figures, Constancy, Inconstancy, Place and Time. Freshness and spontaneity, an appropriate *naïveté* hardly to be expected from one who had already written seven plays of much internal resemblance, this they may all, I think, claim: one may be moderately grateful for the Gardener, the Angler, the Cotswold shepherds, and Joan the dairy-maid, while the dialogue between Constancy and Inconstancy is in the author's most ingenious vein; otherwise their literary merit is not great, chiefly because the kind is too slight to allow of much design or development of an issue. And what literary merit there is, is marred for the modern reader by a quality perhaps inseparable from the circumstances of presentation—the flattery, namely, by which they are marked, in greater degree and grosser kind than was visible in the plays; flattery that does not stick at the attribution of divine honours to Elizabeth in her own person, not merely in that of Cynthia or Diana, e.g. 'Elizabetha deus nobis hæc otia fecit' (*Cowdray*, p. 426); and cf. *Quarrendon*, pp. 465, 469. Excusable and interesting as a feature of this flattery are the references to the Armada in the Gardener's speech, p. 418, *Cowdray*, p. 425, *Elvetham*, pp. 442–3, *Quarrendon*, p. 467 l. 24, and to France and Flanders in *Bisham*, p. 475 ll. 12–3, *Rycote*, pp. 486, 488.

These shows are also useful as affording, in the large body of verse which they contain, confirmation of his authorship of the songs in the plays. Two of those in *Elvetham* have been attributed, not I think with absolute certainty, to Watson and Breton respectively—

the second being the exceedingly charming and dainty 'Phyllida and Coridon'; but there is no reason to doubt the rest (with some reservation in regard to *Harefield*), which often bear his visible imprint, e.g. the camomile and the palm in *Cowdray*, p. 426 ll. 34–5. Not much of this verse can claim any merit, though five of the songs found a place in the best poetical anthology of the reign, *Englands Helicon*, 1600, and the Latin oration of welcome to Elvetham is better than other Latin verse by Lyly; but taken all together, and coupled with a rather marked resemblance in *Sudeley*, it somewhat strengthens without, I think, at all finally establishing, Lyly's claim to the *Maydes Metamorphosis*[1]; and has induced me to include in vol. iii as possibly his a certain proportion of other unsigned lyrical work selected from the anthologies, song-books and MSS.

[1] See also above, pp. 383–4.

SPEECHES AND VERSES AT THE TILT-YARD

1590—1600.

A Sonet[1].

At the Tilt-Yard; Nov. 17, 1590.

(In William Segar's *Honor Military, and Ciuill*, 1602 fol. Bk. iii. ch. 54, the following description of this occasion is given: 'Here will we remember also . . . that these annuall exercises in armes, solemnized the 17. day of Nouember, were first begun and occasioned by the right vertuous and honourable Sir Henry Lea, Master of her highnesse Armorie, and now deseruingly Knight of the Most Noble Order, who, of his great zeale and earnest desire to eternize the glory of her maiestie's court, in the beginning of her happy reigne, voluntarily vowed (vnlesse infirmity, age, or other accident did impeach him), during his life, to present himselfe at the tilt armed, the day aforesayd yeerely, there to performe, in honor of her sacred maiestie, the promise he formerly made . . . though true it is, that the author of that custome (being now by age ouertaken) in the 33. yeere of her maiesties reigne resigned and recommended that office vnto the right noble George Earle of Cumberland. The ceremonies of which assignation were publiquely performed in presence of her maiestie, her ladies and nobilitie, also an infinite number of people beholding the same, as followeth.

On the 17 day of Nouember, Anno 1590. this honourable Gentleman together with the Earle of Cumberland, hauing first performed their seruice in Armes, presented themselues vnto her Highnesse, at the foot of the staires vnder her Gallery window in the Tilt yard at Westminster, where at that time her Maiestie did sit, accompanied with the Vicount Turyn Ambassador of France, many Ladies, and the chiefest Nobilitie.

Her Majesty beholding these armed knights comming toward her, did suddenly heare a musicke so sweete and secret, as euery one thereat greatly marueiled. And hearkening to that excellent melodie, the earth as it were opening, there appeared a Pauilion made of white Taffata, containing eight score elles, being in proportion like vnto the sacred Temple of the Virgins Vestall. This Temple seemed to consist vpon pillars of Pourferry, arched like vnto a Church, within it were many Lampes burning. Also, on the one side there stood an Altar couered with cloth of gold, and thereupon two waxe candles burning in rich candlesticks, vpon the Altar also were layd certaine Princely presents, which after by three Virgins were presented

[1] A Sonet] *from the Drummond copy of Peele's 'Polyhymnia,'* 1590, 4°, *in the Univ. Libr., Edinburgh. Also as here in John Dowland's 'First Booke of Songes or Ayres,'* 1597, fol., No. 18.

vnto her Maiestie. Before the doore of this Temple stood a crouned Pillar, embraced by an Eglantine tree, whereon there hangd a Table; and therein written (with letters of gold) this prayer following.

ELIZÆ, &c. | Piæ, potenti, fælicissimæ virgini, | fidei, pacis, nobilitatis vindici, | cui Deus, astra, virtus, | summa deuouerunt | omnia. | Post tot annos, tot triumphos, | animam ad pedes positurus | tuos, | sacra senex | affixit arma. | Vitam quietam, imperium, famam | æternam, æternam | precatur tibi, | sanguine redempturus suo. | Ultra columnas Herculis | columna moueatur tua. | Corona superet coronas omnes, | ut quam cœlum fælicissime | nascenti coronam dedit, | beatissima moriens reportes cœlo. | Summe, Sancte, Æterne, | audi, exaudi, | Deus. |

The musicke aforesayd, was accompanied with these verses, pronounced and sung by M. Hales her Maiesties seruant, a Gentleman in that Arte excellent, and for his voice both commendable and admirable. [Here follows an imperfect version of the 'Sonnet' below.]

The gifts which the vestall maydens presented unto her maiesty, were these: a vaile of white exceeding rich and curiously wrought; a cloke and safegard set with buttons of gold, and on them were grauen emprezes of excellent deuise; in the loope of euery button was a noble-mans badge, fixed to a pillar richly embrodered. . . .

— these presents and prayer being with great reuerence deliuered into her maiesties owne hands, and he himselfe disarmed, offered vp his armour at the foot of her maiesties Crowned Pillar; and kneeling vpon his knees, presented the Earle of Cumberland, humbly beseeching she would be pleased to accept him for her knight, to continue the yeerely exercises aforesaid. Her majesty gratiously accepting of that offer, this aged knight armed the earle, and mounted him vpon his horse. That being done, he put vpon his owne person a side coat of blacke veluet pointed vnder the arme, and couered his head (in liew of an helmet) with a buttoned cap of the countrey fashion.

After all these ceremonies, for diuers dayes hee ware vpon his cloake a crowne embrodered, with a certaine motto or deuice, but what his intention therein was, himselfe best knoweth.

Now to conclude the matter of assignation, you shall vnderstand that this noble gentleman, by her maiesties expresse commandement, is yerely (without respect vnto his age) personally present at these military exercises, there to see, suruey, and as one most carefull and skilfull to direct them; for indeed his vertue and valour in arms is such as deserueth to command.')

His Golden lockes Time hath to Siluer turn'd, ⟨*Endim.* ii 3. 30⟩
O Time too swift, ô Swiftnesse neuer ceasing!
His Youth gainst Time and Age hath euer spurn'd,
But spurn'd in vain, Youth waineth by increasing.
Beauty, Strēgth, Youth, are flowers, but fading seen,
Dutie, Faith, Loue, are roots, and euer greene.

1, 3 His] My *Segar* 2 ô] and *Seg.* 3 Time . . . euer] age, and age at youth hath *Seg.* 5 Youth . . . seen] and youth, flowers fading beene *Seg.* 6 and *before* Loue *Seg.*

⟨*Euph.* ii. 209 l. 36; *Camp.* iv. 3. 8⟩ ⟨*Euph.* i. 224 l. 5, 321 l. 38, &c.⟩

His Helmet now shall make a hiue for Bees,
And Louers sonets turne to holy Psalmes:
A man at Armes must now serue on his knees,
And feede on praiers, which are Age his almes.
But though from Court to Cottage he depart,
His Saint is sure of his vnspotted heart.

⟨*End.* v. 3. 170; iii. 4. 52, 118; *Saph.* v. 3; *L. M.* passim⟩

And when he saddest sits in homely Cell,
Heele teach his swaines this Caroll for a Song,—
Bless'd be the heartes that wish my Soueraigne well,
Curs'd be the soules that thinke her any wrong!
Goddess, allow this aged man his right,
To be your Beads-man now, that was your Knight.

A Cartell for a Challeng.

⟨*A Herald reads*⟩

To all the Noble Chosen and Hopefull Gentlemen, in this most notable Assemble; The strange forsaken Knightes send greeting, &c.:—

Whereas the Question hath ben long and often, and yett resteth doubtfull and undiscussed, whether that wch Menne call Loue be good or euill; And that it is manifest that there be manie woorthye Knightes, in this p'sence, to whom Loue is most delightfull, and his lawes no paynes; I bring this scedule, to signifie to all the gentlemen here, that loue Armes, and list to defend this Cause, that there be three armed and unknowen Knightes, here at hande, of one minde & diuers fortune, that, wth stroke of Arme and dynt of sworde, be come to maintaine against all that will defende the Contrary, that Loue is worse than hate, his Subiectes worse than slaues, and his Rewarde worse than naught: And that there is a Ladie that scornes Loue and his power, of more vertue and greater bewtie than all the Amorouse Dames that be at this day in the worlde.

1, 6 (*bis*) His] My *Segar* 2 sonets turne *Songbook*: songs shall turne *Seg.*: Sonets turn'd *Polyhymnia* 3 serue] sit *Seg.* 4 pray'rs that are old ages almes *Seg.* (ages *also Songbook*) 5 But though] And so *Seg.* he] I *Seg.* 7 I sadly sit *Seg.* 8 I'le teach my *Seg.* 9 wish] thinke *Seg.* 10 soule *Songbook* her any] to doe her *Seg.* 11 allow] vouchsafe *Seg.* 13 This and the two following speeches are taken from *Masques: Performed before Queen Elizabeth*, 1820, 4° (ed. W. Hamper)

Sir Henry Lee's challenge before the Shampanie.

⟨A Herald reads⟩

There is a strange Knight that warres against hope and fortune, who, ouerturned with griefe, hath cast himself into the Crewe of Care: And to maintaine his passion, as an enemie to all that liue in delight, determineth to be here forthwith; and hath sent mee to tell the Procurer of this Assemble, that under the hue of a grene ⟨suit⟩ is couered that unfortunate Carcas that scornes at others Joyes and weepes at all delightes. And knowing that there be manie Seruants to Hope, and Frendes to Fortune, (whom he treadeth under foote), meaneth to maintaine, as farr as his posting horse will giue him leaue, that the Seruants of Dispaire haue asmuch Vertue, and cary asmuch Goodwill to the guide of his Troupe, as those that serue the other turning and most trustless Goddes.

The Supplication of the owld Knight.

In humble wise, sheweth unto your honorable Lordshipps, and the woorthie Gentelmen of this noble Assembell, and serveres of this English Holiday, or rather Englandes Happie Daye; A poore faithfull feeble Knight, yet once (thowe unwoorthie) your fellowe in Armes, and first Celebrator, in this kinde, of this sacred memorie of that blessed reigne, which shall leaue to this land an eternall monument of Godes fauoure, and greate glorie. That whereas Age, the Foe of Loue and Armes, hath thus disabled me (as you see) to performe with my handes the office of my harte, and hath turned me from a staffe to run with, to a staffe to rest on, making me a glasse for Joylite to looke in, since all strength and bewtie upon Earthe, and whatsoeuer we most lyke and striue for, muste alter and end, eyther soddenlie, by chaunce, or, certainely, by small contynuance: It may please you of your honorable favoures and curtesies, in regard of my past seruice, and present humble sute, to accept to your fellowshippe, in his fathers rome, this oneley sonne of mine, young, and honest, and toward, though I say it; thus shall you incurrage a young gentelmanne in verteouse exercises, that is labouring the waies of Hope, comfort an aged Knight, worne and weried with thoughtes and trauailes, drawing to his ende, and binde him with his force, and me with my prayre, to do you euer the seruice wee are able. And

7 [suit] *suppl. Hamper*

further, least I forfait my tenure (which I would not for my lyfe) of this daies honoring her excellent Ma^ie, being not able in person to paye with the launce this rent of my seruice, I must beseeche somme noble or woorthie gentelman, that is most lyke to haue next access to her sacred persone, lowlie to present this little from me, as the yearely fyne of his faith: which no cause shall make light, and no tyme can make less. So the high and mercifull preseruer of all thinges best preserue hir that thus preserues us all, and send you, most noble Gentelmen, and all that be woorth anie thing, best bodies to serue her, best hartes to loue hir, and best happes to honor her, and her most gratiouse Ma^ie the longest life, the most felicitie, the heauens did euer giue, or the earth did euer take. Amen. Amen.

At the Earl of Cumberland's Shew on Horseback; May 1, 1600.

Ode.

Of Cynthia.

Th' ancient Readers of Heauens Booke,
Which with curious eye did looke
Into Natures story;
All things vnder Cynthia tooke
To bee transitory.

⟨*Eng.* i. 1. 10⟩

This the learned only knew,
But now all men finde it true,
Cynthia is descended;
With bright beames and heauenly hew,
And lesser starres attended.

Landes and Seas shee rules below,
Where things change, and ebbe, and flowe,
Spring, waxe olde, and perish;
Only Time which all doth mowe,
Her alone doth cherish.

⟨*Eng.* i. 1. 36–58; *Harefield*, p. 499 ll. 1–2⟩

Times yong howres attend her still,
And her Eyes and Cheekes do fill,
With fresh youth and beautie:

⟨*Harefield*, p. 493 ll 18–9⟩

15 From Davison's *Poetical Rapsody*, 1602. It *may* be by Sir John Davies: cf. p. 519.

All her louers olde do grow,
But their hartes, they do not so
In their Loue and duty.

This Song was sung before her sacred Maiestie at a shew on horsebacke, wherwith the right Honorable the Earle of Cumberland presented her Highnesse on Maie day last ⟨1600⟩.

At the Tilt-Yard; Nov. 17, 1600.

A Copie of my Lord of Combrlande's Speeche to ye Queene, upon ye 17 day of November, 1600.

This knight (Fairest and Happiest of all Ladies) removyng from castell to castell, now rowleth up and downe, in open feild, a field of shaddow, having no other m'rs but night-shade, nor gathering anie mosse but about his own harte. This mallancholly, or rather desperat retirdnes, sommons his memorie to a repetition of all his accions, thoughtes, misfortunes, in the depth of which discontented contentednes upon one leaf he writes, *utiliter consenesco*, and musters up all his spirite to its wonted corradge: but in the same minut he kisseth night-shade, and imbraceth it, saying, *Solanum Solamen*. Then, having no companye but himselfe, thus he talkes w'th himselfe: that he hath made ladders for others to clymbe, and his feet nayled to the ground not to stirr. That he is lyke them that built ye ancker to save others, and themselves to be drownd. That when he hath outstript manie in desert, he is tript upp by Envy, untill those overtake him that undertooke nothing. He, on the confidence of unspotted honour, leveld all his accions to nurse these twinnes, Labor and Dutie, not knowinge which of these was eldest, both running fast, but neither formost. Then, casting his eyes to heaven, to wonder at Cinthia's brightness, and to looke out his own unfortunate starr: with deepe syghes he breathes out a twofold wishe, that the one may never waine while the world waxeth; that the other may be erring, not fixed. Howe the two haith troubled ye sacred eares, mine ⟨Vol. iii. p. 497⟩ ⟨*Mid.* ii. 1. 96⟩ ⟨*Euph.* ii. 4 l. 3, 5 l. 9⟩

10 As printed in Whitaker's *History of Craven*, 1805, 4° (3rd ed. 1878, ed. Morant, p. 355), from MSS. of the Cumberland family at Bolton, Yorkshire 14 m'rs] *i. e.* mistress 23 them] him *Whitaker from MS.*

with glowing and tingling, are witnesses; but they shall confess that their eyes shall prove their being lyers, being as farr from judgm't as they are from honnor. There is no such thing as night-shade; for wher can there be miste or darkenes where you are, whose beames wrappes up cloudes as whirlewindes dust? Night-shade is falne off, shrinking into y^e^ center of the earth, as not daring to showe blackenes before your brightnes. I cannot excuse my knightes error, nor care that he knows it, to thinke he could cover himselfe obscurely in anie desolate retirdness wher your highnes beautie and vertue could not find him out. These Northeren thoughtes, that measures honnor by the acre, and would have his crest a plase, he controwles so far in his truer honnor, that ⟨he⟩ contempes them. He now grounds all his accions neither upon hopes, counsell, nor experience, he disdaines envy, and scornes ingratitude. Judgem't shall arme his patience; patience confirme his knowledge, which is that, yourselfe being perfection, knowes measures number and tyme to cause favour wher it shold, and when you please, being onely constant and wyse in waiging with true stediness both the thoughtes of all men, and their affections; upon w'ch he soe relies that whatsoever happen to him you are still yourselfe (wonder and happynes), to w'ch his eyes, thoughts, and actions are tyed, w'th such an indissolvable knott, that neather death, nor tyme, that triumphs after death, shall or can unloose it. Is it not, as I have often tould ye, that, after he had throwne his land into y^e^ sea, y^e^ sea would cast him on the lande for a wanderer? He that spines nothing but hopes shall weave up nothing but repentance. Let him cast his accompts sinc he was first wheeld about with his will wheele; and what can he reckon, save only he is so manie years elder? Haith not he taken his fall, wher others take their rysing, he having y^e^ Spanish proverbe at his backe that should be sticked to his harte, "Adelante los Abenstados." "Let them hold the purses with y^e^ mouth downeward that hath filled them with mouth upwards." He may well entertaine a shade for his m'rs that walkes in the world himselfe like a shaddow, embracing names instead of thinges, dreames for trouthes, blind prophesais for seeing verities. It becomes not me to dispute of his courses; but yet none shall hinder me from wondring to see him that is not to be, and yet to be that never was. If ye thinke his body too straighte for his hearte, ye shall find y^e^ worlde wyde enoughe for his body.

12 [he] *suggested Whitaker* 16 knowes] knaves *MS. as reported by Whitaker*

ON THE QUEEN'S VISIT TO THEOBALDS, MAY, 1591.

THE GARDENER'S SPEECH.

MOST fortunate and fair queen, on whose heart Wisdom hath laid her crown, and in whose hands Justice hath left her balance, vouchsafe to hear a country controversy, for that there is as great equity in defending of poor men's onions as of rich men's lands.

At Pymms, some four miles hence, the youngest son of this honourable old man (whom God bless with as many years and virtues as there be of him conceived hopes ⟨and⟩ wishes!) devised a plot for a garden, as methought, and in a place unfit for pleasure, being overgrown with thistles and turned up with moles, and besides so far from the house that, in my country capacity, a pound had been meeter than a paradise. What his meaning was I durst not inquire, for *sunt animis celestibus iræ*; but what my labours were I dare boast of. ⟨*Sud.* p. 478⟩

The moles destroyed and the plot levelled, I cast it into four quarters. In the first I framed a maze, not of hyssop and thyme, but that which maketh time itself wither with wondering; all the Virtues, all the Graces, all the Muses winding and wreathing about your majesty, each contending to be chief, all contented to be cherished: this not of potherbs, but flowers, and of flowers fairest and sweetest; for in so heavenly a maze, which astonished all earthly thought's promise, the Virtues were done in roses, flowers fit for the twelve Virtues, who have in themselves, as we gardeners have observed, above an hundred; the Grace⟨s⟩ of pansies partly-coloured, but in one stalk, never asunder, yet diversely beautified; the Muses of nine several flowers, being of sundry natures, yet all sweet, all sovereign. ⟨*Euph.* i., 187 l. 30⟩ ⟨*Camp.* Prol. i l. 27; *Euph.* i. 272 l. 29⟩ ⟨*Bish.* p. 474 (roses and eglantine)⟩

These mingled in a maze, and brought into such shapes as poets and painters use to shadow, made mine eyes dazzle with the shadow, and all my thoughts amazed to behold the bodies Then

3 These two speeches are from Dyce's ed. of Peele's *Works*. See note 8 *Qy.?* Mimms *Dyce*: see note 10 [and] *inserted Dyce* 26 Grace[s] *so emended Dyce*

⟨*Tilt-yd.* p. 410; *Bish.* p. 474; vol. iii.; *The Bee*, st. 6⟩ was I commanded to place an arbour all of eglantine, in which my master's conceit outstripped my cunning: 'Eglantine,' quoth he, 'I most honour, and it hath been told me that the deeper it is rooted in the ground, the sweeter it smelleth in the flower, making it ever so green that the sun of Spain at the hottest cannot parch it.'

As he was telling me more, I, intending my work more than his words, set my spade with all force into the earth, and, at the first, hit upon the box. This ratcatcher (as children do when any thing is found) cried, 'Half!' which I denying, ⟨he⟩ claimed all, because he killed the moles, and if the moles had not been destroyed, there had been no garden; if no garden, no digging; if no digging, no box found. At length this box bred boxes betwixt us; till weary of these black and blue judges, we determined to appeal to your majesty, into whose hands we both commit the box and the cause, ⟨I⟩ hoping that this weasel-monger, who is no better than a cat in a house or a ferret in a cony-gat, shall not dissuade your majesty from a gardener whose art is to make walks pleasant for princes, to set flowers, cast knots, graft trees, to do all things that may bring pleasure and profit; and so to give him one gird for all, as much odds as there is between a woodcleaver and a carpenter, so great difference in this matter is between the molecatcher and the gardener.

⟨*Cowdray*, p. 424 l. 28⟩

WRITTEN ABOUT THE BOX.

⟨*Euph.* ii. 191 ll. 12–13⟩

I was a giant's daughter of this isle,
Turn'd to a mole by the Queen of Corn:
My jewel I did bury by a wile,
Again never from the earth to be torn,
Till a virgin had reigned thirty-three years,
Which shall be but the fourth part of her years.

⟨cf. M. Bomb.'s oracles, vol. iii. pp. 196, 203–5, 216⟩

THE MOLECATCHER'S SPEECH.

Good lady, and the best that ever I saw, or any shall, give me leave to tell a plain tale, in which there is no device, but desert enough. I went to seek you at Greenwich; and there it was told me that the queen was gone from the court; I wondered that the body should start from the shadow. Next was I pointed to Hackney; there they said the court was gone into the country: I had thought to have made hue and cry, thinking that he that stole fire

8 the] *qy.?* this *Dyce* 9 [he] *Dyce's insertion* 15 [I] *Dyce's insertion*

from heaven had stolen our heaven from earth. At the last I met with a post who told me you were at Theobald's: I was glad, for that next your majesty I honour the owner of that house, wishing that his virtues may double his years and yours treble.

I cannot discourse of knots and mazes: sure I am that the ground was so knotty that the gardener was amazed to see it; and as easy had it been, if I had not been, to make a shaft of a cammock as a garden of that croft. I came not to claim any right for myself, but to give you yours; for that, had the bickering been between us, there should have needed no other justice of peace than this, to have made him a mittimus to the first gardener that ever was, Adam. ⟨*Euph.* i. 196 l. 1, and often⟩

I went to lawyers to ask counsel, who made law like a plaice, a black side and a white; 'for,' said one, 'it belongeth to the lord of the soil, by the custom of the manor.' 'Nay,' said the other, 'it is treasure trove.' 'What's that?' quoth I. 'Marry, all money or jewels hidden in the earth are the queen's.' *Noli me tangere:* I let go my hold, and desire your majesty that you will hold yours.

Now, for that this gardener twitteth me with my vocation, I could prove it a mystery not mechanical, and tell the tale of the giant's daughter which was turned to a mole because she would eat fairer bread than is made of wheat, wear finer cloth than is made of wool, drink neater wine than is made of grapes; why she was blind, and yet light of hearing; and how good clerks told me that moles in fields were like ill subjects in commonwealths, which are always turning up the place in which they are bred. But I will not trouble your majesty, but every day pray on my knees that all those that be heavers at your state may come to a mole's blessing,—a knock on the pate and a swing on a tree. Now, madam, for this gardener, command him to end his garden, and, till his melancholy be past, let him walk in the alleys, and pick up worms like a lapwing. ⟨*Euph.* i. 181 l. 18⟩ ⟨*Cowd.* p. 428 l. 23⟩ ⟨*Camp.* i. 1. 16⟩

10 this] 'his molespade.' *Marginal note in MS.* (*Dyce*)

The[1] Speeches and[2]

HONORABLE

Entertainment giuen to the Queenes MAIESTIE in Progresse, at Cowdrey in Sussex, by the right Honorable the

Lord Montacute.

1591.

LONDON[3]

Printed by Thomas Scarlet, and are to bee solde by *William Wright*, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, neere to the French Schoole.

1591.

[1] EDITIONS—(1) (=Q) 1591 4° *followed in this edition. Title as above. 8 leaves, the first blank, the second being the title-page with blank verso, then A 3, A 4, B–B 4. No col. (In Br. Mus. under* 'Broun, Anthony, Viscount Montagu'*: press-mark* C. 33. d. 11.)

(2) 1591 4°. *Title quoted under* (3).

(3) *Reprint of* (2) *in Nichols'* '*Progresses*,' 1788 (*vol. ii*), *with follg. title*:—The Honorable Entertainment given to the Queenes Majestie, in Progresse, at Cowdrey in Sussex, by the Right Honorable the Lord Montecute. 1591. Printed by Thomas Scarlet, and are to bee solde by William Wright, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, neere to the French Schoole. 1591. *It omits the three poems.*

(4) *Reprint of* (2) *in Nichols, Second Edition*, 1823, *vol.* iii. *pp.* 90–6. *Poems omitt.*

N. in footnotes includes both (3) and (4), except where differentiated by date.

[2] Speeches and *om. Nichols.*

[3] LONDON *om. N.*

THE HONORABLE

Entertainment giuen to her Maiestie in Progresse at Cowdray in Sussex by the *Lord Montecute Anno. 1591.*

August, 14.

THe Queens MAIESTY came with a great traine to the right Honorable the Lorde *Montacutes*, vpon saterdaie being the 14 daie of Auguste about eight of the clocke at night. Where vpon sight of her Maiestie, loud musicke sounded, which at her enteraunce on the bridge suddenly ceased. Then was a speech deliuered by a personage in armour, standing betweene two Porters, carued out of wood, he resembling the third: holding his club in one hand, and a key of golde in the other, as followeth.

Saterday.

The Porters Speech.

⟨*Camp.* i. 1. 31⟩ *THe walles of Thebes were raised by Musicke: by musick these are kept from falling. It was a prophesie since the first stone was layde, that these walles should shake, and the roofe totter, till the wisest, the fairest and most fortunate of all creatures, should by her first steppe make the foundation staid: and by the glaunce of her eyes make the Turret steddie. I haue beene here a Porter manie yeeres, many Ladies haue entred passing amiable, many verie wise, none so happie. These my fellow Porters thinking there could bee none such, fell on sleepe, and so incurde the seconde curse of the prophesie, which* ⟨*Bish.* p. 473 l. 33⟩ *is, neuer againe to awake: Marke how they looke more like postes then Porters, reteining onlie their shapes, but depriued of their sences. I thought rather to cut off my eie liddes, then to winke till I saw the ende. And now it is: for the musick is at an end, this house immoue-*

5 14.] 18 *N* 1788: 15 *N* 1823 dyned at Farnham *N* Saterday, August 15. *N* 1823 6 Queens MAIESTY] Queene having 7 Mountagues, on *N* 14] 15 *N* 14 23 such] so noble *N*

able, your vertue immortall. O miracle of Time, Natures glorie, Fortunes Empresse, the worlds wonder! Soft, this is the Poets part, and not the Porters. I haue nothing to present but the crest of mine office, this keie: Enter, possesse all, to whom the heauens have vouchsafed all. As for the owner of this house, mine honourable Lord, his tongue is the keie of his heart: and his heart the locke of his soule. Therefore what he speakes you may constantlie beleeue: which is, that in duetie and seruice to your Maiestie, he would be second to none: in praieng for your happinesse, equall to anie. ⟨*Bish.* p. 475 ll. 2–3; *Midas*, i. 1. 44–5; *End.* 1. 4. 36⟩

Tuus, O Regina, quod optas ⟨Life,p.67⟩
Explorare fauor: huic iussa capessere fas est.

Mundaie.

ON Munday at 8. of the clocke in the morning, her Highnes took horse with all her Traine, and rode into the Parke: where was a delicate Bowre prepared, vnder the which were placed her Highnes Musitians, and this dittie following song while her Maiestie shot at the Deere.

A Dittie.

BEhold her lockes like wiers of beaten gold,
her eies like starres that twinkle in the skie,
Her heauenly face not framd of earthly molde,
Her voice that sounds Apollos melodie,
The miracle of time, the ⟨whole⟩ worlds storie,
Fortunes Queen, Loues treasure, Natures glory.

No flattering hope she likes, blind Fortunes bait
nor shadowes of delight, fond fansies glasse,
Nor charmes that do inchant, false artes deceit,
nor fading ioyes, which time makes swiftly pas
But chast desires which beateth all these downe;
A Goddesse looke is worth a Monarchs crowne.

11 *After* fas est *N adds* Wherewithall her Highnes tooke the keye, and said, she would sweare for him, there was none more faithfull: then being alighted, she embraced the ladie Montecute, and the ladie Dormir her daughter. The Mistresse of the house (as it were weeping in her bosome) said, 'O happie time, O joyfull daie!' 11 capescere *Q*

That night her Majestie tooke her rest; and so in like manner the next day, which was *Sunday*, being most royallie feasted. The proportion of breakefast was three oxen, and one hundred and fourtie geese.

12 Mundaie, August 17. *N* 1823 15–17 were . . . Deere] were her Highnesse musicians placed, and a crossebowe by a Nymph, with a sweet song, deliuered to her hands, to shoote at the deere, about some thirtie in number, put into a paddock, of which number she killed three or four, and the Countess of Kildare one. *N* 18 A Dittie] *this with the three following stanzas om. N*

Goddesse and Monarch of ⟨t⟩his happie Ile,
vouchsafe this bow which is an huntresse part:
Your eies are arrows though they seeme to smile
which neuer glanst but gald the stateliest hart,
Strike one, strike all, for none at all can flie,
They gaze you in the face although they die.

Then rode hir Grace to Cowdrey to dinner, and aboute sixe of the clocke in the euening, from a Turret sawe sixteene Buckes (all hauing fayre lawe) pulled downe with Greyhoundes in a laund.

Tewsdaie.

On Tewsdaie her Maiestie went to dinner to the Priory, where my Lord himselfe kept house, and there was she and her Lordes most bountifully feasted.

The Pilgrimes speech.

FAirest of all creatures, vouchsaf to heare a prayer of a Pilgrime, which shall be short, and the petition which is but reasonable. God graunt the worlde maie ende with your life, and your life more happie then anie in the world: that is my praier. I haue trauelled manie Countries, and in all Countries desire antiquities. In this Iland (but a spanne in respect of the world) and in this Shire (but a finger in regard of your Realme) I haue heard great cause of wonder, some of complaint. Harde by, and so neere as your Maiestie shall almost passe by, I sawe an Oke, whose statelines nayled mine eies to the branches, and the ornamentes beguiled my thoughtes with astonishment. I thought it free, being in the fielde, but I found it not so. For at the verie entrie I mette I know not with what rough-hewed Ruffian, whose armes wer carued out of knotty box, for I could receue nothing of him but boxes, so hastie was he to strike, he had no leysure to speake. I thought there were more waies to the wood then one, and finding another passage, I found also a Ladie verie faire, but passing frowarde, whose words set mee in a greater heate then the blowes. I asked her name, she said it was Peace. I wondred that Peace could

⟨*Bish.* p. 477 ll. 7–8; *Euph.* ii. 212 l. 16⟩

⟨*Gardener's Speech*, p. 418 l. 12⟩ ⟨*Euph.* ii. 66 l. 26⟩ ⟨*Mid.* iii. 3. 31; *End.* v. 1. 81⟩

9 *After* laund *N adds* All the huntinge ordered by Maister Henrie Browne, the lord Montagues thirde sonne, raunger of Windsore forrest 10 Tuesdaie, August 18. *N* 1823 13 *After* feasted *N adds* After dinner she came to viewe my Lordes walkes, where shee was mette by a Pilgrime, clad in a coat of russet velvet, fashioned to his calling; his hatte being of the same, with skallop shelles of cloth of silver, who delivered hir a speach in this sort following: 14 The . . . speech] Pilgrime *N*

neuer holde her peace. I cannot perswade my selfe since that time, but that there is a waspes nest in mine eares. I returned discontent. But if it will please your Highnesse to view it, that rude Champion at your faire feete will laie downe his foule head: and at your becke that Ladie will make her mouth her tongues mue. Happelie your Maiestie shall finde some content: I more antiquities.

⟨*End.* iv. 3. 70; *M. Bomb.* ii. 1. 113⟩

Then did the Pilgrime conduct her Highnes to an Oke not farre off, whereon her Maiesties armes, and all the armes of the Noblemen, and Gentlemen of that Shire, were hanged in Escutchions most beutifull, and a wilde man cladde in Iuie, at the sight of her Highnesse spake as foloweth.

The wilde mans speech at the tree.

MIghtie Princesse, whose happines is attended by the heauens, and whose gouernment is wondered at vpon the earth: vouchsafe to heare why this passage is kept, and this Oke honoured. The whole world is drawen in a mappe: the heauens in a Globe: and this Shire shrunke in a Tree: that what your Maiestie hath oftē heard off with some comfort, you may now beholde with full content. This Oke, from whose bodie so many armes doe spread: and out of whose armes so many fingers spring: resembles in parte your strength & happinesse. Strength, in the number and the honour: happinesse, in the trueth and consent. All heartes of Oke, then which nothing surer: nothing sounder. All wouen in one roote, then which nothing more constant, nothing more naturall. The wall of this Shire is the sea, strong, but rampired with true hearts, inuincible: where euery priuate mans eie is a Beacon to discouer: euerie noble mans power a Bulwarke to defende. Here they are all differing somewhat in degrees, not in duetie: the greatnes of the branches, not the greenesse. Your maiesty they account the Oke, the tree of Iupiter, *whose root is so deeplie fastened, that treacherie, though sheé vndermine to the centre, cannot finde the windings, and whose toppe is so highlie reared, that enuie, though she shoote on copheigth, cannot reach her, vnder whose armes they haue both shade and shelter. Well wot they that your enemies lightnings are but flashes, and their thunder, which filles the whole world with a noise of conquest, shall end with a softe shower of Retreate. Be then as confident in your steppes, as* Cæsar *was in his Fortune. His proceedings but of conceit: yours of vertue. Abroad courage hath made you feared, at home honoured clemencie. Clemencie which the*

⟨*Sudeley*, p. 480; *Petition*, p. 64⟩

⟨Life, p. 13 ll. 19–21⟩

⟨*End.* v. 1. 124–6 (Trecherie and Enuye)⟩

27 in² *om. N* 32 on copheigth: *so Q. N*

owner of this Groue hath tasted: in such sort, that his thoughts are become his hearts laberinth, surprized with ioie and loialtie. Ioy without measure, loyaltie without end, liuing in no other ayer, then that which breathes your Maiesties safetie.

For himselfe, and all these honourable Lords, and Gentlemen, whose shieldes your Maiestie doeth here beholde, I can say this, that as the veines are dispersed through all the bodie, yet, when the heart feeleth any extreame passion, sende all their bloud to the heart for comfort: so they being in diuers places, when your Maiestie shall but stande in feare of any daunger, will bring their bodies, their purses, their soules, to your Highnesse, being their heart, their head, and their Soueraigne. This passage is kept straight, and the Pilgrime I feare hath complained: but such a disguised worlde it is, that one can scarce know a Pilgrime from a Priest, a Tailer from a Gentleman, nor a man from a woman. Euerie one seeming to be that which they are not, onely do practise what they should not. The heauens guide you, your Maiestie gouernes vs: though our peace bee enuied, yet we hope it shall be eternall.

〈*Euph.* i. 218 l. 22; ii. 73 l. 22〉

Elizabetha Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.

〈King of Denmark's Welcome, p. 507〉

The Dittie.

THere is a bird that builds her neast with spice,
and built, the Sun to ashes doth her burne,
Out of whose sinders doth another rise.
& she by scorching beames to dust doth turne:
Thus life a death, and death a life doth proue,
The rarest thing on earth except my loue.

My loue that makes his neast with high desires,
and is by beauties blaze to ashes brought,
Out of the which do breake out greater fires,
they quenched by disdain consume to nought,
And out of nought my cleerest loue doth rise,
True loue is often slaine but neuer dies.

True loue which springs, though Fortune on it tread
as camomel by pressing down doth grow
Or as the Palme that higher reares his head,
whē men great burthens on the branches throw

〈*Euph.* i. 196 l. 3 *Euph.* i. 191 l. 9; ii. 76 l. 35〉

15 one] man *N* be] he *Q* 17 by them *after* envied *N* fœcit *Q* 20 The Dittie] *this, with the three following stanzas, om. N* 36 burrhens *Q*

Loue fansies birth, Fidelitie the wombe,
the Nurse Delight, Ingratitude the tombe.

Then vppon the winding of a Cornet was a most excellent crie of hounds, with whome her Maiestie hunted and had good sport.

Wednesdaie.

On wednesdaie the Lords and Ladies dined in the walkes, feasted most sumptuously. In the euening her Maiestie comming to take the pleasure of the walkes, was delighted with most delicate musicke, and brought to a goodly Fishpond where was an Angler, that taking no notice of hir Maiestie, spake as followeth.

The Anglers Speech.

NExt rowing in a Westerne barge well fare Angling, I haue bin here this two houres and cannot catch an oyster. It may be for lacke of a bait, & that were hard in this nibbling world, where euerie man laies bait for another. In the Citie merchants bait their tongues with a lie and an oath, and so make simple men swallow deceitfull wares: and fishing for commoditie is growen so farre, that men are become fishes, for Lande lords put such sweete baits on rackt rents, that as good it were to be a perch in a pikes belly, as a Tenant in theyr farmes. All our trade is growen to trecherie, for now fish are caught with medicins: which are as vnwholsom as loue procured by witchcraft vnfortunate. We Anglers make our lines of diuers colours, according to the kindes of waters: so doe men their loues, aiming at the complexion of the faces. Thus Marchandize, Loue, and Lordships sucke venom out of vertue. I think I shal fish all daie and catch a frog, the cause is neither in the line, the hooke, nor the bait, but some thing there is ouer beautifull which stayeth the verie Minow (of all fish the most eager) from biting. For this we Anglers obserue, that the shadow of a man turneth backe the fish. What will then the sight of a Goddesse? Tis best angling in a lowring daie, for here the Sunne so glisters, that the fish see my hooke through my bait. But soft here be the Netters, these be they that cannot content them with a dish of fish for their supper, but will draw a whole pond for the market.

⟨*End.* iv. 2. 53–7⟩

⟨*M. Bomb.* iv. 2. 113–4⟩

⟨*Euph.* ii. 108 ll. 23–4; *End.* i. 2. 75–7⟩

⟨*Euph.* ii. 173 l. 26⟩

⟨*Euph.* ii. 174 l. 13⟩

4 with . . . sport] and three buckes kilde by the bucke hounds, and so went all backe to Cowdrey to supper *N* 5 Wednesdaie, August 19. *N* 1823 6 feasting *N* 7 at a table foure and twentie yards long *after* sumptuously *N* euening] beginning *N* 33 the] a *N*

This saide, he espied a Fisherman, drawing his nettes towarde where hir Maiestie was. And calling alowde to him. Ho Sirra (quoth the Angler) What shall I giue thee for thy draught? If there be neuer a whale in it, take it for a Noble, quoth the Netter.

Ang. Be there any maydes there?

Net. Maydes, foole! they be sea fish.

Ang. Why?

⟨*Gall.* v. 1. 47-8⟩ *Net.* Venus was borne of the Sea, and tis reason she should haue maydes to attend hir.

Then turned he to the Queene, and after a small pawse, spake as followeth.

⟨*Harefield*, p. 499⟩ MADAME, *it is an olde saying, There is no fishing to the sea, nor seruice to the King: but it holdes when the sea is calme, & the king vertuous. Your vertue doth make Enuie blush, and Enuie stands amazed at your happines. I come not to tell the art of fishing, nor the natures of fish, nor their daintines, but with a poore Fishermans wishe, that all the hollowe hearts to your Maiestie were in my net, and if there bee more then it will holde, I woulde they were in the sea till I went thether a fishing.*

⟨*Euph.* ii. 143 l. 14; *Pappe*, 396 l. 16⟩ *There bee some so muddie minded, that they can not liue in a cleere riuer but a standing poole, as camells will not drinke till they haue troubled the water with their feet: so can they neuer stanch their thirst, till they haue disturbd the state with their trecheries. Soft, these are no fancies for fisher men. Yes true hearts are as good as full purses, the one the sinewes of war, the other the armes. A dish of fish is an vnworthie present for a prince to accept: there be some carpes amongst them, no carpers of states, if there be, I would they might bee handled lyke carpes, their tongues pulled out. Some pearches there are I am sure, and if anie pearch higher than in dutie they ought, I would they might sodenly picke ouer the pearch for me. What so euer there is, if it be good it is all yours, most excellent Ladie, that are best worthie of the greatest good.*

14 maketh *N* Enuie stands] stand *N* 27 states] state *N* 31 excellent] vertuous *N* 32 the greatest good] all *N*, *a correction pointing to Lyly's revision even of the later Q, which from this point, as reported by N, is entirely different from our text. It omits the Fisherman's Song and the concluding words altogether, proceeding as follow :—*

Then was the net drawen.

The Netter having presented all the fishe of the ponde, and laying it at hir feete, departed.

That evening she hunted.

That ended,

This Song of the Fisherman.

THE fish that seeks for food in siluer streame
is vnawares beguiled with the hooke,
And tender harts when lest of loue they dreame,
do swallow beauties bait, a louely looke.
The fish that shuns to bite, in net doth hit,
The heart that scapes the eie is caught by wit.

The thing cald Loue, poore Fisher men do feele
rich pearles are found in hard and homely shels
Our habits base, but hearts as true as steele,
sad lookes, deep sighs, flat faith are all our spels,
And when to vs our loues seeme faire to bee,
We court them thus, Loue me and Ile loue thee.

And if they saie our loue is fondly made,
we neuer leaue till on their hearts we lite,
Anglers haue patience by their proper trade,
and are content to tarrie till they bite,
Of all the fish that in the waters moue,
We count them lumps that will not bite at loue.

For the rest of the Entertainment, honorable feasting, and abundance of all things that might manifest a liberall and a loyall heart,

Thursday. ⟨August 20. *added N* 1823⟩

On Thursday she dined in the privie walkes in the garden, and the Lordes and Ladies at a table of fortie-eight yardes long. In the evening the countrie people presented themselves to hir Majestie in a pleasant daunce, with taber and pipe; and the Lorde Montague and his Lady among them, to the great pleasure of all the beholders, and gentle applause of hir Majestie.

Fryday, ⟨August 21. *added N* 1823⟩

On Friday she departed towards Chichester. Going through the arbour to take horse, stoode sixe gentlemen, whom hir Majestie knighted; the Lorde Admirall laying the sworde on their shoulders.

The names of the sixe knights then made were these; viz.

Sir George Browne, my Lordes second sonne.
Sir Robert Dormir, his sonne in lawe.
Sir Henry Goaring.
Sir Henry Glemham.
Sir Iohn Carrell.
Sir Nicholas Parker.

So departed hir Majestie to the dining place, whether the Lord Montague and his sonnes, and the sheriffe of the shire, attended with a goodly companie of gentlemen, brought hir Highnes.

The escutchions on the oke remaine, and there shall hange till they can hang together one peece by another. *Valete.*

because I was not there, I cannot set downe, thus much by
report I heare, & by the words of those that deserue
credite, that it was such as much contented her
Maiestie, and made many others to wonder.
And so her Maiestie well pleased with her
welcome, & he throughly comforted
with her Highnesse gracious ac-
ceptance, shee went from
thence to Chichester.

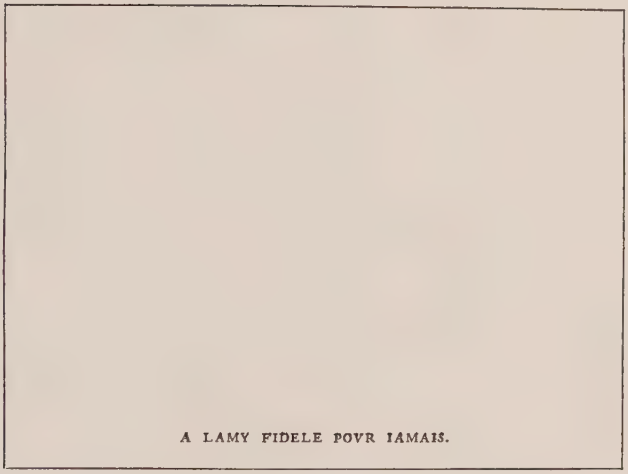
9 *No colophon*

THE[1]

HONORABLE

Entertainement gieuen to the Queenes Maiestie in Progresse, at Eluetham in Hampshire, by the right Honorable the Earle of Hertford.

1591



LONDON.

Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to bee *sold at the little Shop ouer against the great South dore of Paules.* 1591.

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[1] EDITIONS—(1) = Q[1]. 1591, 4°, followed in this edition. Title as above. 18 leaves, A–E 2 in fours, title-page verso blank. No col. (*Br. Mus.: press-mark* C. 33. e. 7 (9)). It agrees in the main with the earlier of Nichols' two quartos; but exhibits sufficient differences to constitute it a distinct and earlier ed., and not merely an earlier issue of Q[2]. It contains no illustration.

(2) 1591, 4°, with an illustration, which was perhaps enlarged by Nichols in (4).

(3) 1591, 4°. "Newlie corrected and amended," with fresh illustration, which was perhaps enlarged by Nichols in (5).

(4) Reprint of (2) in Nichols' *Progresses*, 1788, vol. ii. Title worded as (1).

(5) Reprint of (3) in Nich. *Prog.* 1823, vol. iii. 101–21. Title otherwise worded as (1).

'Q[2],' 'Q[3],' in footnotes refer only to Nichols' Reprints.

THE PROEME.

BEfore I declare the iust time or manner of her Maiesties arriuall and entertainment at Eluetham, it is needful (for the Readers better vnderstanding of euerie part and processe in my discourse) that I set downe as well the conuenience of the place, as also the suffising, by art and labour, of what the place in it selfe could not affoord on the sodaine, for receipt of so great a Maiestie, and so honorable a traine.

Eluetham house beeing scituate in a Parke but of two miles in compasse or thereabouts, and of no great receipt, as beeing none of the Earles chiefe mansion houses; yet for the desire he had to shew his vnfained loue, and loyall duetie to her most gratious highnesse, purposing to visite him in this her late progresse, whereof he had to vnderstand by the ordinarie Gesse, as also by his honorable good frendes in Court, neare to her Maiestie: his Honor with all expedition set Artificers a work, to the number of three hundred, many daies before her Maiesties arriuall, to inlarge his house with newe roomes and offices. Whereof I omit to speake how manie were destined to the offices of the Queenes houshold, and will onlie make mention of other such buildings, as were raised on the sodaine, fourteene score off from the house on a hill side, within the said Parke, for entertainement of Nobles, Gentlemen, and others whatsoeuer.

First there was made a roome of Estate for the Nobles, and at the end thereof a withdrawing place for her maiestie. The outsides of the walles were all couered with boughes, and clusters of ripe hasell nuttes, the insides with Arras, the roofe of the place with works of Iuy leaues, the floore with sweet herbes and greene rushes.

Neare adioining vnto this, were many offices new-builded, as namely, Spicerie, Larderie, Chaundrie, Wine-seller, Ewery and Panterie: all which were tyled. Not farre off, was erected a large Hall, for entertainment of Knights, Ladies, and Gentlemen of chiefe account.

There was also a seuerall place for her Maiesties footemen, and their friends.

Then was there a long Bowre for her maiesties Guard.

An other for other Officers of her Ma. house.

An other to entertaine all commers, suiters and such like.

34 Officers] servants Q^3 Majesties Q^2 35 An other . . . such like *om.* Q^3

An other for my Lords Steward, to keepe his table in.

An other for his Gentlemen that waited.

Most of these foresaid roomes were furnished with tables, and the tables carried 23. yards in length.

Moreouer on the same hill, there was raised a great common buttrey.

A pitcher house.

A large pastery, with fiue ouens new built, some of them foureteene foote deepe.

A great kitchin, with four ranges, and a boyling place for small boild meates.

An other kitchin with a very long range, for the waste, to serue all commers.

A boiling house for the great boiler.

A roome for the scullery.

An other roome for the Cookes lodgings.

Some of these were couered with canuas, and other some with bordes.

Betweene my Lords house and the foresayd hill, where these roomes were raised, there had beene made in the bottom, by handy labour, a goodly pond, cut to the perfect figure of a half moon. In this pond were three notable groũds, where hence to present her M. with sports, and pastimes. The first was a *Ship Ile* of 100. foot in length, and 40. foote broad: bearing three trees orderly set for 3. masts. The second was a *Fort* 20. foot square euery way, and ouergrown with willows. The 3. & last was a *Snayl mount*, rising to foure circles of greene priuie hedges, the whole in height twentie foot, and fortie foote broad at the bottome. These three places were equally distant from the sides of the ponde, and euerie one by a iust measured proportion distant from other. In the said water were diuers boates prepared for Musicke; but especially there was a Pinnace, ful furnisht with masts, yards, sailes, anchors, cables, and all other ordinarie tackling; & with iron peeces; and lastly with flagges, streamers, and pendants, to the number of twelue, all painted with diuers colours, and sundry deuises. To what vse these

4 twenty-three $QQ^{2\,3}$ *and sentence unitalicized* 20 M.] Majestie $QQ^{2,3}$
21 a hundred $QQ^{2,3}$ forty Q^2: four-score Q^3 22 three $QQ^{2,3}$
23 twenty $QQ^{2,3}$ 24 third $QQ^{2,3}$ 28 the *bef.* other $QQ^{2,3}$
32 *After* deuises Q^2 *has a full-page illustration headed* A Description of the Great Pond at Elvetham, and of the Properties which it containeth: Q^3 *has a different illustration, more detailed, with heading* A Description . . . in Elvetham, . . . contained, at such time as her Majestie was there presented with faire shewes and pastimes.

A. Her Majesties presence-seate, and traine.
B. Nereus, and his followers.
C. The pinnace of Neæra, and her musicke.
D. The Ship-ile.
E. A boate with musicke, attending on the pinnace of Neæra.
F. The Fort-mount.
G. The Snaile-mount.
H. The Roome of Estate.

particulars serued, it shall euidently appeare by that which followeth. And therefore I am to request the gentle Reader, that when any of these places are briefly specified in the sequele of this discourse, it will please him to haue reference to this fore-description; that in auoiding tautologies, or reiterations, I may not seeme to them obscure, whom I studie to please with my plainnesse. For Proeme these may suffise: nowe to the matter itselfe: that it may be *vltimũ in executione* (to vse the old phrase) *quod primum fuit in intentione*, as is vsuall to good carpenters, who intending to build a house, yet first lay their foundation, & square many a post, and fasten manie a rafter, before the house be set vp: what they first purposed is last done. And thus much for excuse of a long foundation to a short building.

The first daies entertainment.

ON the twentith day of september, being Munday, my Lord of Hertford ioyfully expecting her Maiesties comming to Eluetham to supper, as her Highnes had promised: after dinner, when euery other needful place or point of seruice was established and set in order, for so great an entertainment, about three of the clocke his Honor seeing all his Retinew well mounted and ready to attend his pleasure, hee drew them secretly into a chief thicket of the Parke, where in few words, but well couched to the purpose, hee put them in mind, what quietnes, and what diligence, or other duetie, they were to vse at that present: that their seruice might first work her Maiesties content, & thereby his Honor, and lastlie their own credite, with increse of his loue and fauour towards them. This done, my Lord with his traine (amounting to the number of 3. hundred, and most of them wearing chains of gold about their necks, and in their hats Yellow and Black feathers) met with her Maiestie two miles off, then comming to Eluetham from her owne house of Odiham four miles from thence. As my Lorde in this first action shewed himselfe dutiful, so her Maiesty was to him and his most gracious as also in the sequel, between fiue & sixe of the clock, when her Highnes being most honorably attẽded, entred into Eluetham Parke, and was more then halfe way between the Park gate & the house, a Poet saluted

I. Her Majesties Court.
K. Her Majesties wardrop.
L. The place whence Silvanus and his companie issued.

Nichols' 'Progresses,' ed. 1788–1805, *reproduces both Plates.*

4 tantilogies, or Q^1: *om.* $QQ^{2,3}$ 14 twentieth Q^2: twentie Q^3 my Lord] the Earle Q^3 16 after dinner] the same morning, about nine of the clock, Q^3 18–20 about three . . . secretly into a] called for, and drewe all his servants into the Q^3 20–1 but . . . purpose *om.* Q^3 24 the *bef.* increase Q^3 25–6 My Lord . . . 3. hundred] after dinner, with his traine well mounted, to the number of two hundred and upwardes, Q^3 26 three Q^2: two Q^3 27–9 and in their . . . thence. As my Lorde] he rode toward Odiham, and leaving his traine and companie orderlie placed, to attende her Majestie's comming out of Odiham Parke, three miles distant from Elvetham: himselfe wayting on her Majestie from Odiham House. As the Earl Q^3

her with a Latine Oration in Heroicall verse, I mean *veridicus vates*, a sooth saying Poet, nothing inferior for truth, and little for deliuery of his mind, to an ordinarie Orator. This Poet was clad in greene, to signify the ioy of his thoughts at her entrance, a laurel garland on his head, to expresse that *Apollo* was patrone of his studies: an oliue branch in his hand, to declare what continual peace and plentie he did both wish and aboade her Maiestie: and lastly booted, to betoken that hee was *vates cothurnatus*, and not a loose or lowe creeping Prophet, as Poets are interpreted by some idle or enuious ignorants.

This Poets boy offered him a cushion at his first kneeling to her Maiestie, but he refused it, saying as followeth.

The Poet to his boy offering him a Cushion.

Non jam puluillis opus est, sed corde sereno:
Nam plusquám solitis istic aduoluimur aris.

The Poets Speach to her *Maiestie*

NVper ad Aönium flexo dum poplite fontem
Indulsi placido, Phœbi sub pectine, somno,
Veridicos inter vates, quos Entheus ardor
Possidet, & virtus nullis offusa lituris,
Talia securo cantabant carmina Musæ.
Aspicis insueto tingentem lumine cœlum
Anglorum nostro maiorem nomine Nympham
Os, humerósque Deæ similem, dum tuta Semeri
Tecta petit, qualis dilecta Philæmonis olim
Cannea cœlicolûm subijt magalia rector?
Olli tu blandas humili dic ore salutes:
Nos dabimus numeros, numeros dabit ipsus Apollo.
Sed metues Tantæ summas attingere laudes:
Nam specię Solem, Superos virtutibus æquans,
Maiestate locum, sacrisque timoribus implet.
Doctior est nobis, & nobis præsidet vna:
Ditior est Ponto, Pontum quoq; temperat vna:
Pulchrior est nymphis, et nymphis imperat vna:
Dignior est Diuis, & Diuos allicit vna.
En supplex adsum, Musarũ numine ductus,

(*Euph.* ii. 81 l. 10; *Camp.* Prol. 2; *Bish.* p. 475)

4 entrance,] *the comma at* thoughts Q^1 22 securo . . . carmina *so QQ* 27 Cannæ Q^3

Et meritis (Augusta) *tuis, ô dulcis* Elisa,
Fronte serenata modicum dignare poetam,
Né mea vernantem deponant tempora laurum,
Et miser in cantu moriar. Se námq; Semeri
Obsequiosa meis condit persona sub vmbris:
Qui fert ore preces, oculo fœcundat oliuam;
Officium precibus, pacem designat oliua;
Affectum docet officijs, & pace quietem;
Mentes affectu mulcebit, membra quiete.
Hi mores, hæc vera tui persona Semeri,
Cui lætum sine te nihil, illætabile tecum
Est nihil. En rident ad vestros omnia vultus
Suauiter, immensum donec fulgoribus orbem
Elisabetha *nouis imples: nox inuidet vna:*
Astra sed inuidiæ tollunt mala signa tenebras.
Cætera, qua possunt, sacræ gratantur Elisæ
Lætitia, promptósq; ferunt in gaudia vultus.
Limulus insultat per pictos hœdus agellos
Passibus obtortis; et toruum bucula taurum
Blãda petit; tremulus turgescit frõdibus arbos,
Graminibus pratum, generosa pampinus vua:
Et tenui latices in arena dulce susurrant,
Insuetúmq; melos: Te, te, dulcissima Princeps,
Terra, polus, fluuij, plantæ, pecudésq; salutant:
Dúmq; tuam cupidè mirãtur singula formam,
Infixis hærent oculis, nequeuntq; tuendo
Expleri; solitis sed nunc liberrima curis,
In placidos abeũt animos: non semina vermes,
Non cerui metuunt casses, non herba calorem,
Non viscũ volucres, non fruges grandinis ictũ.
O istos (Augusta) *dies, ô profer in annos;*
Et lustrum ex annis, è lustris sæcula surgant;
E sæclis æuum, nullo numerabile motu:
Vt nostros dudum quotquot risere dolores,
Gaudia iam numerent, intabescántq; vidẽdo.
En, iter obiecto quà clauserat obice Liuor,
Virtutis famulæ Charites, castríq; superni
Custodes Horæ, blandissima numina iunctim
Iam tollunt remoras, vt arenã floribus ornent.

29 cassem $QQ^{2,3}$

Ergò age, supplicibus succede penatibus hospes,
Et nutu moderare tuo; Tibi singula parẽt,
Et nisi parêrent Tibi singula, tota perirent.
Dicite Iö Pæan, *et Iö ter dicite* Pæan,
Spargite flore vias, & mollem cantibus aurã.

⟨*Mid.* v. 3. 135 ff. Ov. *Ars Am.* ii. 1⟩

Because all our Countrey-men are not Latinists, I thinke it not amisse to set this downe in English, that all may bee indifferently partakers of the Poets meaning.

The Poets speech to his boy offering him a Cushion.

Now let vs vse no cushions, but faire hearts:
For now we kneel to more than usuall *Saints.*

The Poets speech to her Maiestie.

WHhile at the fountaine of the sacred hill,
Vnder Apollos *lute, I sweetly slept,*
Mongst prophets full possest with holy fury,
And with true vertue, void of all disdaine:
The Muses *sung, and wak'd me with these wordes.*
Seest thou that English Nimph, *in face and shape*
Resembling some great Goddesse, *and whose beames*
Doe sprinkle heau'n with vnacquainted light,
While shee doth visite Semers *fraudlesse house,*
As Iupiter *did honour with his presence*
The poore thatcht cottage, where Philæmon dwelt?
See thou salute her with an humble voice;
Phœbus, *and we, will let thee lack no verses.*
But dare not once aspire to touch her praise,
Who, like the Sunne *for shew, to Gods for vertue,*
Fills all with Maiesty, *and holy feare.*
More learned then our selues, shee ruleth vs:
More rich then seas, shee doth commaund the seas:
More fair then Nimphs, *she gouerns al the* Nimphs⟨.⟩
More worthy then the Gods, *shee wins the* Gods.
Behold (Augusta) *thy poore suppliant*
Is here, at their desire, but thy desert.

⟨*Euph.* ii. 81 l. 10; *Camp.* Prol. 2; *Bish.* 475.⟩

O sweete Elisa, *grace me with a looke,*
Or from my browes this Laurell wreath will fall,
And I vnhappy die amidst my song.
Vnder my person Semer *hides himselfe,*
His mouth yeelds pray'rs, his eie the Oliue branch;
His praiers betoken duety, th'Oliue peace;
His duety argues loue, his peace faire rest;
His loue will smooth your minde, faire rest your body.
This is your Semers *heart and quality:*
To whom all things are ioyes, while thou art present,
To whom nothing is pleasing, in thine absence.
Behold, on thee how each thing sweetly smiles,
To see thy brightnes glad our hemispheare:
Night only enuies: whome faire stars doe crosse:
All other creatures striue to shew their ioyes.
The crooked-winding kid trips ore the lawnes;
The milkewhite heafer wantons with the bull;
The trees shew pleasure with their quiuiring leaues,
The meddow with new grasse, the vine with grapes,
The running brookes with sweet and siluer sound.
Thee, thee (Sweet Princes), *heau'n, & earth, & fluds,*
And plants, and beasts, salute with one accord:
And while they gaze on thy perfections,
Their eyes desire is neuer satisfied.
Thy presence frees each thing, that liu'd in doubt:
No seedes now feare the biting of the woorme;
Nor deere the toyles; nor grasse the parching heat;
Nor Birds the snare; nor corne the storme of haile.
O Empresse, *ô draw foorth these dayes to yeares,*
Yeeres to an age, ages to æternitie:
That such as lately ioyed to see our sorrowes,
May sorrow now, to see our perfect ioyes.
Behold where all the Graces, *vertues maydes,*
And lightfoote Howrs, *the guardians of heau'ns gate,*
With ioyned forces doe remoue those blocks,
Which Enuie *layd in Maiesties highway.*
Come therefore, come vnder our humble roofe,
And with a becke commaund what it containes:
For all is thine: each part obeys thy will;
Did not each part obey, the wholl should perish.

⟨*Woman*, v., I. 161–6⟩

Sing songs faire Nymphs, *sing sweet triumphal songs,*
Fill wayes with flowrs, and th'ayr with harmony.

While the Poet was pronouncing this oration, six Virgins were behind him, busily remoouing blockes out of her maiesties way; which blocks were supposed to bee layde there by the person of *Enuie*, whose condition is, to enuie at euery good thing, but especially to malice the proceedings of *Vertue*, and the glory of true *Maiestie*. Three of these Virgins represented the three *Graces*, and the other three, the *Howres*, which by the Poets are fained to be the guardians of heauen gates. They were all attired in gowns of taffata sarcenet of diuers colours, with flowrie garlands on their heads, and baskets full of sweet hearbs and flowers vppon their armes. When the Poets speach was happily ended, and in a scroule deliuered to her maiestie (for such was her gracious acceptance, that she deined to receiue it with her owne hande) then these sixe Virgins after performance of their humble reuerence to her highnesse, walked on before her towards the house, strewing the way with flowers, and singing a sweete song of six parts to this dittie, which followeth.

The Dittie of the six Virgins Song.

With fragrant flowers we strew the way
And make this our chiefe holliday:
For though this clime were blest of yore,
Yet was it neuer proud before,
O beauteous Queene of second Troy,
Accept of our vnfained ioy.

Now th'ayre is sweeter then sweet balme,
And Satyrs *daunce about the palme:*
Now earth, with verdure newly dight,
Giues perfect signe of her delight.
O beauteous Queene of second Troy,
Accept of our vnfained ioy.

Now birds record new harmonie,
And trees doe whistle melodie:
Now euerie thing that nature breeds,
Doth clad it selfe in pleasant weeds.
O beauteous Queene of second Troy,
Accept of our vnfained ioy.

10 scarcenet Q^2 19 The Dittie . . . Song] The Song sung by the Graces and the Houres at her Majesties first arrivall. Q^2 23 proud] *so too* '*Eng. Hel.*,' *for* prou'd

This song ended with her Maiesties entrance into the house: where shee had not rested her a quarter of an houre: but from the Snail-mount and the Ship-Ile in the Pond (both being neare vnder the prospect of her Gallerie windowe) there was a long volley of Chambers discharged. After this, supper was serued in, first to her Maiestie, and then to the Nobles and others. Were it not that I would not seem to flatter the honorable minded Earle: or, but that I feare to displease him, who rather desired to expresse his loyall dutie in his liberall bountie, then to heare of it againe, I could heere willingly particulate the store of his cheare and prouision, as likewise the carefull and kind diligence of his seruantes, expressed in their quiet seruice to her Maiestie and the Nobility, and by their louing entertainment to all other, frends, or strangers. But I leaue the bountie of the one, and the industrie of the others, to the iust report of such as beheld, or tasted the plentifull abundance of that time and place.

After supper was ended, her Maiestie graciously admitted vnto her presence a notable consort of six Musitions, which my Lord of Hertford had prouided to entertaine her Maiestie withall, at her will and pleasure, and when it should seeme good to her highnesse. Their Musicke so highly pleased her, that in grace and fauour thereof, she gaue a newe name vnto one of their Pauans, made long since by Master *Thomas Morley*, then Organist of Paules Church.

These are the chiefe pointes, which I noted in the first daies entertainment. Now therefore it followeth, that I proceed to the second.

THE SECOND

daies entertainment.

ON the next day following, being Tuesday, and Saint Mathewes festiuall, the forenoone was so wet and stormie that nothing of pleasure could bee presented her Maiestie. Yet it helde vp a little before dinner time, and all the day after: where otherwise faire sports would haue beene buried in foule weather.

1 house: where] house: and her Majesty alighted from horsebacke at the Halldore, the Countesse of Hertford, accompanied with divers honourable Ladies and Gentlewomen, moste humbly on hir knees welcomed hir Highnesse to that place: who most graciously imbracing hir, tooke hir up, and kissed hir, using manie comfortable and princely Speeches, as wel to hir, as to the Earl of Hertford standing hard by, to the great rejoysing of manie beholders. And after hir Majestie's entrance, where Q^3 4 and two brass pieces *after* chambers Q^3 17 my Lord] the Earl Q^3 28 festiuall, the] festivall, there was in the morning presented to her Majesty a faire and rich gift from the Countesse of Hertforde, which greatly pleased and contented her Highnesse. The Q^3

This day her maiestie dined, with her Nobles about her in the roome of estate, new builded on the hil side, aboue the Ponds head. Ther sate below her, many Lords, Ladies, & Knights. The manner of seruice, and abundance of dainties, I omit upon iust consideration, as also the Ordinance discharged in the beginning of dinner.

Presently after dinner, my Lord of Hertford caused a large Canapie of estate to bee set at the ponds head, for her maiestie to sit vnder, and to view some sportes prepared in the water. The Canapie was of greene satten, lined with greene taffeta sarcenet; euerie seame couered with a broad siluer lace; valenced about, and fringed with greene silke and siluer, more then a hand-bredth in depth; supported with four siluer pillers moueable; and deckt aboue head with four white plumes, spangled with siluer. This Canapie being vpheld by foure of my Lordes chiefe Gentlemen, and tapestry spread all about the pondes head, her maiestie, about foure of the clocke came, and sate vnder it, to expect the issue of some deuise, being aduertised, that there was some such thing towards.

At the further end of the ponde, there was a Bower, close built to the brinke thereof; out of which ther went a pompous aray of seapersons, which waded bresthigh, or swam til they approched neare the seat of her maiestie. *Nereus*, the prophet of the sea, attired in redde silke, and hauing a cornerd-cappe on his curlde heade, did swimme before the rest, as their pastor & guide. After him came fiue Tritons brest-high in the water, all with grislie heades, and beardes of diuers colours and fashions, and all fiue cheerefully sounding their Trumpets. After them went two other Gods of the sea, *Neptune* and *Oceanus*, leading betweene them that Pinnace, whereof I spake in the beginning of this Treatise.

In the pinnace were three Virgins, which with their Cornets played Scottish Gigs, made three parts in one. There was also in the saide pinnace an other Nymph of the sea, named *Neæra*, the old supposed loue of *Syluanus*, a God of the woodes. Neare to her were placed three excellent voices, to sing to one lute, and in two other boats hard by, other lutes and voices to answer by manner of Eccho: after the pinnace, & two other boats, which were drawne after it by other Sea-gods, the rest of the traine followed bresthigh in the water, all attired in ouglie marine suites, and euerie one armed with a huge woodden squirt in his hand: to what end it shal appear hereafter. In their marching towards the pond, all along the middle of the current, the Tritons sounded one halfe of the way, and then they ceasing, the Cornets plaid their Scottish gigs. The melody was sweet, & the shew stately.

By the way it is needfull to touch here many thinges abruptly, for the better vnderstanding of that which followeth,

5 dinner,] dinner, a variety of consorted music at dinner time. Q^3 6 my Lord] the Earl Q^3 12 dekt $QQ^{2,3}$ 13–4 of my . . . Gentlemen] worthie Knightes (Sir Henrie Greie, Sir Walter Hungerford, Sir James Maruin, and Lord George Caro) Q^3 25 Phorcus and Glaucus, *bef.* leading Q^3

First, that in the Pinnace are two iewels to be presented her Maiestie: the one by *Nereus*, the other by *Neæra*.

Secondly, that the Fort in the Pond, is round enuironed with armed men.

Thirdly, that the Snayle-mount nowe resembleth a monster, hauing hornes full of wild-fire continually burning.

And lastly, that the god *Siluanus*, lieth with his traine not farre off in the woodes, and will shortly salute her Maiestie, and present her with a holly scutchion, wherein *Apollo* had long since written her praises.

All this remembred and considered, I nowe returne to the Sea-gods, who hauing vnder the conduct of *Nereus* brought the Pinnace neare before her Maiestie, *Nereus* made his Oration, as followeth; but before he began, hee made a priuie signe vnto one of his traine, which was gotten vp into the Shippe-Ile, directly before her Maiestie, and hee presently did cast himselfe downe, dooing a Summerset from the Ile into the water, and then swam to his companie.

The Oration of Nereus to her Maiesty.

F*Aire* Cinthia *the wide Oceans Empresse,*
I watry Nereus *houered on the coast*
To greete your Maiesty with this my traine
Of dauncing Tritons, *and shrill singing Nimphs.*
But all in vaine: Elisa *was not there;* ⟨*Woman*, Prol. l. 9⟩
For which our Neptune *grieud, and blamd the star,*
Whose thwarting influence dasht our longing hope.
Therefore impatient, that this worthles earth
Should beare your Highnes *weight, and we sea Gods,*
(*Whose iealous waues haue swallowd vp your foes,*
And to your Realme are walles impregnable)
With such large fauour seldome time are grac't:
I from the deepes haue drawen this winding flud,
Whose crescent forme figures the rich increase
Of all that sweet Elisa *holdeth deare.*
And with me came gould-brested India,
Who daunted at your sight, leapt to the shoare,
And sprinkling endlesse treasure on this Ile,
Left me this iewell to present your Grace,
For hym, that vnder you doth hold this place.
See where her ship remaines, whose silkewouen takling

15 summer-sawt Q^3

Is turnde to twigs, and threefold mast to trees,
Receiuing life from verdure of your lookes;
(For what cannot your gracious looks effect?)
Yon vgly monster creeping from the South,
To spoyle these blessed fields of Albion,
By selfe same beames is chang'd into a Snaile,
Whose bulrush hornes are not of force to hurt.
As this snaile is, so be thine enemies,
And neuer yet did Nereus *wishe in vaine.*
That Fort did Neptune *raise, for your defence;*
And in this Barke, which gods hale neare the shore,
White footed Thetis *sends her Musicke maydes,*
To please Elisaes *eares with harmony.*
Hear them fair Queene: and when their Musick ends,
My Triton *shall awake the Syluane Gods,*
To doe their hommage to your Maiesty.

This Oration being deliuered, and withall the present wherof he spake, which was hidden in a purse of greene rushes, cunningly woauen together: immediatly the three voices in the Pinnace sung a song to the Lute with excellent diuisions, and the end of euery verse was replied by Lutes and voices in the other boate somwhat a farre off, as if they had beene Ecchoes.

The Sea nymphes Dittie.

How haps that now, when prime is don,
An other spring time is begun?

23 The . . . Dittie] Q^3 *amplifies as follows*:—The Song presented by Nereus on the water, sung dialogue-wise, everie fourth verse answered with two Ecchoes.

Dem. How haps it now when prime is done,
Another spring-time is begun?
Resp. Our happie soile is overrunne,
With beautie of a second sunne.
Eccho. A second sunne.

Dem. What heavenlie lampe, with holie light,
Doeth so increase our climes delight?
Resp. A lampe whose beames are ever bright,
And never feares approching night.
Eccho. Approching night.

Dem. Why sing we not eternall praise,
To that faire shine of lasting daies?
Resp. He shames himselfe that once assaies
To fould such wonder in sweete laies.
Eccho. In sweet laies.

Our hemisphere is ouerrunne,
With beauty of a second Sunne.

Eccho. *A second Sun.*

WHat second Sun hath raies so bright,
To cause this vnacquainted light?
Tis faire Elisaes *matchlesse Grace,*
Who with her beames doth blesse the place,

Eccho. *Doth blesse the place.*

This song being ended, *Nereus* commanded the fiue *Tritons* to sound. Then came *Syluanus* with his attendants from the wood: himselfe attired, from the midle downewards to the knee, in Kiddes skinnes with the haire on, his legges, bodie and face naked, but died ouer with saffron, and his head hooded with a goates skin, and two little hornes ouer his forehead, bearing in his right hand an Oliue tree, and in his left a scutchion, whereof I spake somewhat before. His followers were all couered with Iuy-leaues, and bare in their handes bowes made like darts. At their approche neare her Maiesty, *Syluanus* spake as followeth, and deliuered vp his scutchion, ingrauen with goulden characters, *Nereus* and his traine still continuing near her Highnesse.

The Oration of Syluanus.

SYluanus comes from out the leauy groaues,
To honor her, whom all the world adores,
Faire Cinthia, *whom no sooner Nature fram'd,*
And deckt with Fortunes, and with Vertues dower,
But straight admiring what her skill had wrought,
Shee broake the mould: that neuer Sunne might see
The like to Albions *Queene for excellence.*

Dem. O yet devoid of envious blame,
Thou maist unfold hir sacred name.
Resp. Tis dread Eliza that faire dame,
Who filles the golden trump of fame.
Eccho. Trump of fame.
Dem. O never may so sweete a Quene,
See dismall daies or deadly teene.
Resp. Graunt Heavens hir daies may stil be greene,
For like to hir was never seene.
Eccho. Was never seene.

17 approche] reproche Q^1

Twas not the Tritons *ayr-enforcing shell,*
As they perhaps would proudly make theyr vaunt,
But those faire beames, that shoote from Maiesty,
Which drew our eyes to wonder at thy worth.
That worth breeds wonder; wonder holy feare;
And holy feare vnfayned reuerence.
Amongst the wanton dayes of goulden age
Apollo *playing in our pleasant shades,*
And printing oracles in euery leafe,
Let fall this sacred scutchion from his brest, ⟨*Euph.* ii. 113 l. 22; *King's Wel.* p. 505⟩
Wherein is writ, Detur dignissimæ.
O therefore hold, what heauen hath made thy right,
I but in duety yeeld desert her due.

Nereus.

But see Syluanus *where thy loue doth sit.*

Syluanus.

My sweet Neæra? *was her eare so neare?*
O set my hearts delight vpon this banke,
That in compassion of old sufferance,
Shee may relent in sight of beauties Queene.

Nereus.

On this condition shall shee come on shoare.
That with thy hand thou plight a solemne vow,
Not to prophane her vndefiled state.

Syluanus.

Here, take my hand, and therewithall I vowe

Nereus.

That water will extinguish wanton fire. ⟨*M. Bomb.* iii. 4. 24–5⟩

Nereus in pronouncing this last line, did plucke Syluanus ouer head and eares into the water, where all the sea Gods laughing, did insult ouer him. In the meane whjle her Maiesty perused the verses written in the scutchion, which were these.

Aöniis prior, & Diuis es pulchrior alti ⟨*Woman,* iii. 1. 111–5⟩
Æquoris, ac nymphis es prior Idalijs.
Idalijs prior es nymphis, ac æquoris alti.
Pulchrior & Diuis, ac prior Aönijs.

Ouer these verses was this poesy written. *Detur dignissimæ.*

After that the sea Gods had sufficiently duckt Syluanus, they suffered him to creepe to the land, where he no sooner set footing, but crying

39 the *om.* $QQ^{2,3}$

Reuenge, *Reuenge*, he and his, begunne a skirmish with those of the water, the one side throwing their dartes, and the other vsing their squirtes, and the *Tritons* sounding a pointe of warre. At the last *Nereus* parted the fray with a line or two, grounded on the excellence of her Maiestyes presence, as being alwaies friend to peace, and ennemy to warre. Then *Syluanus* with his followers, retired to the woods, and *Neæra* his faire loue in the Pinnace, presenting her Maiestie a Sea Iewell, bearing the forme of a fanne, spake vnto her as followeth.

The Oration of faire *Neæra*.

W*Hen* Neptune *late bestowed on me this barke,*
And sent by me this present to your Grace:
Thus Nereus *sung, who neuer sings but truth.*
Thine eyes (Neæra) *shall in time behold*
A sea-borne Queene, worthy to gouerne Kings,
On her depends the Fortune of thy boate,
If shee but name it with a blisfull word.
And view it with her life inspiring beames.
Her beames yeeld gentle influence, like fayre starres,
Her siluer sounding word is prophesie.
Speake sacred Sybill, *giue some prosperous name,*
That it may dare attempt a golden fleece,
Or diue for pearles, and lay them in thy lap.
For winde and waues, and all the worlde besides,
Will make her way, whom thou shalt doome to blisse,
For what is Sybils *speech, but oracle?*

〈*Woman*, iii. 2. 160 sqq.〉

Here her Maiesty named the Pinnace, the *Bonaduenture*, and *Neæra* went on with her speech, as followeth.

I *Now* Neæraes *barke is fortunate,*
And in thy seruice shall imploy her saile,
And often make returne to thy auaile.
O liue in endlesse ioy, with glorious fame,
Sound Trumpets, sound, in honor of her name.

Then did *Nereus* retire backe to his bower with all his traine following him, in selfe same order as they came forth before, the Tritons sounding their Trumpets one halfe of the way, and the Cornets playing the other

6 with his] being so ugly, and running toward the bower at the end of the Pound, affrighted a number of the countrey people, that they ran from him for feare, and thereby moved great laughter. His Q^3 29 I *om.* Q^3

halfe. And here ended the second daies pastime, to the so great liking of her Maiestie, that her gracious approbation thereof, was to the Actors more then a double reward, and yet withall, her Highnes bestowed a largesse vppon them the next daie after before shee departed.

THE THIRDE

daies entertainement.

ON Wednesday morning, about nine of the clock, as her Maiestie opened a casement of her gallerie window, there were three excellent Musitians, who, being disguised in auncient countrey attire, did greet her with a pleasant song of Coridon and Phyllida, made in three parts of purpose. The song, as well for the worth of the Dittie, as for the aptnes of the note thereto applied, it pleased her Highnesse, after it had beene once sung, to command it againe, and highly to grace it with her chearefull acceptance and commendation.

The Plowmans Song.

IN the merrie moneth of May,
In a morne, by breake of day,
Forth I walked by the wood side,
Where as May *was in his pride.*
There I spied, all alone
Phyllida *and* Corydon.
Much adoe there was God wot,
He would loue, and she would not.
She said, neuer man was true:
He said, none was false to you.
He said, he had loued her long:
She said, loue should haue no wrong.
Coridon *would kisse her then:*
She said, maides must kisse no men,
Till they did for good and all.
Then she made the shepheard call

15 The Three Mens Song, sung the third morning, vnder hir Majesties Gallerie window. Q^3 17 In] Vp in *Rawl. MS. Poet.* 85. *See Notes* 18 Forth . . . side] I sawe a troupe of damseles playenge / Forthe they went than one a mayenge / And anon by the wood syde *Rawl. MS.* With a troope of damsells playinge / Forthe the wode forsooth a-Maying: / When anon by the wode side *Cosens MS.*

19 as] that *Rawl. Cos. MSS.* was] neuer *Rawl. Cos. MSS.* had *Rawl. MS.* 20 I espied *Coseus MS.* 25 none 27 should] cold *Cos. MS.* 30 did]

All the heauens to witnesse truth,
Neuer lou'd a truer youth.
Thus with many a pretie oath,
Yea and nay, and faith and troth,
Such as silly shepheards vse,
When they will not loue abuse,
Loue, which had beene long deluded,
Was with kisses sweet concluded:
And Phyllida *with garlands gay,*
Was made the Lady of the May.

The same day after dinner, about three of the clocke, ten of my L. of Hertfords seruants, al Somersetshire men, in a square greene Court, before her maiesties windowe, did hang vp lines, squaring out the forme of a Tennis-court, and making a crosse line in the midle. In this square they (beeing stript out of their dublets) played fiue to fiue with the hand-ball, at bord and cord (as they tearme it) to so great liking of her highnes, that she graciously deyned to beholde their pastime more then an houre and a halfe.

After supper there were two delights presented vnto her maiestie: curious fire-workes, and a sumptuous banket: the first from the three Ilands in the pond, the second in a lowe Gallerie in her maiesties priuie garden. But I will first briefly speake of the fire-works.

First there was a peale of a hundred Chambers discharged from the Snail-mount: in counter wherof, a like peale was discharged from the Ship-Ile, & some great ordinance withall. Then was ther a Castle of fire-works of al sorts, which played in the Fort. Answerable to that ther was in the Snail-mount, a Globe of all maner of fire-works, as big as a barrel. When these were spent on either side, there were many running rockets vppon lines, which past betweene the Snayle-mount, and the Castle in the Fort. On either side were many fire wheeles, pikes of pleasure, & balles of wilde fire, which burned in the water.

During the time of these fire-workes in the water, there was a banket serued all in glasse and siluer, into the low Gallerie in the Garden, from a hill side foureteene score off, by two hundred of my Lord of Hertfordes Gentlemen, euerie one carrying so many dishes, that the whole number amounted to a thousand: and there were to light them in their way, a hundred torch-bearers. To satisfie the curious, I will here set downe some particulars in the banket.

2 lou'd] liu'd *Cos. MS.* 3 Thus] Than *Rawl. Cos. MSS.* 6 will] do *Rawl. Cos. MSS.* 7 which] that *Cos. MS.* 9 Phyllida] the mayde *Rawl. Cos. MSS.* 10 Was made the] Was made *Rawl. MS.*: Was the *Cos. MS.* 11 dinne Q^1 my Lord Q^2: the Earle Q^3
37—P. 449 l. 19 To satisfie . . . comfits, of all sorts. *om.* Q^3

Her Maiesties Armes in sugar-worke.

The seuerall Armes of all our Nobilitie in sugar-worke.

Many men and women in sugar-worke, and some inforst by hand.

Castles, Forts, Ordinance, Drummers, Trumpeters, and soldiors of all sorts, in sugar-worke.

Lions, Vnicorns, Beares, Horses, Camels, Buls, Rams, Dogges, Tygers, Elephants, Antelops, Dromedaries, Apes, and all other beasts in sugar-worke.

Egles, Falcons, Cranes, Bustardes, Heronshawes, Bytters, Pheasants, Partridges, Quailes, Larkes, Sparrowes, Pigeons, Cockes, Oules, and all that flie, in sugar-worke.

Snakes, adders, vipers, frogs, toades, and all kind of wormes, in sugar-worke.

Mermaides, whales, dolphins, cungars, sturgions, pikes, carps, breams, and all sortes of fishes, in sugar-worke.

All these were standing dishes of sugar-work. The selfe same deuises were also there all in flat-worke. Moreouer these particulars following, and many such like, were in flat sugar-worke, and sinamond

March-panes, grapes, oisters, muscles, cockles, periwinckles, crabs, lobsters.

Apples, peares, and plums, of all sorts.

Preserues, suckats, iellies, leaches, marmelats, pasts comfits, of all sorts.

THE FOVRTH
daies entertainment.

ON Thursday morning, her Maiestie was no sooner readie, and at her Gallery window, looking into the Garden, but there began three Cornets to play certaine fantastike dances, at the measure whereof the Fayery Queene came into the garden, dauncing with her maides about her. Shee brought with her a garland made in fourme of an imperiall Crowne; within the sight of her Maiestie, shee fixed ⟨it⟩ vpon a siluer staffe, and sticking the staffe into the ground, spake as followeth.

The speech of the Fairy Queene to her Maiestie.

I *That abide in places vnder ground,*
Aureola, *the Queene of* Fairy *land,*
That euery night in rings of painted flowers
Turne round, and carroll out Elisaes *name:*
Hearing, that Nereus *and the Syluane Gods*
Haue lately welcomde your Imperiall Grace,
Oapend the earth with this enchanting wand,
To doe my duety to your Maiestie.

·27 silvered Q^3

And humbly to salute you with this Chaplet,
Giuen me by Auberon *the* Fairy *King.*
Bright shining Phœbe, *that in humaine shape,*
Hid'st heauens perfection, vouchsafe t'accept it:
And I Aureola, *belou'd in heauen,*
(*For amorous starres fall nightly in my lap*)
Will cause that heauens enlarge thy goulden dayes,
And cut them short, that enuy at thy praise.

After this speech, the Fairy Queene and her maides daunced about the garland, singing a song of sixe partes, with the musicke of an exquisite consort; wherein was the Lute, Bandora, Base-violl, Citterne, Treble-violl, and Flute, and this was the Fairies song.

ELisa *is the fairest Queene*
That euer trod vpon this greene.
Elisaes *eyes are blessed starres,*
Inducing peace, subduing warres.
Elisaes *hand is christall bright,*
Her wordes are balme, her lookes are light.
Elisaes *brest is that faire hill,*
Where vertue dwels, and sacred skill,
O blessed bee each day and houre,
Where sweete Elisa *builds her bowre.*

This spectacle and Musicke, so delighted her Maiesty, that shee desired to see and hear it twise ouer: and then dismist the actors with thankes, and with a gracious larges, which of her exceeding goodnesse shee bestowed vppon them.

Within an howre after, her Maiesty departed with her Nobles, from Eluetham. On the one side of her way as shee past through the Parke, there was placed sitting on the Pond side, *Nereus* and all the Sea-gods in their former attire: on her left hand, *Syluanus* and his company: in the way before her the three Graces, and the three Howres: all of them on euerie side wringing their hands, and shewing signe of sorow for her departure. While she beheld this dum shew, the Poet made her a short Oration, as followeth.

10 Garden Q^3 24 desired . . . ouer:] commanded to heare it sung and to be danced three times over, and called for divers Lords and Ladies to behold it: Q^3 28 *After* Elvetham. Q^3 *inserts* It was a most extreame rain, and yet it pleased hir Majestie with great patience to behold and hear the whole action. 33 *After* departure, Q^3 *inserts* he being attired as at the first, saving that his cloake was now black, and his garland mixed with ugh branches, to signifie sorrow.

The Poets speech at her Maiesties departure.

O *See sweet* Cynthia, *how the watry gods,*
Which ioyd of late to view thy glorious beames,
At this retire doe waile and wring their hands,
Distilling from their eyes, salt showrs of teares,
To bring in winter with their wet lament:
For how can Sommer stay, when Sunne departs?
See where Syluanus *sits, and sadly mournes,*
To thinke that Autumn *with his withered wings*
Will bring in tempest, when thy beames are hence:
For how can sommer stay, when Sunne departs?
See where those Graces, *and those* Howrs *of heau'n*
Which at thy comming sung triumphall songs,
And smoothd the way, and strewd it with sweet flowrs,
Now, if they durst, would stop it with greene bowes,
Least by thine absence the yeeres pride decay:
For how can sommer stay, when Sunne departs?
Leaves fal, grasse dies, beasts of the wood hang head,
Birds cease to sing, and euerie creature wailes,
To see the season alter with this change:
For how can sommer stay, when Sunne departs?
O, either stay, or soone returne againe,
For sommers parting is the countries paine.

After this, as her Maiestie passed through the Parke gate, there was a consort of Musitions hidden in a bower, to whose playing this Dittie of *Come againe* was sung, with excellent diuision, by two, that were cunning.

O *Come againe faire Natures treasure,*
Whose lookes yeeld ioyes exceeding measure.

25 Then Nereus, approching from the ende of the Pond, to hir Majesties coach, on his knees thanked hir Highnesse for hir late largesse, saying as followeth:

Thankes, gracious Goddesse, for thy bounteous largesse,
Whose worth, although it yeelds us sweet Content,
Yet thy depart gives us a greater sorrow. *Inserted bef.* After this Q^3

29 Q^3 *gives the following heading and amplified song*:—The Song sung at the gate, when hir Majestie departed. (As this Song was sung, her Majestie, notwithstanding the great raine, staied hir coach, and pulled off hir mask, giving great thanks.)

Come againe, faire Natures treasure,
Whose lookes yeeld joyes exceeding measure.

Come againe, worlds starre-bright eye,
Whose presence bewtifies the skie.

O come againe heau'ns chiefe delight,
Thine absence makes eternall night,

O come againe worlds starbright eye,
Whose presence doth adorne the skie.

O come againe sweet beauties Sunne:
When thou art gone, our ioyes are done.

Her Maiestie was so highly pleased with this and the rest, that shee openly protested to my Lord of Hertford, that the beginning, processe, and end of this his entertainment was so honorable, as hereafter hee should finde the rewarde thereof in her especiall fauour. And manie and most happie yeares may her gratious Maiestie continue, to fauour and foster him, and all others which do truly loue and honor her.

FINIS.

Come againe, worlds chiefe Delight,
Whose absence makes eternall Night.

Come againe, sweete lively Sunne,
When thou art gone our joyes are done.

O come againe, faire Natures treasure,
Whose lookes yeeld joyes exceeding measure.

O come againe, heavens chiefe delight,
Thine absence makes eternall night.

O come againe, worlds star-bright eye,
Whose presence doth adorne the skie.

O come againe, sweet beauties Sunne:
When thou art gone, our joyes are done.

8 protested . . . Lord] said to the Earle Q^3 9–10 as . . . fauour] she would not forget the same Q^3 10 and *om.* Q^3

SPEECHES

TO

QUEEN ELIZABETH

AT

QUARRENDON:

August, 1592.[1]

[1] *Reprinted from an edition by William Hamper with the following title:* Masques: Performed before Queen Elizabeth. From a coeval copy, in a volume of manuscript collections, by Henry Ferrers, Esq., of Baddesley Clinton, in the county of Warwick. In the possession of William Hamper, Esq., of Birmingham. [Woodcut of a crowned pillar.] "Sol mundi Borealis erat, dum vixit, Elisa." Oxford Verses on the Queen's Death, 1603. Chiswick: Printed by C. Whittingham, College House. 1820. 4°. *In that edition they formed Parts II and III (the editor classing as Part I three speeches printed above, pp. 412–4, among those at the Tilt-Yard); and were reprinted in* Kenilworth Illustrated, 1821, 4°, *and in Nichols'* Progresses (1823), *vol.* iii. 193–213.

SPEECHES, ETC.,

AT

QUARRENDON

AUGUST, 1592.

⟨I.⟩

⟨ON THE FIRST DAY.⟩

THE MESSAGE OF THE DAMSELL OF THE QUEENE OF FAYRIES.

Most fayre and fortunate Princess! To obey the sacred will that bindes mee, and the Inchanted Knight that bade mee, I come to shewe your Ma^tie^ of strange patienc and hard fortune.

At the celebrating the joyfull remembraunce of the most happie daye of your Highnes entrance into Gouerment of this most noble Islande, howe manie Knightes determined, not far hence, with boulde hartes and broken launces, to pay there vowes and shewe theire prowes, diuers tongued rumors leaues no neede for me to declare: and how manie most desyrouse to doe this sacrifice of theire seruice were dissapoynted by diuers aduentures (⟨of⟩ which still the world is full), I meane not nowe to shewe you, neyther who that day did best, or was lyked best, is my purpose to reporte. But mine onely Errande to your Excellencie is to lett you understand, that amongst the noble Knightes that there assembled, there was one full hardie & full haples, whoe most hungrie to do you honor and desperate of his owne good, though he knew himself so enchaunted by a chaunce, as he was neyther able to chardge staffe, nor strike blowe; yet, fayre mounted with his staffe on his thighe, did thrust himselfe into the Justes, and as long as horse had anie breath, and anie Knight woulde encounter him, was content to bide the brunt of the strongest Knight, and the blowes of the sturdiest staues (a strainge enduring for a valient man) putting himselfe to the hande of perrill, and the hazard of shame, to doe obseruance to that daie. And nowe hath sent me to your Majestie, most humbly to beseeche you, that as it shall like you to accept the seruice of his sufferinge, and thoe his

Armes be locked for a time, from all libertie to performe the office of his desire, in doing you seruice with his bodey, yet his harte is at libertie to pay the homage of his loue.

In token whereof he hath here sent your Ma^tie a simple present of his hartes servis. It is the Image, Madam, of the Idoll that so manie serue against theire will, and so manie without reward; who shutes he wotes not where, and hittes he cares not whom, and seldom woundes alike, but soonest striketh the best sighted: which if your excellent Ma^ie shall vouchsafe any tyme to weare, the Knight wisheth it may be a watch (better than Scarborows warning) to the Noble Gentelmen of your Courte, to defend them from such blowes as he hath receiued, which may light on them ⟨sooner⟩ then ere the⟨y⟩ loke for it, and when they thinke leaste harme, and make a wounde (he knoweth by proofe) more uncurable than is complayned of. *Cupido in gould and stone.*

Thus my message being ended; I must, most excellent Ladie, by the Commaundement of my mistris, the Queene of the Fayeries, returne to my charge; to follow the inchanted Knight, to beare testimoney of his paines and patience, and so must leaue your sacred Majestie, whom the Almightye make most lasting, as he hath alreadie mad you best and most to be beloved. Amen. Amen.

THE OLDE KNIGHTES TALE.

Now drowsie sleepe, death's image, ease's prolonger,
Thow that hast kept my sences windowes closed,
Dislodge these heauie humors, stay no longer,
For light itself thie darkesom bandes haue losed,
And of mine eies to better use disposed:
To better use, for what can better be
Then substance in the steede of shades to see.

O mortall substance of immortall glorie!
To whom all creatures ells are shaddowes demed;
Vouchsafe an eare unto the woeful storie
Of him who, whatso eare before he semed,
Is nowe as you esteme to be estemed:
And sence himself is of himself reporter
To all your praise, will make his parte the shorter.

Not far from hence, nor verie long agoe, ⟨*? Elveth.* p. 449⟩
The fayrie Queene the fayrest Queene saluted

12 they] the *Hamper and Nichols*

That euer lyued (& euer may shee soe);
What sportes and plaies, whose fame is largelie bruted,
The place and persons were so fitlie shuted:
For who a Prince can better entertaine
Than can a Prince, or els a prince's vaine?

Of all the pleasures there, among the rest,
(The rest were justes and feates of Armed Knightes),
Within hir bower she biddes her to a feast,
Which with enchaunted pictures trim she dightes,
And on them woordes of highe intention writes:
For he that mightie states hath feasted, knowes
Besides theire meate, they must be fedd with shewes.

Manie there were that could no more but vewe them,
Many that ouer curious nearer pride.
Manie would conster needes that neuer knewe them,
Som lookt, som lyked, som questioned, some eyed,
One asked them too who should not be denied:
But shee that thwarted, where she durst not strugle,
To make her partie good was fayne to juggle.

Forthwith the Tables were conveied hither,
Such power she had by her infernall Arte;
And I enjoyned to keepe them altogether,
With speciall charge on them to sett my harte,
Euer to tarrie, neuer to departe:
Not bowing downe my face upon the grounde,
Beholding still the Piller that was crounde.

⟨Cf. p. 41c; *Endim.* ii. 4. 155⟩

I whom in elder tyme she dearelie loued,
Deare is that loue which nothing can disgrace,
I that had ofte before her favor proued,
But knewe not howe such fauoure to embrace,
Yea, I am put in trust to warde this place:
So kinde is loue, that being once conceauid,
It trustes againe, although it were deceaued.

Seruant, quoth shee, looke upward and beware
Thou lend not anie Ladie once an eye;
For diuers Ladies hither will repaire,
Presuming that they can my charmes untie,

1 soe] see *Hamp. Nich.* 14 pride] *i. e.* pryed 16 eyed] aymed *Hamp. Nich.*

Whose misse shall bring them to unconstancie:
And happie art thou if thou haue such heede, ⟨*Euph.* i. 189 l. 14⟩
As in anothers harme thine owne to reede.

But loe unhappie I was ouertaken,
By fortune forst, a stranger ladies thrall,
Whom when I sawe, all former care forsaken,
To finde her ought I lost meeself and all,
Through which neglect of dutie 'gan my fall:
It is the propertie of wrong consenting
To ad unto the punishment lamenting.

With this the just revengefull Fayrie Queene,
As one that had conceaued Anger deepe,
And therefore ment to execute her teene,
Resolvde to caste mee in a deadlie sleepe,
No other ⟨sentence⟩ coulde decorum keepe:
For Justice sayth, that where the eie offended,
Upon the eye the lawe should be extended.

Thus haue I longe abode, without compassion,
The rygor which that wrathefull Judge required;
Till now a straung and suddaine alteration
Declares the date of my distres expired: ⟨*Euph.* i. 222 l. 17⟩
O peareles Prince! O presence most desired!
By whose sole resolution this ys found,
That none but Princes, Princes mindes expounde.

In lue whereof, though far beneath your merrit,
Accept this woorthles meede that longes thereto,
It is your owne, and onlie you may weare it,
The farry queene geue⟨s⟩ euerie one his due,
For she that punisht me rewardeth you;
As for us heare, who nothing haue to paie,
It is ynough for poore men if they pray.
Cœlumq′ solumq′ beavit.

FINIS.

15 sentence] *Hamper and Nichols leave a blank, as in the original*

THE SONGE AFTER DINNER AT THE TWO LADIES ENTRANCE.

To that Grace that sett us free,
Ladies let us thankfull be;
All enchaunted cares are ceast,
Knightes restored, we releast;
Eccho change thie mournefull song,
Greefes to Groues and Caues belong;
Of our new deliuerie,
Eccho, Eccho, certifie.

Farwell all in woods that dwell,
Farwell satyres, nymphes farewell;
Adew desires, fancies die,
Farwell all inconstancie.
Nowe thrice welcome to this place,
Heauenlie Goddesse! prince of grace!
She hath freed us carefull wightes,
Captiue Ladies, Captiue Knightes.

To that Grace that sett us free,
Ladies let us thankfull bee.

FINIS.

THE LADIES THANKESGEUING FOR THEIRE DELIUERIE FROM UNCONSTANCIE.

Most excellent! shall I saie Ladie or Goddess! whom I should enuie to be but a Ladie, and can not denie to haue the power of a Goddesse; vouchesafe to accept the humble thankfulnes of vs late distressed Ladies, the pride of whose witts was justlie punished with the unconstancie of ouer willes, wherebie we were carried to delight, as in nothing more than to loue, so in nothing more than

24 Most excellent . . . Semper eadem (*p.* 463)] *forms the sixth piece in* '*The Phœnix Nest*,' 1593, *with title* '*An Excellent Dialogue betweene Constancie and Inconstancie: as it was by speech presented to her maiestie, in the last Progresse at Sir Henrie Leighes house.*' *The speech here called* The Ladies Thankesgeuing *is there preceded by the prefix* Constancie *as if part of the following dialogue, though here both Thanksgiving and preceding Song are proper to others than the two Ladies* 26 vs *Phœ. Nest*: the *Hamper fr. MS.* 28 willes] wits *Ph. N.* 29 more than] so much as *Ph. N.*

to chaunge louers; which punishment, though it were onlie due to our desertes, yet did it light most heauily upon those Knightes, who, following us with the heate of theire affection, had neither grace to gett us, nor power to leaue us. Now since, by that mortall power of your more than humane wisdome, the enchaunted tables are read, & both they & we released, let us be punished with more than unconstancie if we fayle eyther to loue Constancie, or to eternize your memorie.

LIBERTY. Not to be thankfull to so greate a person, for so greate a benefite, might argue as little judgement as ill nature; and therefore, though it be my turne to speake after you, I will striue in thankfulnes to goe before you, but rather for my lybertie, because I may be as I lyste, than for anie minde I haue to be more constant than I was.

CONSTANCY. If you haue no minde to be constant, what ys the benefite of your deliuerie?

Li. As I sayd before, my liberties, which I esteeme as deare as my selfe; for, though I esteme unconstancie, yet I must hate that which I loue best, when I am once inforced unto yt; and, by your leaue, as dayntie as you make of the matter, you would hate euen your owne selfe yf you were but wedded unto your selfe.

Co. Selfe loue ys not that loue that we talke of, but rather the kinde knitting of twoe hartes in one, of which sorte yf you had a faithfull louer what should you lose by being faithfull unto him?

Li. More than you shall gett by being so.

Co. I seeke nothing but him to whom I am constant.

Li. And euen him shall you lose by being constant.

Co. What reason haue you for that?

Li. No other reason than that which is drawen from the comon places of Loue, which are for the most parte Reason beyond Reason.

2 desertes] discents *Ph. N.* 5 more than *bef.* mortall *Ph. N.* 8 eternize] alienize *Ph. N.* 9 LIBERTY] *so Hamper translates* Li. *of MS.*: Inconstancie *Ph. N. throughout* 11 turne] place *Ph. N.* 12 yet *aft.* but *Ph. N.* 15 CONSTANCY] Co. *H. N.* 17 sayd] tolde you *Ph. N.* libertie *Ph. N.* esteeme as deare as] loue better than *Ph. N.* 18 esteme] loue *Ph. N.* unconstancie . . . must] inconstancie as my selfe, and had as leeue not be, as not be vnconstant; yet can I not but *Ph. N.* 19 best *om. Ph. N.* when . . . once] but when I am *Ph. N.* 20–1 you would . . . owne] I am perswaded that you would euen hate your *Ph. N.* 23 kinde] kinde of *Ph. N.* 24 faithfull[2] *Ph. N.*: unconstant *Hamper and Nichols*

Co. You may better call them Reason without Reason, if they conclude that faith & loue the more they are the lesse they shall finde.

Li. Will you beleue your own experience?

Co. Far beyonde yoûr reason.

Li. Haue you not then founde among your loue[rs] that they woulde flie you when you did most followe them, [and] follow you when you did most fly them?

⟨*Euph.* ii. 178 ll. 9–15; *Poems*, vol. iii. 474 ll. 2–3⟩

Co. I graunt I haue founde it true in some, but nowe I speake of a constant Louer in deede.

Li. You may better speake of him, than finde him, but the onlie way to haue him is to be unconstant.

Co. How so?

⟨*Euph.* i. 288 l. 35⟩

Li. I haue heard Philosophers saye that *Acquisito termino cessat motus.* There is no motion, and you know Loue is a motion, but it resteth, or rather dieth, when it hath gotten his end. Now Loue ys dull without feare of loosing, which can not be where there are no rivalls.

Co. It were against nature for her, which is but one, to loue more than one; and if it be a fault to beare a double harte, what is it to devide the harte among manie?

Li. I aske no other judge than Nature, especiallie in this matter of Loue, than the whiche there is nothing more naturall; and, as farr as I can see, Nature is delighted in nothing so muche as in varietie. And it were harde that sence she hath appoynted varietie of coullers to please the eye, varietie of soundes for the eare, variete of meates for euerie other sence, she should binde the harte, to the which all the rest do seruice, to the loue of one; rather than the

1 rather *Ph. N.* 2 that loue and faith *Ph. N.* are] haue *Ph. N.* 6 amongst *Ph. N.* 7 when . . . most] if you do but *Ph. N.* most *aft.* you[3] *Ph. N.* 8 did] do *Ph. N.* 9 too *bef.* true *Ph. N.* I now *Ph. N.* 14 Acquisitio *Hamper and Nichols*: Inquisito *Ph. N.* 16 resteth] ceaseth *Ph. N.* 16–7 Now . . . be] and to say the truth, loue hath no edge when it is assured, whose verie foode and life is hope, and hope of hauing, is dull without the feare of loosing, *Ph. N.* 19 Co. It] *bef. this speech Ph. N. inserts* Const. But the more constant he findes me, the more carefull he will be to deserue well of me. Inconst. You deceiue your selfe with that conceite, and giue him no small aduantage to range where he listeth, when you let him know that you are at his deuotion, whom you shall be sure to haue at yours, if by an indifferent cariage of your selfe, you breede an emulation betweene him and others. 23 the *om. Ph. N.* 23–4 as farr as] surely for any thing that *Ph. N.* 24 delighteth *Ph. N.* 26 to please] for *Ph. N.* 27 for] for the mouth, and varietie of other things for *Ph. N.* the[2] *om. Ph. N.* 28 rather than] any more, than she bindeth *Ph. N.*

eye to one couller, the eare to one sounde, or the mouth to one kinde of meate.

Co. Neyther doth she denie the harte varietie of choyce, she onely requireth Constancie when it hath chosen.

Li. What yf we comitt an error in our choyse?

Co. It is no error to chuse where wee like.

Li. But if our lyking varrie may we not be better aduised?

Co. When you haue once chosen, you must tourne your eyes inwarde to looke onlie on him that you haue placed in your harte.

Li. Whie then I perceaue you haue not yet chosen, for your eyes looke outwardes; but, as long as your eyes do stande in your heade as they doe, I doubt not but to finde you inconstant.

Co. I doe not denie but I loke upon other men, besides him that I loue best, but they are all as dead pictures unto me, for anie power they haue to touch mine harte.

Li. If they were as you account them, but dead pictures, they were lykelie to make another Pigmalion of you, rather than you would be bounde to the loue of one. But what if that one do proue inconstant?

Co. I had rather the fault should be his than mine.

Li. It is a coulde comforte to saie the fault is his, when the losse ys youres. But how can you avoyde the fault that may helpe it, & will not?

Co. I see no way to helpe it, but by breach of faithe, which I holde dearer than my lyffe.

Li. What is the band of thy faith?

Co. My worde. ⟨*Loves Met.* i. 2. 26⟩

Li. Your worde ys winde, & no sooner spoken than gonne.

Co. Yet doth it binde to see what is spoken donne.

Li. You can do lyttle yf you cannot maister your worde.

Co. I should do lesse yf my worde did not maister me.

Li. It maisters you in deede, for it makes you a slaue.

Co. To none but one whome I chuse to serue.

Li. It is basenes to serue though it be but one.

Co. More base to dissemble with more than one.

4 requires *Ph. N.* 6 error] fault *Ph. N.* 11 do *om. Ph. N.* 13 other men] others *Ph. N.* 14 as *om. Ph. N.* 15 my *Ph. N.* 16 were but (as you account them) *Ph. N.* 16–7 they . . . to] I do not doubt, but they would *Ph. N.* 18 onely *aft.* one[1] *Ph. N.* do *om. Ph. N.* 20 had] would *Ph. N.* 21 coulde] small *Ph. N.* 22 that may] who can *Ph. N.* 26 your *Ph. N.* 28 but *bef.* winde *Ph. N.*

Li. When I loue all alyke I dissemble with none.

Co. But if I loue manie will anie loue me?

Li. No doubt they will, & so much the more by howe much the more they are that serue for you.

Co. But the harte that is euerie where, is in deede no where.

Li. If you speake of a mannes harte I graunt it; but the harte of a woman is lyke a soule in a bodie: *Tota in toto, et tota in qualibet parte.* So that, although you had as manie louers as you haue fingers and toes, you might be one among them all, and yett wholy euerie ones. But, sence I perceiue you are so peruersely deuoted to the could synceritie of ymaginarie constancie, I leaue you to be as you maye, minding meeselfe to be as I liste.

Neuerthelesse to your Ma^tie by whom I was sett at libertie, in token of my thankfullnes, I offer this simple woorke of mine owne handes, which you may weare as you please; but I made them to be worne, after mine owne minde, loose.

⟨*Euph.* i. 179 ll. 8, 9⟩

Co. And I, who by your coming am not only sett at libertie, but made partaker also of Constancie, do present you with as vnworthie a work of mine owne handes; which yett I hope you will better accept, because it may serue to binde the loosenes of that inconstant Dames token.

Li. To binde the loosenes & that of an inconstant Dame! Say no more than you knowe, for you cannot knowe so much as I feele. Well may we betray ourselues betweene ourselues, and think we haue neuer sayde enough, when we haue said all. But now a greater power than eyther your or my reason woorketh in me, & draweth me from the circle of my fancies to the centre of true Loue; there representing unto me what contentment it is to loue but one, & howe the heart is satisfied with no number, when once it loueth more than one. I am not, I cannot be, as I was; the leaue that I take

⟨*Saph.* i. 4. 41 sqq.; ii. 4. 65 sqq., 115⟩

1 I (*bis*)] you *Ph. N.* 3 they] there *Ph. N.* 4 serue] striue *Ph. N.* 6 to be true *aft.* it *Ph. N.* but] but as for *Ph. N.* 7 is] it is *Ph. N.* 8 So that, although] that though *Ph. N.* 9 but one amongst *Ph. N.* 10 sence . . . so] because I see you are *Ph. N.* 12 minding] and purpose *Ph. N.* 13 was . . . at] haue obtained this *Ph. N.* 15 them] it *Ph. N.* 16 after . . . minde *transposed with* to be worne *Ph. N.* 18 vnworthie *Ph. N.*: woorthie *Hamper and Nichols* 20 will *Ph. N.* 23 cannot knowe] knowe not *Ph. N.* 24 bewray *Ph. N.* and think] as thinking *Ph. N.* 25 neuer . . . when] said nothing, vntill *Ph. N.* 26 eyther *om. Ph. N.* worketh in me *transposed with* than your . . . reason *Ph. N.* &] which *Ph. N.* 27 circle of my *Ph. N.*: *om. Hamper and Nichols* true] constant *Ph. N.* 29 the heart] desire *Ph. N.* loueth] delighteth in *Ph. N.* 30 *Bef.* I¹ *Ph. N. places new prefix* Const. leaue *Ph. N.*: loane *H. N.* did *bef.* take *Ph. N.*

of my selfe, is to leaue myselfe, & to chaunge, or rather to be chaunged, to that state which admitteth no change, by the secrett power of her who though she were content to lett us be carried almost owt of breth by the winde of Inconstancie, dothe nowe with her scilence put mee to scilence; & with the gloriouse beame of her countenaunce, which disperceth the flying cloudes of vaine conceites, enforceth me to wishe others, & to be myselfe, as shee is—

Semper eadem.

Finis of this Dialogue.

THE LAST SONGE.

Happie houre, happie daie,
That Eliza came this waie!

Greate in honor, great in place,
Greater yet in geving grace,
Greate in wisdome, great in minde,
But in bothe aboue her kinde,
Greate in vertue, greate in name,
Yet in power beyond her fame.

Happie houre, happie daie,
That Eliza came this waie!

She, with more than graces grace,
Hath made proude this humble place,
She, with more than wisdomes head,
Hath enchaunted tables read,
She, with more than vertues mighte,
Hath restorid us to right.

Happie houre, happie daie,
That Eliza came this waie!

Heauie harted Knightes are eased,
And light harted Ladies pleased,
Constant nowe they vowe to be,
Hating all inconstancie.
Constant Piller, constant Crowne,
Is the aged Knightes renowne.

1 is . . . myselfe *om. Hamper and Nichols* 2 estate *Ph. N.* 3 who] which *Ph. N.* us] me *Ph. N.* 4 by] with *Ph. N.* with] in *Ph. N.* 5 with . . . beame] by the glorie *Ph. N.* 7 enforceth . . . wishe] commands me too with *Ph. N.*

Happie houre, happie daie,
That Eliza came this waie!

Finis.

⟨II.⟩

The second daies woorke where the Chaplayne maketh this Relation.

Da mihi quicquid habes, animumq' fidemq' manumq'
Hec tria si mihi des, das mihi quicquid habes.

Elizæ laudes, et vox et lingua loquntur.

The Oration.

Most excellent Princes! Princes of excellencie! whom God framed in heauen to grace his woorkmanshippe on earth, & whose gratiouse abiding with us belowe is priuileged by the singular grace of God aboue! Vouchsafe, I beseeche you, from the matcheles heighte of your royall graces, to loke downe on the humble dwelling of an owlde Knight, now a newe religiouse Hermite; who, as heretofore he professed the obedience of his youthe, by constant seruice of the worldes best Creature, so at this present presentethe the deuotion of his yeares by continuall seruing of the worldes onlie Cre⟨a⟩tor. In the one, kind judgment was the usher, & beleefe the follower of his sounde loue: in the other, meditation is the forerunner, & zeale the usher, of this streite lyfe. This solitary man, Loricus, for such is his condicion & so is he called, one whose harde aduentures were once discouered, and better fortune foreshewed, by a good father of his owne coate, not farr from this Coppies, rann the restles race of desire, to seeke content in the state of perfections; comaunding his thoughtes & deedes to tender theire dutie & make solemne sacrifices to the Idoll of his harte, in as manie partes as his minde had passions, yet all to one ende, because all from one grounde, to wit, the consent of his affections. Sometymes he consorted with couragious gentelmen, manifesting inward joyes by open justes, the yearlie tribute of his dearest Loue. Somtimes he summoned the witnesse of depest conceiptes, Himmes & Songes & Emblemes, dedicating them to the honor of his heauenlye Mistres. Sometymes by lyking

drawen to looking, he lost himselfe in the bottomles vewe of unparragonized vertues, eche good ymagination ouertaking other with a better, and the best yelding a degree aboue the best, when they all were deemed too weake for her woorth which ouerweyeth all worthinesse.

Thus spent he the florishe of his gladdest dayes, crauing no rewarde ells, but that he might loue, nor no reputation beside but that he might be knowne to Loue; till the two enimies of Prosperitie, Enuie and Age, (the one greuing at him, & the other growing on him,) cutt him off from following the Cowrte, not from goyng forwarde in his course. Thence, willingly unwilling, he retired his tyred lymes into a corner of quiet repose, in this Countrie, where he lyued priuate in cœlestiall contemplation of manie matters together, and, as he once told me, seriouslie kept a verie courte in his owne bosome, making presence of her in his soule, who was absent from his sight. Amongst manie other exercises (whereof feruent desire ys not scant) he founde it noe small furtheraunce of diuine speculation to walke thorow by-pathes & uncoth passages, under the coole shaddowes of greene trees.

And one daie aboue the rest, as he ranged abrode, hauing forgotten himself in a long sweet rauishment, his feete wandring astray when his mind went right, he hit by chaunce on a homelie Cell of mine which ⟨I⟩ had helde a little space, to my greate solace, & taking mee on a soddaine at my ordinarie Orisons;—By your leaue, verteouse Sir, quoth he, where lyes the highe-waie I pray you. Marry here, gentell Knight (sayde I) looking on my booke with mine eyes, & poyntyng up to heauen with my finger; it is the very Kinges hie-waye. You saye true in deede (quoth he) the verie Queene's hie-waye, which my harte inquired after though my tongue asked for another. And so, as it is the use with fellowe humors when they fortunately meete, we light bothe upon one argument, the universall fame of that miraculouse gouerment, which by truthe & peace, the harbengers of heauen, directeth us the verie waye to eternall blessedness. Much good discourse had we more, of the vanitie of the world, the uncertainetie of frendes, the unconstancie of fortune; but the upshoot of all was this, that he would become an Heremite, I should be his Chaplaine, & both joyntlie joyne in prayers for one prince, & the prayses of one god. To which purpose, because this plott pleased him, hee here forthwith erected

16 execercises *Hamper*

a poore Loddging or twoe, for me, himselfe, & a page, that wayteth on him, naming it when he had donne the Crowne Oratory; and therefore aduaunsed his deuise on the entrance after the Romaine fashion in a Piller of perpetuall remembraunce. But, alas! whilst he seekes to raise one buylding, hee sees the rewins of another; & whilst he shapes a monument for his minde, he feeles the miserie of his bodie, whose roofe was roughe with the mosse of greene haires, whose sides were crased with the tempestes of sicknes, whose foundacion shooke under him with the waight of an unwildye carrcasse: and when he perceaued his olde house in a manner past reparacions, considering his owne unablenes, he recomended the care thereof to the conningest Architect of the Worlde, who onlie was able to pull it downe unto the earth, & raise it anewe, in better glorie than it stoode before. Then began I to call him to his former preceptes, & his latter practizes, shewing him in fewe woordes (for he conceaued much) that nowe was the time of tryall. A good sayler was better seene in a storme than in a calme. It was no straunge thing to lyue; for slaues lyue, and beastes lyue too. Nature had prouided him comforte, who made that most common which shee had made most greeuouse; to the ende the equallnes might aleye the egernes of death. To which he mildelie replied that my motions fytlie touched him, he was as desirouse to encounter with Death, as to heare of Death, for Fortitude still abode his bedfellowe. Extremitie though it could not be ouercom yet it might be ouerborne, since his Minde had secured him by fearing nothing, and oueriched him by desiring nothing. Hee had longe lyued in the Sea, and ment now to die in the Hauen. Hauen (saide I). Yea! the Hauen (quoth he); lett me be carried into the Hauen. Which Hauen I supposed he hadd spoken idellie, but that he eftsones repeted it, and wished to be brought to this poore houell before the gates. What thatt odde corner (saide I). Yes (quoth he) that corner; and angerlie broke of with this Sentence: *Subsilire in coelum ex Angulo licet.*

⟨Cf. pp. 410. 456; *End.* iii. 4. 155⟩

So we speedelie remoued him hither, wher being softely layed he uttered these speeches softelie:—Before I was olde, I desired to lyue well, and now I am olde, I desire to die well; and to die well is to die willinglie. Manie there be that wish to lyue, yet wott not how to die: lett me be theire example yf they lyke not lyfe, to lyue, to die with lyking, who neither embraced Fortune when shee flewe

29 I (*twice*) *Hamper*

unto mee, nor ensued Fortune when she fled from mee, nor spared niggardlie, nor spent lavishlie, whatsoeuer she bestowed on me: but since it was my singuler hope to lyue beholding to the Crowne, I accompt it my speciall joye to dye beholding the Crowne. Holy Crowne! hallowed by the sacrament, confirmed by the fates; thou hast been the Aucthor of my last Testament. So calling for pen and inke (which were neuer far off) he drew a formall draught of his whole will, signed & subscribed by himselfe, but witnessed by us, the compassionate spectators of that lamentable action which he had no sooner entituled by wayes of truste, & geuen me charge for the safe deliuering thereof, but he fell soddenlye speecheles & so continueth to this houre. The stile runnethe thus: *To the most renouned Queene owner of the best Crowne & crowned with the best desertes, the lyuing loue of dying Loricus.* Now, most peereles Princes, sence there is none that can laie challenge to this tytle, except they should also challenge your vertues, which were to complaine of Nature for robbing herselfe to do you right, accept I beseeche you the offer of him who dares not offer it to anie other; & one daie no doubt but the Knight himselfe, if happilie he recouer (as what may not so sacred a prince promise), will say it is in a good hand, & proue the best expounder of his owne meaning. In the meane season, thoughe myne endevors must be employed about your sick seruant, yet my prayers shall not ceasse for your most gratiouse Majestie, that as you haue ouer liued the vaine hope of your forraine enemies, so you may outlast the kinde wishes of your loyall subjectes, which is to last to the last euerlasting. Amen.

Finis.

To the most renowned Queene,
Owner of the best Crowne, & crowned with the
best desertes, the lyuing Loue of dying
Loricus.

I Loricus, Bodie sicke,
Sences sounde, Remembraunce quicke,
Neuer crauing, euer seruing,
Little hauing, lesse deseruing,
Though a hartie true wellwiller
Of the Crowne & crowned Piller,
To that Crowne, my lyues content,
Make my Will & Testament.

Soule! goe first to heauenlie rest;
Soule the Bodies heauenlie gueste,
Where, both Host & Inn decaying,
Yeld the gueste no quiet staying.

Bodie! back againe, departe;
Earth thou wast, & Earth thou arte.
Mortall creatures still be jurneing,
From the earth to earth returning.

As for anie worldlie lyuing
Nothing haue I woorth the geeuing:
Let the baser indeed take them,
We which follow God forsake them.

But if anie wishe to dwell,
As I did, in homely Cell,
Let him pull his Castells downe,
And as I did serue the Crowne.
Serue the Crowne, O Crowne deseruing,
Better than Loricus seruing.

In witness whereof I haue set to my
hande & harte,
LORICUS, Columnæ coronatæ Custos
fidelissimus.

In presence of us whose names are underwritten,
STELLATUS, Rectoriæ Coronatæ Capellanus.
RENATUS, Equitis Coronati Servus obseruantissimus.

THE PAGE BRINGETH TYDINGS OF HIS MAISTER'S RECOUERIE, & PRESENTETH HIS LEGACIE.

The suddaine recouerie of my distressed Maister, whome latelie you left in a Traunce (Most excellent Princes!) hath made me at one tyme the hastie messenger of three trothes, your miracle, his mending, & my mirthe. Miracles on the sicke are seldom seene without theire mending; & mending of the good ys not often seene without other mens mirth. Where your Majestie hath don a miracle, & it can not be denied, I hope I may manifest ⟨mirth⟩ & it shall not be disliked: for miracles are no miracles unlesse they be confessed, & mirth is no mirth yf it be concealed.

18 than] that *Hamper and Nichols*

May it therefor please you to heare of his life who lyues by you, & woulde not liue but to please you; in whom the sole vertue of your sacred presence, which hath made the weather fayre, & the ground fruitfull at this progresse, wrought so strange an effect and so speedie an alteration, that, whereas before he seemed altogether speecheles, now Motion (the Recorder of the Bodies Commonwealth) tells a lyuelie tale of health, & his Tongue (the Cocheman of the Harte) begun to speake the sweete language of affection. So tourning him selfe about to the ayre & the lyght, O wretched man [quoth he] callamities storie, lyfes delay, & deathes prisoner: with that he pawsed a while & then fixing his eyes on the Crowne, he sayd Welcom be that blessed Companie, but thrise blessed be her coming aboue the rest, who came to geue me this blessed rest!

Hereat Stellatus, his Chappelaine, besought him to blesse God onelie, for it was Gods spirite who recouered his spirites. Truthe (quoth he again) yet whosoeuer blesseth her, blesseth God in her: and euer blessed be God for her.—The conferrence continued long, but louinglie, betwixt them; till at length upon question to whom the Will was directed, with knowledge how it was deliuered, Loricus publiklie acknowledged the right performance of his true meaning unto your Royall Majestie, to whom he humblie recomended the full execution thereof, & by me hath sent your Majestye this simple Legacie, which he disposed the rather whilst he yet lyueth, than lefte to be disposed after his deathe, that you might understande how he alwaies preferred the deed. Thus much your diuine power hath performed to him, thus far his thankfulnes hath brought mee to Your Majestie. As for anie other Accomplementes, whatsoeuer Dutie yeldes to be debt, Deuotion offers to be dischardged; and if my maister's best payment be onlie good prayers, what need more than the Pages bare woorde, which is allwaies – Amen.

⟨*Rycote*, P. 485 l. 9⟩

THE LEGACYE.

Item. I bequethe (to your Highnes) THE WHOLE MANNOR OF LOUE, & the appurtenaunces thereunto belonging:

(Viz.) Woodes of hie attemptes,
Groues of humble seruice,
Meddowes of greene thoughtes,
Pastures of feeding fancies,
Arrable Lande of large promisses,

Riuers of ebbing & flowing fauors,
Gardens hedged about with priuate, for succorie, & bordered with tyme: of greene nothing but hartesease, drawen in the perfect forme of a true louers knott.
Orchards stored with the best fruit:
Queene Apples, Pome Royalls, &
Soueraigne Peares.
Fishing for dayntie Kisses with smyling countenances,
Hawking to springe pleasure with the spanniells of kindenes.
Hunting that deare game which repentance followeth.
Ouer & beside the Royaltie: for
Weftes of fearefull dispaire,
Strayes of wandring conceiptes,
Fellons goods of stolne delightes,
Coppie Holders which allure by wittee writinges,
Or Tennantes at will who stand upon good behauior.
The Demaines being deepe sighes,
And the Lordes House a pittifull harte.
And this Mannor is helde in Knightes seruice,
As may be gathered from the true Receauour of fayre Ladies, and seene in the auncient deedes of amorouse Gentelmen.
All which he craueth may be annexed to his former Will, and therewith approued in the prerogatiue Courte of Your Majesties acceptance.

In wittnes whereof I haue putt to my hande & seale;

LORICUS, Columnæ coronatæ Custos fidelissimus.

In the presence of us whose names are here under written:

STELLATUS, Rectoriæ coronatæ Capellanus.
RENATUS, Equitis coronati Servus obseruantissimus.

FINIS.

2 *qy.? trs.* priuate *and* succorie

SPEECHES[1]

DELIVERED TO HER MAIESTIE THIS LAST PROGRESSE, AT THE Right Honorable the Lady Rvssels, at Bissam, the Right Honorable the Lorde Chandos, at Sudley, at the Right Honorable the Lord Norris, at Ricorte.

At Oxforde, Printed by Loseph Barnes.

1592.

[1] Editions—(1) = Q. 1592, 4°. *Title as above.* 12 *leaves,* A–C 4 *in fours, verso of last leaf blank. No col.* (*Br. Mus.: press-mark* C. 33. e. 7 (19) (*under* 'Elizabeth, Queen,' &c.): *lacks title-page—a collotype reproduction inserted from some other copy—and leaf B.*)

(2) 1592, 4°. *Title quoted under* (3).

(3) = N. *Reprint of* (2) *in Nichols'* 'Progresses,' 1788 (*vol.* ii), *with title*—Speeches delivered to Her Majestie This Last Progresse, at the Right Honourable the Lady Russels, at Bissam; the Right Honourable the Lorde Chandos, at Sudley; at the Right Honourable the Lord Norris, at Ricorte. At Oxforde, Printed by Joseph Barnes. 1592.

(4) = Br. *Reprint of* (2) *with modernized spelling, and Introduction by Sir Sam. E. Brydges* (*Lea Priory Press,* 1815, 4°).

(5) = N. *Reprint of* (2) *in Nichols' Second Ed.* 1823 (vol. iii. pp. 130–43, 168–72).

N.B.—N. *in footnotes means both eds. of Nichols: the date distinguishes them where necessary.*

TO THE READER.

I gathered these copies in loose papers I know not how imperfect, therefore must I crave a double pardon; of him that penned them, and those that reade them. The matter of small moment, and therefore the offence of no great danger.

I. B.

⟨At Bisham.⟩

At the top of the Hill going to Bissam, the Cornets sounding in the Woods, a wilde man came forth and vttered this speech.

I Followed this sounde, as enchanted; neither knowing the reason why, nor how to bee ridde of it: vnusuall to these Woods, and (I feare) to our gods prodigious. *Syluanus* whom I honour, is runne into a Caue: *Pan*, whom I enuye, courting of the Shepheardesse: Enuie I thee *Pan*? No, pitty thee, an eie-sore to chast Nymphes; yet still importunate: Honour thee *Syluanus*? No, contemne thee: fearefull of Musicke in the Woods, yet counted the god of the Woods. I, it may bee more stout, than wise, asked, who passed that way? what he or shee? none durst answere, or would vouchsafe, but passionate Eccho, who saide Shee. And Shee it is, and you are Shee, whom in our dreames many yeares wee Satyres haue seene, but waking could neuer finde any such. Euery one hath tolde his dreame and described your person, all agree in one, and set downe your vertues: in this onely did wee differ, that some saide your Pourtraiture might be drawen, other saide impossible: some thought your vertues might be numbred, most saide they were infinite: Infinite, and impossible, of that side was I: and first in

⟨*Euph.* ii. 203–5, 211⟩

1–6 To the Reader . . . danger. I. B. *not in Q; may have occupied verso of lost title-page. A ij begins with the Bisham speeches*

humility to salute you most happy I: my vntamed thoughts waxe gentle, & I feele in my selfe ciuility, A thing hated, because not knowen, and vnknowen, because I knew not you. Thus Vertue tameth fiercenesse, Beauty, madnesse. Your Maiesty on my knees will I followe, bearing this Club, not as a Saluage, but to beate downe those that are.

At the middle of the Hill sate PAN, and two Virgins keeping sheepe, and sowing in their Samplers, where her Maiestye stayed and heard this.

Pan. PRety soules and bodies too, faire shephardisse, or sweete Mistresse, you know my suite, loue, my vertue, Musicke, my power, a godhead. I cannot tickle the sheepes gutts of a Lute, *bydd, bydd, bydd*, like the calling of Chickins, but for a Pipe that squeeketh like a Pigg, I am he. How doe you burne time, & drowne beauty in pricking of clouts, when you should bee penning of Sonnets? You are more simple than the sheepe you keepe, but not so gentle. I loue you both, I know not which best, and you both scorne me, I know not which most. Sure I am, that you are not so young as not to vnderstand loue, nor so wise as to withstand it, vnlesse you think your selues greater thã gods, whereof I am one. Howe often haue I brought you Chestnuts for a loue token, & desired but acceptance for a fauour. Little did you knowe the misterye, that as the huske was thornye and tough, yet the meate sweete, so though my hyde were rough and vnkempt, yet my heart was smooth and louing: you are but the Farmers daughters of the Dale, I the God of the flocks that feede vpon the hils. Though I cannot force loue, I may obedience, or else sende your sheepe a wandring, with my fancies. Coynesse must be reuenged with curstnesse, but be not agaste sweet mice, my godhead cõmeth so fast vpon me, that Maiestye had almost ouerrũn affectiõ, Can you loue? Wil you?

⟨*Mid.* iv. 1. 129-31⟩ ⟨*Euph.* i. 224 l. 5; 320 l. 1; *M. Bomb.* i. 3. 60⟩ ⟨*Euph.* ii. 133 ll. 3-4⟩ ⟨*Euph.* ii. 132 ll. 13-4⟩ ⟨*End.* v. 3. 232⟩

Syb. Alas poore *Pan*, looke how he looketh Sister, fitter to drawe in a Haruest wayne, then talke of loue to chaste Virgins, would you haue vs both?

⟨*Cowd.* p. 422 l. 25⟩

Pan. I, for oft I haue hearde, that two Pigeons may bee caught with one beane.

⟨*Euph.* ii. 173 l. 23⟩

14 *itals. first in Nichols* 23 acquaintance *Br.* 25 vnkempt] hateful *N* (1823)

Isab. And two Woodcocks with one sprindge.

Syb. And many Dotterels with one dance.

Isab. And all fooles with one faire worde. Nay, this is his meaning; as he hath two shapes, so hath he two harts, the one of a man wherewith his tongue is tipped, dissembling; the other of a beast, wherewith his thoughts are poysoned, lust. Men must haue as manie loues, as they haue hart-strings, and studie to make an Alphabet of mistresses, from A. to Y. which maketh them in the end crie, *Ay*. Against this, experience hath prouided vs a remedy, to laugh at them when they know not what to saie, and when they speake, not to beleeue them.

⟨*End.* ii. 2. 6–8⟩

Pan. Not for want of matter, but to knowe the meaning, what is wrought in this sampler?

Syb. The follies of the Gods, who became beastes, for their affections.

⟨*Euph.* i. 236 ll. 10–17; *Gall.* ii. 2. 19–20⟩

Pan. What in this?

Isab. The honour of Virgins who became Goddesses, for their chastity.

Pan. But what be these?

Syb. Mens tongues, wrought all with double stitch but not one true.

Pan. What these?

Isab. Roses, Eglētine, harts-ease, wrought with Queenes stitch, and all right.

⟨*Theob.* pp. 417–8⟩

Pan. I neuer hard the odds betweene mens tongues, and weomens, therefore they may be both double, vnlesse you tell mee how they differ.

Syb. Thus, weomens tongues are made of the same flesh that their harts are, and speake as they thinke: Mens harts of the flesh that their tongues, and both dissemble, But prythy *Pan* be packing, thy words are as odious as thy sight, and we attend a sight which is more glorious, then the sunne rising.

⟨*Camp.* iv. 2. 24⟩
⟨*Gall.* iv. 2. 52–6⟩

Pan. What doth *Iupiter* come this waies?

Syb. No, but one that will make *Iupiter* blush as guilty of his vnchast iugglings; and *Iuno* dismaide, as wounded at her Maiesty. What our mother hath often tolde vs, and fame the whole world, cannot be concealed from thee; if it be, we wil tell thee, which may hereafter make thee surcease thy suite, for feare of her displeasure, and honour virginitye, by wondering at her vertues.

9 Ay *itals. first N.* 33 does *N.*

Pan. Say on sweete soule!

Syb. This way commeth the Queene of this Islande, the wonder of the world, and natures glory, leading affections in fetters, Virginities slaues: embracing mildnes with Iustice, Maiesties twinns. In whom nature hath imprinted beauty, not art paynted it; in whome wit hath bred learning, but not without labour; labour brought forth wisedome, but not without wonder. By her it is (*Pan*) that all our Carttes that thou seest, are laden with Corne, when in other countries they are filled with Harneys: that our horses are ledde with a whipp, theirs with a Launce: that our Riuers flow with fish, theirs with bloode: our cattel feede on pastures, they feede on pastures like cattel: One hande she stretcheth to Fraunce, to weaken Rebels; the other to Flaunders, to strengthen Religion; her heart to both Countries, her vertues to all. This is shee at whom Enuie hath shott all her arrowes, and now for anger broke her bow, on whom God hath laide all his blessinges, & we for ioy clappe our hands, heedlesse treason goeth hedlesse; and close trechery restlesse: Daunger looketh pale to beholde her Maiesty; & tyranny blusheth to heare of her mercy. *Iupiter* came into the house of poore *Baucis*, & she vouchsafeth to visite the bare Farmes of her subiects. We vpō our knees, wil entreat her to come into the valley, that our houses may be blessed with her presence, whose hartes are filled with quietnes by her gouernement. To her wee wish as many yeares, as our fieldes haue eares of corne, both infinite: and to her enemies, as many troubles, as the Wood hath leaues, all intollerable. But whist, here shee is, run downe *Pan* the hill in all hast, and though thou breake thy necke to giue our mother warning, it is no matter.

⟨*Cowdray*, p. 423; *Mid.* i. 1. 44–5⟩

⟨*Euph.* ii. 210 ll. 14–7⟩

⟨*Euph.* ii. 81 l. 9; *Camp.* Prol. 2; *Elveth.* p. 437⟩

Pan. No, giue me leaue to die with wondring, & trippe you to your mother. Here I yeelde all the flockes of these fields to your highnes: greene be the grasse where you treade: calme the water where you rowe: sweete the aire, where you breathe: long the life that you liue, happy the people that you loue: this is all I can wish. During your abode, no theft shalbe in the woods: in the fielde no noise, in the vallies no spies, my selfe will keepe all safe: that is all I can offer. And heare I breake my pipe, which *Apollo* could neuer make me doe; and follow that sounde which followes you.

⟨*Mid.* iv. 1. 24–5⟩

8 thon *Q* 17 hedlesse] heedless *Br.* 26 whist,] whilst *N. Br.* 34 fields *N. Br.*

At the bottome of the hill, entring into the hous CERES with her Nymphes in an haruest Cart, meete her Maiesty, hauing a Crowne of wheat-ears with a Iewell, and after this song, vttered the speech following.

Swel Ceres *now, for other Gods are shrinking,*
Pomona *pineth,*
Fruitlesse her tree;
Faire Phœbus *shineth*
Onely on mee.
Conceite doth make me smile whilst I am thinking,
How euery one doth read my story,
How euery bough on Ceres *lowreth,*
Cause heauens plenty on me powreth,
And they in leaues doe onely glory,
All other Gods of power bereuen,
Ceres *only Queene of heauen.*

With Robes and flowers let me be dressed,
Cynthia *that shineth,*
Is not so cleare,
Cynthia *declineth,*
When I appeere,
Yet in this Ile shee raignes as blessed,
And euery one at her doth wonder,
And in my eares still fonde Fame whispers,
Cynthia *shalbe* Ceres *Mistres,*
But first my Carre shall riue a sunder,
⟨*The cart parts in the middle.*⟩
Helpe Phœbus *helpe! my fall is suddaine;*
Cynthia, Cynthia, *must be soueraigne.*

GReater then *Ceres*, receiue *Ceres* Crowne, the ornament of my plenty, the honour of your peace, heere at your highnes feete, I lay downe my feined deity, which Poets haue honoured, truth contemned. To your Maiesty whome the heauens haue crowned

12 while *N.* 15 heauen *Eng Hel.* 28 in sunder. *Eng. Hel.*

with happines, the world with wonder, birth with dignitie, nature with perfection, we doe all Homage, accounting nothing ours but what comes frõ you. And this muche dare we promise for the Lady of the farme, that your presence hath added many daies to her life, by the infinite ioies shee conceyues in her heart, who presents your highnesse with this toye and this short praier, poured from her hart, that your daies may increase in happines, your happines haue no end till there be no more daies. ⟨*Cowdray*, P. 424⟩

⟨At Sudeley.⟩

At her Majesties entrance into the Castle, an olde Shepheard spake this saying:

Vouchsafe to heare a simple shephard: shephards and simplicity cannot part. Your Highnes is come into Cotshold, an uneven country, but a people that carry their thoughtes, levell with their fortunes; lowe spirites, but true harts; using plaine dealinge, once counted a jewell, nowe beggery. These hills afoorde nothing but cottages, and nothing can we present to your Highnes but shephards. The country healthy and harmeles; a fresh aier, where there are noe dampes, and where a black sheepe is a perilous beast; no monsters; we carry our harts at our tongues ends, being as far from dissembling as our sheepe from fiercenesse; and if in any thing we shall chance to discover our lewdnes, it will be in over boldnesse, in gazinge at you, who fils our harts with joye, and our eies with wonder. As for the honoreble Lord and Lady of the Castle, what happines they conceive, I would it were possible for themselves to expresse; then should your Majestie see, that al outwarde enterteinment were but a smoake rising from their inward affections, which as they cannot be seene, being in the hart, so can they not be smoothred, appearing in their countenance. This lock of wooll, Cotsholdes best fruite, and my poore gifte, I offer to your Highnes; in which nothing is to be esteemed, but the whitenes, virginities colour; nor to be expected but duetye, shephards religion. ⟨*End.* ii. 2. 154⟩

Sunday, Apollo running after Dapiine, a Shepheard following uttering this:

10 At . . . Apollo, my distresse, and (*p.* 478 *l.* 37) *supplied from N., the leaf B being wanting in Q* 25 themselves] them *Br.* 28–9 they cannot be *Br.*

Nescis temeraria ; nescis
Quem fugias ; ideoque fugis.

⟨*Saph.* ii. 4. 46⟩

A short tale, but a sorrowfull ; a just complaint, but remedelesse. I loved (for shephardes have their Saints), long I loved (for Beauty bindeth prentices), a Nymph most faire, and as chast as faire, yet not more faire then I unhappy. *Apollo*, who calleth himselfe a God (a title among men, when they will commit injuries ⟨to⟩ tearme themselves Gods), pursued my Daphne with bootelesse love, and me with endlesse hate ; her he woed, with faire wordes, the flatteries of men ; with great gifts, the sorceries of Gods ; with cruell threates, the terrefiing of weake damosels. *Nec prece nec pretio nec movet ille minis.* Me he terrified with a monstrous word, metamorphosing, saying that he would turne me into a woolfe, and of a shepheard make me a sheepe-biter ; or into a cockatrice ; and cause mine eies, which gazed on her, to blind hers, which made mine dazell ; or to a molde, that I should heare his flattering speech, but never behold her faire face : *Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ ?* Sometimes would he allure her with sweete musicke, but harmony is harsh when it is lusts broaker ; often with promise of immortality, but chastetye is of itselfe immortall ; ever pursuing her with swiftnes, but Vertue tying wings to the thoughts of virgins, swiftnes becommeth surbated. Thus lived he twixt love and jelousy ; I twixt love and danger ; she twixt feare and vertue. At last and alas, this day, I feare of all my joyes the last, I cannot as a Poet (who describing the morning, and before he tell what it is make it night) stand on the time ; Love coyneth no circumloquutions ; but by the sunne, a Shepheardes diall, which goeth as true as our harts, it was four of the clocke, when she, flying from his treason, was turned into a tree ; which made me stand as though I had bene turned into a stone, and *Apollo* so enchanted as wounded with her losse, or his owne crueltye : the fingers, which were wonte to play on the lute, found no other instrument then his owne face ; the goulden haire, the pride of his heade, pulde off in lockes, and stampt at his feete ; his sweete voice, turned to howling ; and there sitteth he (long may he sorrowe) wondring and weeping, and kissing the lawrell, his late love, and mine ever. Pleaseth your Majestye to viewe the melancholy of *Apollo*, my distresse, and *Daphnes* mischance, it may be the sight of so rare perfectiõ, will make him die for griefe, which I wish, or *Daphne* returne to her olde shape, which must be your wounder ;

⟨*Saph.* ii. 1. 130⟩
⟨*Theob.* p. 417⟩

25 *the careless grammar is in Q* 39 wonder *Br.*

if neither, it shal content me that I haue reuealed my griefes, and that you may beholde his.

This speech ended, her Maiesty sawe APOLLO with the tree, hauing on the one side one that sung, on the other one that plaide.

SIng you, plaie you, but sing and play my truth,
This tree my Lute, these sighes my notes of ruth:
The Lawrell leafe for euer shall bee greene,
And chastety shalbe Apolloes *Queene.*
If gods maye dye, here shall my tombe be plaste,
And this engrauen, 'Fonde Phœbus, Daphne *chaste.'*

After these verses, the song.

MY hart and tongue were twinnes, at once conceaued; ⟨*Camp.* iv. 2. 24 sqq.;
The eldest was my hart, borne dumbe by destenie, *Poems*, passim⟩
The last my tongue, of all sweete thoughts bereaued,
Yet strung and tunde, to play harts harmonie.
Both knit in one, and yet asunder placed,
What hart would speake, the tongue doeth still discouer;
What tongue doth speake, is of the hart embraced,
And both are one to make a new found louer:
New founde, and onely founde in Gods and Kings, ⟨*Camp.* ii. 2. 80, 90–3⟩
Whose words are deedes, but deedes nor words regarded:
Chaste thoughts doe mount, and she with swiftest wings,
My loue with paine, my paine with losse rewarded:
Engraue vpon this tree, Daphnes *perfection,*
That neither men nor gods, can force affection. ⟨*End.* v. 3. 232⟩

The song ended, the tree riued, and DAPHNE issued out, APOLLO ranne after, with these words.

NImpha mane, per me concordant carmina neruis.
Faire Daphne staye, too chaste because too faire,
Yet fairer in mine eies, because so chaste,
And yet because so chaste, must I despaire?
And to despaire, I yeelded haue at last.

12 Fonde . . . chaste] *inv. com. suppl. N.* 23 nor] not *Eng. Hel.* 1614
24 she] flie *Eng. Hel.* 27 *this line in inv. com. N. Br.*

Shepheard possesse thy loue, for me too cruell,
Possesse thy loue, thou knowest not how to measure,
A dunghill cock doeth often find a Iewell,
Enioying that, he knowes not to be treasure.
When broomy bearde, to sweepe thy lips presume,
When on thy necke, his rough hewen armes shall moue,
And gloate on thee with eies that drizell reume,
When that his toothlesse mouth shall call thee loue,
Noght will I saie of him, but pittie thee,
That beauty might, but would no wiser bee.

Daphne running to her Maiestie vttred this.

I stay, for whether should chastety fly for succour, but to the Queene of chastety. By thee was I enterred in a tree, that by crafte, way might be made to lust, by your highnes restored, that by vertue, there might be assurance in honor: these tables, to set downe your prayses, long since, *Sibillas* prophesies, I humbly present to your Maiesty, not thinking, that your vertues can be deciphered in so slight a volume, but noted; the whole world is drawen in a small mappe, *Homers Illiades* in a nutshel, and the riches of a Monarch, in a few cyphers; and so much ods, betwext explaining of your perfections, and the touching, as is betwixt painting and thinking, the one, running ouer a little table in a whole day, the other ouer the whole world in a minute. With this vouchsafe a poore virgins wish, that often wish for good husbands, mine, only for the endlesse prosperity of my soueraigne.

⟨*Cowdray*, p. 425; *Petition*, p. 64⟩

The verses, written in the tables which were giuen to her Maiesty,

Let fame describe your rare perfection,
Let nature paint your beauties glory,
Let loue engraue your true affection,
Let wonder write your vertues story,
By them and Gods must you be blazed,
Sufficeth men they stand amazed.

4 to *om. N* (1788) 9 Nought *N. Br.* 13 whither *Br. N* (1823) 14 I was *Br.* 17 prayses long since Sibillas prophesies I *Q*: *I follow N* (1823): *comma only at* since *and* prophesies *Br.* 22 the *bef.* explaining *Br.*

The thirde day shoulde haue beene presented to her Maiestie, the high Constable of Cotsholde, but the weather so vnfit, that it was not. But this it should haue beene, one clothed all in sheepes-skins, face & all, spake this by his interpreter.

MAy it please your highnes, this is the great Constable and commandadore of Cotsholde; he speaks no language, but the Rammish tongue; such sheepishe gouernours there are, that can say no more to a messenger then he, (⟨*here the* Constable *utters*⟩ *Bea!*) this therfore, as signifying his duety to your Maiestye, and al our desires, I am commanded to be his interpreter. Our shepheards starre, pointing directly to Cotshold, and in Cotshold, to Sudley, made vs expect some wonder, and of the eldest, aske some counsel: it was resolued by the ancientst, that such a one should come, by whome all the shepheards should haue their flocks in safety, & their own liues, all the coũtry quietnes, & the whole world astonishment: our Constable commaunds this day to be kept holliday, all our shepheards are assembled, and if shepheards pastimes may please, how ioyful would they be if it would please you to see them; which if you vouchsafe not, as pastimes too meane for your Maiestie, they meane to call this day the shepheards blacke day; in all humilitie we entreat, that you would cast an eie to their rude deuices, and an eare to their harshe wordes, and if nothing happen to be pleasing, the amends is, nothing shalbe tedious.

After this speech her Maiesty was to be brought amonge the shepheards amonge whome was a King and a Queene to be chosen and thus they beganne.

MELIBÆUS. NISA. CUTTER OF COOTSHOLDE.

Mel. CVT the Cake: who hath the beane, shalbe King; and where the peaze is, shee shalbe Queene.

Nis. I haue the peaze, and must be Queene.

8 commander *Br.* 10–1 he, (Bea), this *Q*: *N. italicizes* (Bea): he (baa) (*ital.*). This *Br.* 12 interpreter, or *Q N. Br.* 28 a^2 *om. Br.*

Mel. I the beane and King, I must commaunde.

Nis. Not so; the Queene shall and must commaunde, for I haue often heard of a King that coulde not commaunde his subiects, and of a Queene that hath commaunded Kings.

Mel. I yeeld, yet is it within compasse of my authoritie to aske questions and first I will beginne with you in loue, I meane Shepheardes loue, for I will not meddle with Gentlefolkes loue: which is most constant, the man or the woman?

Nis. It is no question, no more then if you should aske, whether on a steepe hill, a square stone, or a globe stoode most steddye.

Mel. Both louing, which is most louing?

Nis. The woman, if she haue her right; the man, if he be his owne Iudge.

Mel. Why doth the man euer woe the woman, the woman neuer the man?

Nis. Because men are most amorous and least chaste; women carelesse of fonde affections, and, when they embrace them, fearfull. But vnlesse your questions were wiser, I commaunde you to silence. You sirra, that sit as though your wits were a woole-gathering, will you haue a question, or a commaundement?

Cut. No question of a Queene, for they are harde to be answered, but anie commaundement, for that must be obeyed.

Nis. Then sing. And you sir, a question, or commaundment?

Do. A commaundment I; and glad that I am!

Nis. Then play.

Do. I haue plaide so long with my fingers, that I haue beaten out of play al my good fortunes.

The Song.

⟨*Euph.* ii. 114 ll. 16–7; *Endim.* v. 3. 28⟩

Hearbes, wordes, and stones, all maladies haue cured,
Hearbes, wordes, and stones, I vsed when I loued.
Hearbes smels, words, winde, stones hardnes haue procured;
By stones, nor wordes, nor hearbes her minde was moued.
I askt the cause: this was a womans reason,
Mongst hearbes are weedes, and thereby are refused;
Deceite, as well as truth, speakes wordes in season,
False stones by foiles haue many one abused.

⟨*Loves Met.* iv. 1. 11–2⟩

I sight, and then shee saide my fancie smoaked;
I gaz'd, shee saide my lookes were follies glauncing;

1 cammaunde *Q*

I sounded deade, shee saide my loue was choaked;
I started vp, shee saide my thoughtes were dauncing.
O, sacred loue! if thou haue any Godhead,
Teach other rules to winne a maidenheade.

Mel. Well song, & wel plaide, seldome so well amonge shepheards: but call me the Cutter of Cotsholde, that lookes as though he onlie knew his leripoope; amorous he is, and wise, carying a sheepes eie in a calfs heade. ⟨*Saph.* i. 3. 6; *M. Bom.* i. 3. 128⟩

Nis. Will you 3 questions, or 3 commaundments?

Cut. Halfe a dozen of eache, My wits worke like new beare, and they will breake my head, vnlesse it vent at the mouthe. ⟨*M. Bomb.* ii. 1. 117–20⟩

Nis. Sing.

Cut. I haue forsworne that since cuckow-time; for I heard one sing all the sommer, and in the winter was all balde.

Nis. Play on the Lute.

Cut. Taylers crafte: a knocke on the knuckles wil make one faste a fortnight; my belly and back shall not be retainers to my fingers.

Nis. What question shall I aske?

Cut. Any, so it be of loue.

Nis. Are youe amorous? ⟨*M. Bomb.* i. 1. 24–6⟩

Cut. No, but fantasticall.

Nis. But what is loue?

Cut. A single Accidens. In loue there are eight partes. Ioy, Hope, Truth, Cõstãcy — all tolerable. Sorrow, Anger, Ielousie, Dispaire — all intolerable.

These containe all, till you come to the rules; and then in loue, there are three concords.

1. The first, betwixt a Bacheler, and a maide,
2. The seconde, betwixt a man and his wife,
3. The thirde, betwixt any he and she, that loueth stragling.

Nis. The foole bleeds, it is time to stopp his vaine, for hauing wet his foote, he careth not how deepe he wades. Let vs attẽd that, which we most expect. the starr, that directs vs hither, who hath in Almanacke? ⟨*Euph.* ii. 6 l. 11, 105 l. 12⟩

Cut. What meane you, a starmonger, the quipper of the firma-

26 partes] parties *N.* 35 expect: The starr . . . hither: Who hath an almanac? *Br. perh. rightly*

ment, here is one. I euer carrie it, to knowe the hye waies to euerie good towne, the faires, and the faire weather.

Mel. Let me see it. The seuenth of September, happines was borne into the world; it may be the eleuenth is some wõder. The moone at the ful, tis true, for *Cynthia* neuer shined so bright; the twelfth the weather inclined to moisture & shepheards deuises to dryenes; the thirteenth, sommer goeth from hence, the signe in *virgo, viuat clarissima virgo.* The diseases shalbe melancholies, some proceeding of necessitie, some of superfluity; many shalbe studying how to spend what they haue, more beating their braines to get what they want. Malice shalbe more infectious then the pestilence, and Drones more fauoured then Ants; as for Bees, they shal haue but their laboure for their paines, and when their combes be ful, they shalbe stilde; the warre shal be, twixt hemlocke and honie. At foure of the clocke this day, shal appeare the worldes wonder that leades England into euery land, and brings all lands into England.

⟨*Euph.* i. 194 l. 17; *Saph.* Prol. at Court; Poem on *Bee*, vol. iii. p. 495⟩

Then espying her Maiesty, he & al the shepheards kneeling, concluded thus.

This is the day, this the houre, this the starre: pardon dread Soueraigne, poore shepheards pastimes, and bolde shepheards presumptions. We call our selues Kings and Queenes to make mirth; but when we see a King or Queene, we stand amazed. The sunne warmes the earth, yet looseth no brightnes; but sheweth more force, & Kings names that fall vpon shepheards, loose no dignity, but breede more feare. Their pictures are drawen in colours, and in brasse their portraytures engrauen. At chests, there are Kings, and Queenes, & they of wood. Shepheards are no more, nor no lesse, wooddē. In Theaters, artificers haue plaide Emperours, yet the next day forgottē, neither their dueties nor occupations. For our boldenes in borrowing their names, and in not seeing your Maiesty for our blindnes, we offer these shepheards weedes, which, if your Maiestye vouchsafe at any time to weare, it shall bring to our hearts comfort, and happines to our labours.

⟨*Euph.* ii. 39 ll. 6–7; *Harefield.* p. 494 l. 6⟩

8 clarissimæ *Q* 26 Their] The *N.* 27 chess *Br. N* (1823)

⟨At Rycote⟩

The 28. of September, her Maiesty went frõ Oxforde to Ricort, where an olde gentleman, sometimes a souldier, deliuered this speech.

VOVCHSAFE dread soueraigne, after so many smooth speeches of Muses, to heare a rough hewen tale of a souldier: wee vse not with wordes to amplifie our conceites, and to pleade faith by figures, but by deedes to shew the loyalty of our harts, and to make it good with our liues. I meane not to recount any seruice, all proceeding of duety, but to tell your Maiesty, that I am past al seruice, saue only deuotion. My horse, mine armour, my shielde, my sworde, the riches of a young souldier, and an olde souldiers reliques, I should here offer to your highnesse; but my foure boies haue stollen them from me, vowing themselues to armes, and leauing mee to my prayers: fortune giueth successe, fidelitye courage, chance cannot blemish faith, nor trueth preuẽt destinye; whateuer happẽ, this is their resolution, and my desire, that their liues maye be imployed wholy in your seruice, and their deathes bee their vowes sacrifice. Their deathes, the rumour of which hath so often affrighted the Crowe my wife, that her hart hath bene as blacke as her feathers. I know not whether it be affection or fondnes; but the crowe thinketh her owne birds the fairest, because to her they are dearest. What ioies we both conceiue, neither cã expresse; sufficeth they be, as your vertues, infinite. And although nothing be more vnfit to lodge your Maiestye, then a crowes neste, yet shall it be most happy to vs, that it is by your highnesse made a Phœnix neste. *Qui color ater erat, nunc est contrarius atro.* Vouchsafe this trifle, and with this my heart, the greatest gift I can offer, and the chiefest, that I ought.

⟨*Quarrendon*, p. 469 l. 25⟩

A faire gowne.

On Sunday, her Maiesty going to the gardẽ, receiued with sweete Musicke of sundry sorts, the olde Gentleman meeting her, saide thus.

1 Ricott *Br.*: Rycot *N* (1823) 9 deedes, *Q* 18 happen. This *N. Br.* 34 thus] this *N. Br.*

PArdon, dread Soueraigne, the greatnes of my presumption, who hauing nothing to say, must follow stil to wonder, but saft, some newes out of Irelande.

A letter deliuered by an Irish lacq$_3$, in which was inclosed, a Darte of gold, set with Diamonds, & after the letter read, deliuered to her Maiestye, with this motto in Irish, *I flye onely for my soueraigne.*

MY deuty humbly remembred. It is saide, the winde is vnconstant: I am gladde it is, otherwise had not I heard that, which I most wished, and least looked for. The winde blowing stifly in the weste, on the suddaine turned easterly, by which meanes I receiued letters, that her Maiestie woulde bee at Rycort; nothing could happen to mee more happy, vnlesse it were my selfe to be there to doe my duety. But I am a stranger in mine owne countrye, and almost vnknowen to my best frends, onely remembred by her Maiestie, whose late fauours haue made me more than fortunate. I should accoũt my ten years absence a flatt banishment, were I not honoured in her Maiesties seruice, which hath bound all my affections, prentises to patience. In all humility, I desire this Dart to be deliuered, an Irish weapon, and this wish of an English hearte, that in whose hart faith is not fastened, a Darte may. I can scarce write for ioy; and it is likely, this lacque cannot speak for wondring. If he doe not, this is all that I should say, that my life is my dueties bondman, dutie my faiths soueraigne.

The Dart deliuered, a skipper comming frõ Flaunders, deliuered another letter, with a key of golde, set with Diamonds, with this motto in dutch, *I onelie open to you.*

MY duety remẽbred, The enemy of late hath made many brauea-does, euen to the gates of Ostend, but the successe was onely a florish. My selfe walking on the Rãparts, to ouer see the Sentenels, descryed a pink, of whome I enquired, where the Court was: hee saide hee knew not, but that the 28. of Septẽber, her

13 Ricott *Br.* 15 there to] thereto *Q* 18 accũot *Q* 34 28th. *N.*: twenty-eigth *Br.*

Maiesty would be at Rycort. I was ouer-ioyed, & in making haste to remẽber my duety, I had almost forgot it, for I was shipping my selfe for England, with this Skipper; but to come without leaue, might be to returne without welcõe. To signifie that my hart is there, I most humbly entreat, that this Key may be presẽted, the Key of Ostende, & Ostend the Key of Flaunders. The wards are made of true harts; trechery cañot counterfeit the Key, nor treason her selfe picke the locke. None shal turne it: but whõ her Maiesty cõmands, none can. For my selfe, I can but wish, all happines to her highnes, & any occasiõ, that what my toung deliuers, my bloud may seale, the end of my seruice, that in her seruice my life may end.

The Key deliuered, a french page came with three other letters, the one writen to the lady Squemish, which beeing mistaken by a wrong superscription, was read before her Maiestie. In the second was inclosed a sword of golde, set with Diamonds and Rubyes, with this motto in french, *Drawen onelie in your defence.* In the thirde was inclosed a trunchiõ set with Diamõds, with this motto in Spanish, *I doe not commaunde but vnder you.*

A letter, written by a Souldier to his Mistris the Lady Squemish.

FAire Lady and sweete Mistris, I seldome write, because I write not well; if I speake, you say I chatter, because I speake so fast; & when I am silent, you thinke me carelesse. You say loue cannot be in soldiers: I sweare it is; only this the differẽce, that we proue it by the sword, others, by their Sonets; theirs inke, blacke for colde, ours bloud, redde for heate. Oftẽ haue you tolde me, that I know not what loue is, & oftẽ haue I tolde you, that this it is, that which makes the head ake, and the hart to; the eies ielous, and the eares to; the liuer blacke, & the Splen to; the vaines shrinke, & the purse to. Wit is but loues wierdrawer, making of a short passion an endlesse perswasion, yet no more mettall. You

⟨*Euph.* i. p. 254⟩

1 Ricott *Br.* 21 this] his *Q*

obiect, that I haue many Mistrisses: I answere, you haue ten times as many seruants, and if you should picke a quarrel, why should not I bring my Mistresses into the field against your seruants? But inconstancy is a souldiers scarre, it is true; but the wound came by constancie. What a patient vertue is staidnes! like a nail in a dore, rusty, because neuer remoued. I cannot be so superstitious as these nice louers, who make the pax of their mistris hãds: tis flat popery. I would not purchase loue in fee simple, a lease of two years to me were tedious; I meane not to haue my tongue ringed at my Mistris eare like a Iewel, alwaies whispering of loue; I am no earewigg: nor can I endure still to gaze on her face, as though my eies were bodkins to sticke in her haire. Let me haue my loue answered, and you shall finde me faithfull; in which if you make delaies, I cannot be patient: the winde calls me away, and with the winde, awaie shall my affections.

The second Letter.

MY duetie to your L. remembred &c. Being readie to take shipping, I heard that her Maiesty would honor Ricort with her presence, which wrought no smal cõtent; but to haue made it ful, I wished I might haue seene it. In this place is no choise of anie thing, whereby I might signifie my dutifull affection, but that which a Souldier maketh his chiefest choise, a sword, which most humblie I desire to haue presented to her highnes. With this protestation pourde from my hart, that in her seruice I will spende the bloud of my hart. Eloquence & I, am vowde enemies; loialty & I, sworne brothers: what my words cannot effect, my sworde shall.

The thirde Letter from the Sea coast.

MY duetie humbly remembred: the same time that I receiued letters that her Maiesty would be at Ricort, the winde serued for Britaigne: I was ouer ioied with both, yet stoode in a mamering whether I should take the opportunity of the winde, which I long expected, or ride poste to do my duetie, which I most desired: necessitye cõtroled affection, that bid me vnlesse I could keepe the winde in a bagge, to vse the windes whẽ they blew. I obaide, yet wishing that they would turne for a while, to serue my

17 Ladyship *N. Br.* 18 Ricott *Br.* 25 avowed *Br.* 29 Ricott *Br.*
30 Britain *Br.*: Bretaigne *N* (1823) 34 whẽ] where *N.*

turne, being vnfurnished of al fit presents. I would haue this my excuse that cheapside is not in my Shippe, & therefore haue nothing to offer but my Trunchiõ the honour which I receiued of her Maiestie, by whom I am only to be commaunded and euer, else let me be only miserable and euer.

These Letters read, and the presents deliuered, the olde man kneeling downe ended thus.

THat my sonnes haue remembred their dueties, it is my harts comfort; that your Maiestie accepteth thẽ, their harts heauen. If fortune, & fidelitie had bin twinnes, they might haue beene as rich, as faithfull; but this is the Iubyle of my life, that their faithes are without spot, and your Maiesty I hope, confident, without suspition. Among my ioies, there is one griefe, that my daughter, the Mistris of a Moole hil, hath so much forgottẽ, that most she should remember, duetie. I doubt not her excuse, because shee is a woman; but feare the truth of it, because it must be to her soueraigne. For my selfe, my crowe, and all our birds, this I promise, that they are all as faithfull in their feathers, as they were in their shels.

This being done, there was sweete musicke, and two sonnets; which ended, her Maiesty went in.

On mũday morning, as her Maiesty was to take horse, a messenger, comming out of Iersey, and bringing a Daysie of golde, set with Rubies, deliuered it to her Maiesty with this speech.

AT length, though verie late, I am come, from the Ladie of the Moold hill, sent long since, but the passage troublesome; at euerie miles end, a louer, at euery sentence end a lie. I staide to heare the conclusions, and found nutbrowne gyrles to be cheapned; but none to be bought but the amyable. Thus much for my excuse: now for my Mistris, who hearing that your Maiesty would enter this cabbine, was astonished with ioie, and doubt, ioie, for so ⟨*Gall.* i. 4. 14⟩

1 turne. Being . . . presents, *N. Br.* 4 euer,] *the comma at* commaunded *Q*
12 faithes] fathers *N.*: father's *Br.*

great honour done to her father, doubt, by what meanes shee might shew her duety to your Maiesty. At the last, sitting vpon the top of a moole hill, she espied a red Daysie, the fairest flower that barren place doth yeeld, which, with all humilitie, she presents to your Maiestie; it hath no sweetenes, yet manie vertues; her hart no tongue, but infinite affections. In you, she saith, are all vertues, and towardes you all her affections.

FINIS.

ENTERTAINMENT AT HAREFIELD.

July–August, 1602.

Copy of some Papers belonging to the late Sir Roger Newdigate, Baronet (7 *pages folio*), *lettered on the back, by a later hand,* '*Entertainment of Q. Eliz. at Harefield, by the Countesse of Derby.*'

⟨I⟩

After the Queene entered (out of the high way) into the Deamesne grounde of Harefielde, near the Dayrie howse, she was mett with 2 persons, the one representing a BAYLIFE, the other a DAYRIE-MAIDE, with the Speech. Her Majesty being on horsebacke, stayed under a tree (because it rayned) to heare it.

B. Why, how now, Joane! are you heere? Gods my life, what make you heere, gaddinge and gazinge after this manner? You come to buy gape-seede, doe you? Wherefore come you abroade now I faith can you tell?

Joa. I come abroade to welcome these Strangers.

B. Strangers? how knew you there would come Strangers?

Jo. All this night I could not sleepe, dreaming of greene rushes; and yesternight the chatting of the pyes, and the chirkinge of the frisketts, did foretell as much; and, besides that, all this day my lefte eare glowed, and that is to me (let them say what they wil) allwaies a signe of Strangers, if it be in Summer; marye, if it be in the Winter, 'tis a signe of anger. But what makes you in this company, I pray you? ⟨*Euph.* ii. 161 l. 16; *Saph.* ii. 4. 98⟩ ⟨*Camp.* Prol. l. 3⟩

B. I make the way for these Strangers, which the Way-maker himself could not doe; for it is a way was never passed before. Besides, the Mrs. of this faire company, though she know the way to all men's harts, yet she knowes the way but to few men's howses, except she love them very well, I can tell you; and therefore I myselfe, without any comission, have taken upon me to conduct them to the house.

3—P. 498 (FINIS.) reprinted from Nichols' *Progresses* (1823), iii. 586–95. See Notes, pp. 533–4 4 '*The Speeches, &c., are in a hand a little later than the time of Queen Elizabeth*' (*Churton*)

Jo. The house? which house? do you remember yourselfe? which way goe you?

B. I goe this way, on the right hand. Which way should I goe?

Jo. You say true, and you're a trim man; but I faith I'll talke noe more to you, except you ware wyser. I pray you hartely, 'forsooth, come neare the house, and take a simple lodginge with vs to-night; for I can assuere you that yonder house that he talks of is but a Pigeon-house, which is very little if it were finisht, and yet very little of it is finisht. And you will belieue me, vpon my life, Lady, I saw Carpenters and Bricklayers and other Workmen about it within less then these two howers. Besides, I doubt my Mr. and Mrs. are not at home; or, if they be, you must make your owne provision, for they have noe provision for such Strangers. You should seeme to be Ladies; and we in the country have an old saying, that 'halfe a pease a day will serve a Lady.' I know not what you are, neither am I acquainted with your dyet; but, if you will goe with me, you shall haue cheare for a Lady: for first you shall haue a dayntie sillibub; next a messe of clowted creame; stroakings, in good faith, redd cowes milk, and they say in London that's restorative: you shall have greene cheeses and creame. (I'll speake a bould word) if the Queene herself (God save her Grace) ⟨were here⟩, she might be seen to eat of it. Wee will not greatly bragge of our possets, but we would be loath to learne to praise: and if you loue frute, forsooth, wee haue jenitings, paremayns, russet coates, pippines, able-johns, and perhaps a pareplum, a damsone, I or an apricocke too, but that they are noe dainties this yeare; and therefore, I pray, come neare the house, and wellcome heartily doe soe.

B. Goe to, gossip; your tongue must be running. If my Mrs. should heare of this, I faith shee would give you little thankes I can tell you, for offeringe to draw so faire a flight from her Pigeon-house (as you call it) to your Dayrie-house.

Jo. Wisely, wisely, brother Richard; I faith as I would vse the matter, I dare say shee would giue me great thankes: for you know my Mrs. charged me earnestly to retaine all idele hearvest-folkes that past this way; and my meaning was, that, if I could hold them all this night and to-morrow, on Monday morning to carry them into the fields; and to make them earne their entertaynment well and

22 [were here] *suppl. Churton*

thriftily; and to that end I have heere a *Rake* and *Forke*, to deliver to the best Huswife in all this company.

B. Doe soe then: deliver them to the best Huswife in all this company; for wee shall haue as much vse of her paines and patience there as here. As for the dainties that you talke of, if you have any such, you shall do well to send them; and as for these Strangers, sett thy hart at rest, Joane; they will not rest with ⟨thee⟩ this night, but will passe on to my Mr. house.

Joa. Then, I pray take this *Rake* and *Forke* with you; but I am ashamed, and woe at my hart, you should goe away so late. And I pray God you repent you not, and wish yourselves here againe, when you finde you haue gone further and fared worsse.

When her Maiestie was alighted from her horse, and ascended 3 steps neare to the entering into the house, a carpet and chaire there sett for her; PLACE and TIME present themselves, and vsed this Dialogue.

PLACE *in a partie-colored roobe, like the brick house.*
TIME *with yeollow haire, and in a green roabe, with a hower glasse, stopped, not runninge.* ⟨*Tilt-yard*, p. 414 l. 32⟩

P. Wellcome, good *Time.*

T. Godden, my little pretie priuat *Place.*

P. Farewell, godbwy *Time*; are you not gone? doe you stay heere? I wonder that *Time* should stay any where; what's the cause?

T. If thou knewest the cause, thou wouldst not wonder; for I stay to entertaine the Wonder of this time; wherein I would pray thee to ioyne mee, if thou wert not too little for her greatnes; for it weare as great a miracle for thee to receive her, as to see the Ocean shut up in a little creeke, or the circumference shrinke vnto the pointe of the center.

P. Too little! by that reason she should rest in noe *place*, for noe *place* is great ynough to receive her. Too little! I haue all this day entertayned the Sunn, which, you knowe, is a great and glorious Guest: hee's but euen now gone downe yonder hill; and now he is gone, methinks, if Cinthia her selfe would come in his place, the place that contaynde him should not be too little to receave her.

T. You say true, and I like your comparison; for the Guest that wee are to entertaine doth fill all places with her divine vertues, as

1 '2 Juells' *note in original MS.* (*Churton*) 7 [thee] *suppl. Churton*

the Sunn fills the World with the light of his beames. But say, poore *Place*, in what manner didst thou entertaine the Sunn?

P. I received his glory, and was filled with it: but, I must confesse, not according to the proportion of his greatnes, but according to the measure of my capacitie; his bright face (me- thought) was all day turnd vpon mee; nevertheless his beames in infinite abundance weere disperst and spread vpon other places.

⟨*Euph.* ii. 39 ll. 6–7; *Sud.* p. 484⟩

T. Well, well; this is noe time for vs to entertaine one another, when wee should ioine to entertaine her. Our entertaynment of this Goddesse will be much alike; for though her selfe shall eclipse her soe much, as to suffer her brightnes to bee shadowed in this obscuere and narrow *Place*, yet the sunne beames that follow her, the traine I meane that attends vpon her, must, by the necessitie of this *Place*, be deuided from her. Are you ready, *Place*? *Time* is ready.

P. Soe it should seeme indeed, you are so gaye, fresh, and cheerfull. You are the present *Time*, are you not? then what neede you make such haste? Let me see, your wings are clipt, and, for ought I see, your hower-glasse runnes not.

T. My wings are clipt indeed, and it is her hands hath clipt them: and, tis true, my glasse runnes not: indeed it hath bine stopt a longe time, it can never rune as long as I waite upon this Mris. I ⟨am⟩ her *Time*; and *Time* weare very vngratefull, if it should not euer stand still, to serue and preserue, cherish and delight her, that is the glory of her time, and makes the *Time* happy wherein she liueth.

P. And doth not she make *Place* happy as well as *Time*? What if she make thee a contynewall holy-day, she makes me a perpetuall sanctuary. Doth not the presence of a Prince make a Cottage a Court, and the presence of the Gods make euery place Heauen? But, alas, my littlenes is not capable of that happines that her great grace would impart vnto me: but, weare I as large as there harts that are mine Owners, I should be the fairest *Pallace* in the world; and weere I agreeable to the wishes of there hartes, I should in some measure resemble her sacred selfe, and be in the outward frount exceeding faire, and in the inward furniture exceeding rich.

⟨*Euph.* ii. 39 l. 28 and the repeated allusions to Baucis and Jupiter⟩

T. In good time do you remember the hearts of your Owners; for, as I was passing to this place, I found this *Hart*, which, as my

23 [am] *suppl. Churton* 38 'A Diamond' *orig. MS.* (*Churton*)

daughter *Truth* tould mee, was stolne by owne of the Nymphes from one of the seruants of this Goddesse; but her guiltie conscience enforming her that it did belong only of right vnto her that is Mrs. of all harts in the world, she cast ⟨it⟩ from her for this time: and *Oportunity*, finding it, deliuered it vnto me. Heere, *Place*, take it thou, and present it vnto her as a pledge and mirror of their harts that owe thee.

P. It is a mirror indeed, for so it is transparent. It is a cleare hart, you may see through it. It hath noe close corners, noe darkenes, noe unbutifull spott in it. I will therefore presume the more boldly to deliver it; with this assurance, that *Time*, *Place*, *Persons*, and all other circumstances, doe concurre alltogether in biddinge her wellcome.

⟨II⟩

The humble Petition of a guiltlesse Lady, delivered in writing vpon Munday Morninge, when the ⟨robe⟩ of rainbowes was presented to the Q. by the La. WALSINGHAM.

Beauties rose, and Vertues booke,
Angells minde, and Angells looke,
To all Saints and Angells deare,
Clearest Maiestie on earth,
Heauen did smile at your faire birth,
And since your daies have been most cleare.

Only poore St. *Swythen* now
Doth heare you blame his cloudy brow:
But that poore St. deuoutly sweares,
It is but a tradition vaine
That his much weeping causeth raine
For Sᵗˢ in heauen shedd no teares:

But this he saith, that to his feast
Commeth Iris, an unbidden guest,
In her moist roabe of collers gay;

4 [it] *suppl. Churton* 15 [robe] *suppl. on Churton's suggestion: see next note* 16 *In the MS., reprinted from the Conway Papers by P. Cunningham (Shak. Soc. Papers, 1845, vol. ii. art. ix) these verses are thus described in the margin:* The humble peticõn of a giltless sainte wherewᵗʰ yᵉ gowne of rainebowes was pᵗsented to hir Maᵗʸ in hir progresse. 1602. 21 Heavens *Conway MS.* 25 that] he *Conway MS.* 30 comes *Conway MS.*

And she cometh, she ever staies,
For the space of fortie daies,
And more or lesse raines euery day.

But the good S^t^, when once he knew,
This raine was like to fall on you,
If S^ts^ could weepe, he had wept as much
As when he did the Lady leade
That did on burning iron tread,
To Ladies his respect is such.

He gently first bids Iris goe
Unto the Antipodes below,
But shee for that more sullen grew.
When he saw that, with angry looke,
From her her rayneie roabes he tooke,
Which heere he doth present to you.

It is fitt it should with you remaine,
For you know better how to raine.
Yet if it raine still as before,
S^t^ Swythen praies that you would guesse,
That Iris doth more roabes possesse,
And that you should blame him no more.

⟨III⟩

At her Maiesties departure from Harefield, PLACE, attyred in black mourninge aparell, used this farewell followinge:

P. Sweet Maiestie, be pleased to looke vpon a poor Wydow, mourning before your Grace. I am this *Place*, which at your comming was full of ioy: but now at your departure am as full of sorrow. I was then, for my comfort, accompanied with the present cheerful *Time*; but now he is to depart with you; and, blessed as he is, must euer fly before you: But, alas! I haue noe wings, as *Time*

1 And when she comes *Conway MS.*, *a reading which Cunningham 'infinitely preferred'* 2 full *bef.* space *Conway MS.* 6 s^nt^ *Conway MS.* he *om. Conway MS.* 12 that] this *Conway MS.* 14 roabe *Conway MS.* 16 It is] Tis *Conway MS.* 17 raine] raigne *Conway MS.* 21 would *Conway MS.* 24 *Lodge printed this single speech as No.* cccliii *of his 'Illustrations' from the Talbot Papers, vol. K. fol.* 43. *It was there endorsed* The Copy of a speech delivered to her Majesty, at her departure from Harvile, the Lord Keeper's house, Aug. 1602: *and headed* Place, attired in black, gives the Queen this at farewell. 27 as *bef.* I *Lodge* 28 is to] must *Lodge*

hath. My heauines is such, that I must stand still, amazed to see so greate happines so sone bereft mee. Oh, that I could remoue with you, as other circumstances can! *Time* can goe with you, *Persons* can goe with you; they can moue like Heaven; but I, like dull Earth (as I am indeed), must stand vnmovable. I could wish myselfe like the inchaunted Castle of Loue, to hould you heere for euer, but that your vertues would dissolve all my inchauntment. Then what remedy? As it is against the nature of an Angell to be circumscribed in *Place*, so it is against the nature of *Place* to haue the motion of an Angell. I must stay forsaken and desolate. You may goe with maiestie, joy, and glory. My only suyte, before you goe, is that you will pardon the close imprisonment which you have suffred euer since your comminge, imputinge it not to mee, but St. Swythen, who of late hath raysed soe many stormes, as I was faine prouide this *Anchor*, for you, when I did vnderstand you would put into this creeke. But now, since I perceaue this harbour is too little for you, and you will hoyste sayle and be gone, I beseech you take this Anchor with you. And I pray to Him that made both *Time* and *Place*, that, in all places where euer you shall arriue, you may anchor as safly, as you doe and euer shall doe in the harts of my Owners.

⟨IV⟩

The Complaint of the Satyres against the Nymphes.

Tell me, O Nymphes, why do you
Shune vs that your loues pursue?
What doe the Satyres notes retaine
That should merite your disdaine?

On our browes if hornes doe growe,
Was not Bacchus armed soe?

1 stand still,] stay, still *Lodge* 5 stand] stay *Lodge* 7 enchantments *Lodge* 13 to *aft.* but *Lodge* 15 to *bef.* provide *Lodge* 'A Jewell.' *orig. MS.* (*Churton*): *Lodge has* (presenting the queen with an anchor jewel) *aft.* for you understood *Lodge* 16 this[2]] the *Lodge* 18 now *aft.* you *Lodge* 22 '*This* "Complaint" *is on a separate leaf, and seems to be in a different hand, though little, if at all, more recent than the other. It does not appear when or how the* "Complaint" *was introduced; and it may possibly be doubted whether it formed a part of the Entertainment, though it probably did. The title,* "Entertainment of Q. Eliz.," *&c., is written on the back of this paper, but in a later hand.*' (*Churton*) *Before* Satyres *Churton reports a* V *erased in MS., which he thinks might be for* 'Five': *more probably it was the first letter of* '*Virgins*,' *and rightly erased*

Yet of him the Candean maid
Held no scorne, nor was affraid.

Say our colours tawny bee,
Phœbus was not faire to see:
Yet faire Clymen did not shunn
To bee Mother of his Sonne.

If our beards be rough and long,
Soe had Hercules the strong:
Yet Deianier, with many a kisse,
Joyn'd her tender lipps to his.

If our bodies hayry bee,
Mars as rugged was as wee:
Yet did Ilia think her grac'd,
For to be by Mars imbrac'd.

Say our feet ill-fauored are,
Cripples leggs are worse by farre:
Yet faire Venus, during life,
Was the lymping Vulcan's wife.

Breefly, if by nature we
But imperfect creatures be;
Thinke not our defects so much,
Since Celestial Powers be such.

But you Nymphes, whose venal loue
Loue of gold alone doth moue,
Though you scorne vs, yet for gold
Your base loue is bought and sold.

FINIS.

23 venal *on Churton's suggestion*: veniall *MS., which he thinks may have been written for* venal 27 *Here ends the Newdigate MS.*

⟨V⟩

A Lottery presented before the late Queenes Maiestie at the Lord Chancellors house. 1602.

A Marriner with a box vnder his arme, containing all the seuerall things following, supposed to come from the Carricke, came into the Presence singing this Song.

CYNTHIA Queene of Seas and lands, ⟨*Tilt-yard*, p. 414⟩
That fortune euery where commands,
Sent forth Fortune to the Sea,
To try her fortune euery way.
There did I fortune meet, which makes me now to sing,
There is no fishing to the Sea, nor seruice to the King. ⟨*Cowdray*, p. 428⟩

All the Nymphes of Thetis traine,
Did Cynthiaes fortune entertaine:
Many a iewell, many a iem,
Was to her fortune brought by them.
Her fortune sped so well, as makes me now to sing,
There is no fishing to the Sea, nor seruice to the King.

Fortune, that it might be seene
That she did serue a royall Queene,
A franke and royall hand did beare,
And cast her fauors euery where.
Some toies fel to my share, which makes me now to sing,
There is no fishing to the Sea, nor seruice to the King.

And the Song ended, he vttered this short speech.

GOd saue you faire Ladies all: and for my part, if euer I be brought to answere my sinnes, God forgiue me my sharking, and lay vsurie to my charge. I am a Marriner, and am now come

2 From Davison's *Poetical Rapsodie*, ed. 1611, pp. 1–7. He gives the date wrongly as 1601 6 *In a MS. printed by P. Cunningham* (*Shak. Soc. Papers*, 1845, *vol.* ii. *art.* ix) *from the Conway Papers, entitled* '*The Devise to entertayne hir Ma*^{tie} *at Harfielde, the house of S*^{r} *Thomas Egerton Lo. Keeper and his Wife the Countess of Darbye. In hir Ma*^{tes} *progresse.* 1602.', *and containing only the verses on S*^{t}. *Swithin, the Mariner's Song, and* '*The Severall Lottes*' (*without signature*), *this heading is replaced in the margin by* '*Sung by* 2 *mariners p*^{r}*sently before the Lottaryes.*' 12 'From a passage in the Queen's Entertainment at Cowdray in 1591 [above, p. 428] it will be seen that the burden of this song is cited as "an Olde Saying" by a Fisherman' (Nichols, iii. 571) nor] noe *Conway MS.* (*and twice below*, *ll.* 18, 24) 16 her *om. Conway MS.* 22 fauors] fortunes *Conway MS.* 25 And . . . greater matters (*p.* 500 *l.* 11) *not found in Conway MS.* 28 *Qv.?* not *bef.* vsurie

from the sea, where I had the fortune to light vpon these few trifles. I must confesse I came but lightly by them, but I no sooner had them, but I made a vow that as they came to my hands by fortune, so I would not part with them but by fortune. To that end I haue euer since carried these Lots about me, that if I met with fit company I might deuide my booty among them. And now (I thanke my good fortune) I am lighted into the best company of the world, a company of the fairest Ladies that euer I saw. Come Ladies trie your fortunes, and if any light vpon an vnfortunate blanke, let her thinke that fortune doth but mocke her in these trifles, and meanes to pleasure her in greater matters.

THE SEVERALL LOTTES.

⟨1⟩ *Fortunes wheeles.*

Hir Ma^ty^e.

Fortune must now noe more in tryumphe ride
The wheeles ar yours thatt did hir chariott guide.

⟨2⟩ *A purse.*

The Countess of Derbye Dowager

You thrive or woulde, or maye, your lott's a purse
Fill it w^th^ golde and you ar n'er the worse.

⟨3⟩ *A ring wi^th^ this poesye, as faithfull as I finde.*

Lo. Derbyes Wife.

Your hande by fortune on this ringe doth lighte
And yett the wordes do fitt your humor righte.

⟨4⟩ *A nuttmegg w^th^ a blanke in itt.*

La. Worcester.

This nuttmegg hath a blanke butt chance doth hide itt
Write you your wishe and fortune will provide itt.

⟨5⟩ *A Snuffkin.*

La. Warwicke.

Tis sommer, yet a snuffkin to your lott,
But t'will be winter one day, doubte you nott.

12 *I follow the Conway MS., which agrees with Manningham's* 'Diary' *in the assignment of the* 16 *lots there given (viz. Nos.* 1, 6, 11, 12, 3, 16, 2, 19, 20, 27, 34, 5, 31, 14, 22, 32 *of this ed., in this order), and also places the hostess second and mixes the blanks with the other lots, instead of relegating them all to the end as Davison, who assigns none of the lots* 14 in] on *P. R.* 15 Yours are the wheeles *Percy transcript* Chariots *P. R.* 21 word doth *Mann. Perc. trs.* fitt] hit *P. R.* 25, 26 Mufkin *and* muffkin *Mann.*: Snuftkin *and* snuftkin *P. R.* 26 sũmer yet, *Mann. P. R.*

⟨6⟩ *A Maske.*

Wante you a maske; heere fortune gives you one — La. Scroope.
Yett nature gives the Rose and Lillye none.

⟨7⟩ *A Necklace.*

Fortune gives your faire necke this lace to weare, — Mrs. Neuill.
God graunte a heavier yoake itt never beare.

⟨8⟩ *A Fanne.*

You love to see and yett to bee unseene — Mrs. Thynne.
Take you a fanne to be your beautyes screene.

⟨9⟩ *A Blanke.*

Wott you why fortune gives to you noe prize — Mrs. Hastinges.
Good fayth she sawe you nott she wantes hir eyes.

⟨10⟩ *Poyntes.*

You ar in every poynte a lover true — Mrs. Bridges.
And therfore fortune gives the poyntes to you.

⟨11⟩ *Dyall.*

The dyall's yours: watch tyme leste it be loste — La. Scudamour.
And yett they spende it worste thatt watche itt most.

⟨12⟩ *A playne ringe.*

Fortune hath sent you happe itt well or ill — La. Francis.
A playne golde ringe to wedd you to your will.

⟨13⟩ *A looking glasse.*

Blīde fortune doth nott see how faire you bee, — La. Kneuette.
Yet gives a glasse that you your selfe may see.

⟨14⟩ *A Blanke.*

Nothinge's your lotte, thatt's more than can be tolde, — La. Susan Vere.
For nothing is more p'tious then golde.

2 giue *Mann.* 3 or *Mann.* 6 yoake] burden *Perc. trs.* 11 Wot you not why fortune giues you no prize *P. R.* Mrs. Hastinges] La. Susan Vere *Perc. trs.* 13 A dozen of Points *P. R.* 15 theis *Perc. trs.* 17 The] This *Perc. trs.* 18 Yet they moste lose their time that *Perc. trs.*: Yet they most lose it that do *P. R.* La. Scudamour] *no name Perc. trs.* 20 to *bef.* you *Mann.*: doth send you *P. R.* La. Francis] Mres Southwell *Perc. trs.* 21 your] you *Mann.* 24 Yet] It *Perc. trs.*: But *P. R.* 26 La. Susan Vere.] *no name Perc. trs.* 27 p'tious &c.] worth then pretious gold *Perc. trs.*

⟨15⟩ *A Handkerchefe.*

Mrs. Vauissour.

Whether you seeme to weepe, or weepe indeede
This handkercheff, will stande you well in steede.

⟨16⟩ *Gloves.*

La. Sowthwell.

Fortūe these gloves in double challeng sendes
For you hate fooles and flatterers her best frendes.

⟨17⟩ *Lace.*

L. Anne Clifford.

Give hir the lace thatt loves to be straite laced
Soe fortunes little gifte is fittlye placed

⟨18⟩ *Knifes.*

Mrs. Hyde.

Fortune doth give these paire of knifes to you
To cutt the thredd of love if 't be nott true

⟨19⟩ *Girdle.*

La. Kildare.

With fortunes girdle happie may you bee
Yett they thatt ar lesse happie ar more ffree

⟨20⟩ *Writing tables.*

La. Effingham.

These tables may contayne your thoughtes in parte
Butt write not all thatt's written in your harte

⟨21⟩ *Garters.*

La. Pagette.

Thoughe you have fortunes garters you wil be
More staide and constant in your steppes then she

⟨22⟩ *A blanke.*

Mrs. Kiddermister.

Tis pittye suche a hande should drawe in vayne
Thoughe itt gaine nothing itt shall pittye gaine

⟨23⟩ *Coyfe and crosscloth*

Mrs. Strangwidge.

Frowne you in earnest or be sicke in jeste
This coife and crossecloth will become you beste

5 in double] to you in *P. R.*: to you in double *Perc. trs.* 9 Soe . . . little] Litle-go fortunes laced *Perc. trs.* aptly *P. R. Perc. trs.* 11 this *P. R.* 14 By *P. R. Perc. trs.* 15 more] moste *Perc. trs.* 16 A paire of writing Tables *P. R. Perc. trs.* 17 thought *Mann.* La. Howard of Effingham *Perc. trs.* 20 wil] must *P. R.* 21 your *om. P. R.* 23 La. Kiddermaiste *Mann.*: *no name Perc. trs.* 24 gaine . . . shall] gaine nothing yet shall it *Mann.*: gives nought yet shall it *Perc. trs.*: gaine nought yet shall it *P. R.* 26 you in] in good *Mann. P. R. Perc. trs.*

⟨24⟩ *Scarfe.*

Take you this scarfe, binde Cupid hande and foote — Mother of ye maydes.
So love must aske you leave before he shoote

⟨25⟩ *Falling bande.*

Fortune would have you rise, yett guides your hande — La. Cumberland.
From other lotts unto a falling bande.

⟨26⟩ *Cuttwork stomacher.*

This stomacher is full of windowes wroughte — La. Walsingham.
Yet none throughe them can looke into your thoughte

⟨27⟩ *Scisser Case.*

These scissers doe your huswiferye bewraye — La. Newton.
Thatt love to worke thoughe you be borne to playe

⟨28⟩ *A Chaine.*

Because you scorne loves captive to remaine, — Mrs. Wharton.
Fortune hath sworne to leade you in a chaine

⟨29⟩ *A Blanke.*

You faine would have butt whatt you cannott tell — La. Digbye.
If fortune gives you nothing she doth well

⟨30⟩ *Braceletts.*

Ladye your handes ar fallen into a snare — .... liffe.
For Cupids manacles your braceletts ar

⟨31⟩ *Bodekin.*

Even wth this bodkin you may live unharmed — La. Dorothye.
Your beawtye is wth vertue so well armed

⟨32⟩ *A Blanke.*

You ar so dayntye to be pleased God wott
Chance knowes nott whatt to give you for your lott

3 must aske] shall *Perc. trs.* 6 unto] to take *Perc. trs. P. R.* 7 Cuttwork *om. P. R. Perc. trs.* 9 looke] see *P. R.* 10 A paire of Sizzers *P. R.* 11 This sizer doth *Perc. trs.* 12 be] were *P. R.* 17 La. Digbye] Mres. Drury *Perc. trs.* 18 In giuing nothing fortune serues you well *P. R.* 20 *Conway MS. torn: the lot om. Perc. trs.* 21 your] these *P. R.* 23 wth] by *Perc. trs.* 25 *allotted to* Mres Hastinges *Perc. trs.* 26 so] to *Mann.* 27 your] a *P. R.*

⟨33⟩ *A Cushionett.*

Mrs. Anselowe.

To hir that little cares whatt lott she winnes
Chance gives a little cushionett for hir pinnes

⟨34⟩ *A prayer booke.*

This onely lefte undrawne.

Your fortune may be good another daye
Till fortune come take you a booke to praye

ffinis

3 a little] hir this *Perc. trs.* for hir] to sticke *P. R.* 5 may be] may proue *P. R.*: will prove *Perc. trs.* This . . . undrawne] not drawne *Mann.*: La. Digby *Perc. trs.* 6 Till . . . a] In the meane time take you this *Perc. trs.* 7 *The Perc. trs. om. No.* 30 *and gives the follg. five additional lots*:—

A country wenche. A pair of sheres.

You whisper many tales in many eares,
To clipp your tongue your lot's a paire of sheares.

A country wenche. An apron.

You love to make excuses for all thinges,
An apron is your lott, which hath no stringes.

A country wench. A reele.

You are high in the instepp, short in the heele,
Your head is giddy, your lott is a reele.

No name. A blank.

Fortune is bountifull, and from hir store
Gives you as muche as you were worth before.

No name. A blanke.

For all thy witt, Fortune might favour thee,
For God forbidd all fooles should happy bee.

THE KING OF DENMARK'S WELCOME.

July, 1606.

(Doubtful.)

The King of Denmarkes welcome: Containing his ariuall, abode, and entertainement, both in the Citie and other places. Discite Io pean, Io bis discite pean. *London Printed by Edward Allde.* 1606.

(4°, 16 leaves, signed A–D 3, D 4 being blank. *Br. Mus.* press-mark C. 33. e. 7 (5).)

. . . Tuesday the xxij. of Iuly, and Wednesday the xxiij. were spent ⟨P. 12⟩ in hunting at *Eltham* and in feasting. On Thursday the foure and twentyeth of Iuly, both the Kinges with their traines, which contained great numbers, roade in progresse to *Theobalds* neare *Waltham*, . . . where vppon the approach of the Kinges Maiesties, there were manie verie learned, delicate and significant showes and deuises presented vnto them, which I wil omitte amply to discribe, because my coniecture may erre from the drift of the inuentor, and I hould it a capitall offence by a sleight imagination to misconster a fayre inuention; and there is no doubt but the author thereof who hath his place equall with the best in those Artes, will himselfe at his leasurable howers publish it in the best perfection. Yet to giue you a little taste of what came nearest to my vnderstanding, there was at the entrance of the Gates, planted a goodly Tree with leaues, and other ornaments resembling a great Oake: the leaues cut all out of greene ⟨p. 13⟩ silke, and set so artificially, that after certaine speeches deliuered, and Songes of *Welcome* sung, as the Kinges Majesties passed away, euen in a trice, all the leaues showred from the tree, both vppon the heads and Garments of both the Kinges, and of a great multitude of their followers: vppon euerie leafe beeing written in golde Letters this word (*Welcome*) and vppon some twice (*Welcome*) and the better to put your eares in tune, beeing duld with this my ill pend discourse, I wil set you downe heere the Song of Welcome, which was sung before both the Kings: The Stanzaes by a single voice, the Chorus by a whole consort of voices.

The Song at *Theobalds.* ⟨P. 14⟩

IF euerie Ioy now had a tongue,
And all the seuerall thoughts were sung,
Vnder this happie roofe,
They could make proofe,

How much they doe reioyce,
In one, the Maisters voice:
and that is welcome *still.*

Hayle double flame of Maiesties,
Whose luster quicken's: blindes not eyes,
Who euer saw such light
would wish for night?
Stay, stay, we may reioyce,
And keepe our constant voice,
which is your welcome *still.*

When two Sunnes shine, the ample day
Should not so haste it selfe away:
A feare to loose destroyes
almost our Ioyes,
But we must so reioyce,
As we make good our voice,
of welcome, welcome *still.*

Chorus.

And would you euer stay,
And make it lasting day,
Tis welcome, welcome *still.*

⟨P. 16⟩ . . . . On Munday being the eight and twentie day of Iuly, both the Kinges Majesties after Dinner, departed in great state and gallantrie from *Theobaldes* . . . and thence returned backe vnto *Greenewich* where they spent Tuesday . . . and Wednesday . . . . On Wednesday at night, the Youthes of Paules, commonlye cald the Children of Paules, plaide before the two Kings, a playe called *Abuses*: containing both a Comedie and a Tragedie, at which the Kinges seemed to take delight and be much pleased.

⟨On Thursday July 31 the Kings rode in procession through London from the Tower to Whitehall. There were pageants and addresses in Cheapside, music from 'the petty Canons & singing mẽ' in St. Paul's Churchyard, and a Latin oration 'at Pauls schoole doore.'⟩

⟨P. 24⟩ . . . thence they road doune Ludgate-hill, till they came to Fleetstreet Cunduit, from whence as soone as the Kinges approched, was heard a moste excellent consort of stil musick, which inuiting the two Kings to lift vp their eyes, they might beholde a verie fine artificiall sommer bower of greene bowes diuided with curtaines of crimson taffatie, the top

8 stay,] *qy.* ? that

of the Arbor made canapie wise and hung round about with this inscription, *Deus nobis hæc ocia fecit*; and after, a moste excellent song sung dialogue wise, containing these wordes. ⟨*Cowdray*, p. 426⟩

Shepheard: *Sweet Ioe vouchsafe once to impart,*
did euer liue so coy a lasse,
that vnto loue was neuer moued?

Shephardesse: *Yes Shephard She that has the hart,*
and is resolud her life to passe:
neither to loue or be beloued.

He: *She sencelesse liues, without affection.*

She: *Yet happie liues, without subiection.*

He: *To be pluckt are Roses blowne,*
To be mowed are meddowes growne:
Iemmes are made but to be showne,
And woman's best——

She: *To holde her owne.*

The Kings might behold within the Arbour, a faire Shepheard courting a Coy Shepherdesse, who had answered him that she would loue him, when she could behold two Sunnes at one time of equall brightnesse: when there were two Maiesties of like splendor or two Kings in one state, with many such like imagined impossibilities, which now he shewed her were come to passe, approouing those two kings glorious Suns, two Maiesties, and what else she had reputed impossible: After these speeches which held a pretty space, the Musicke plaied, and there was another song sung of farewell: at the ende whereof, the Kings Maiesties departed, and so roade along through Fleetstreete to Temple-barre, where the Lord Maior of the Citie taking his humble leaue of the two Kings, and receyuing many gracious thanks, had the sworde deliuered him backe, and himselfe redeliuered the Scepter, and so withall the rest of his brethren, who mounted vpon their foote-cloathes, richly trapt in goldẽ trappers came to meete him, they departed into the Citie. The two Kings Maiesties in forme as at the first, keepe on their way from Temple-Barre, all through the Strande, so to Charing-crosse, and thence to White-hall, where dismounting about seauen of the clocke in the Euening, they feasted and reposed themselues there all that night. . . . . ⟨P. 25⟩

Epicedium.[1]

A FVNERAL

Oration, vpon the death of the late *deceased Princesse of famous* memorye, *Elizabeth* by the grace of God, Queen of *England, France* and *Ireland.*

Written: by *Infelice Academico Ignoto*

Wherunto is added, the true order of her Highnes Imperiall Funerall.

LONDON

Printed for *E. White,* dwelling neere the little north doore of Paules Church, at the signe of the Gun. 1603.

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[1] Expicedium 2
4° has 11 leaves, A–C 4 in fours, verso of title blank, A 2 (probably blank leaf) missing. *Br. Mus.* under 'Elizabeth, Queen' (press-mark, 695. f. 8 (2)). A brief notice of it with extracts, but without suggestion as to authorship, occurs in Brydges' *Restituta*, vol. iv. pp. 10–14.

⟨Sig. A 3 recto⟩

Epicedium.

A Funerall Oration vpon the death of the late deceased Princesse, (of famous memory) *Elizabeth* by the grace of God Queene of *England*, *France* and *Ireland:* written by *Infelice Academico Ignoto.*

IF the sighes of the heart were conuerted into eloquẽce of the tongue (as in the instruments of breath, the spirit is exchanged into soun'd) I would desire (right worthy Auditory) that all those sighes which are assembled together in your brests, might be centered in my heart: to the ende that my defect of eloquence to expresse this fatall accident, might be supplyed by my increased sorrowes, so happily conuerted into discourse. But since this my conceited desires may not be reduced to act, my wish were that this floud of teares, that makes his channell through our eyes, might like a riuer of fit discourse, flow from out my lippes; to the ende that the forecible weight of the same being inritched by these supplyes, might plant amazement in your eares, to heare the flowing eloquence of my tongue, and the boundles number of her praises. But why spend I my breath in wishes? or to what end fashion I my desires to be greater then my power? since your reuerent silence that attendeth my discourse is sufficient to giue worth to the weaknes of my performance, and her vertues worke wonder in the meanest Orator. But because a good life maketh only the ⟨*sig.* A 3 *verso*⟩ graue happie, and the glory that is deriued to after ages, dependeth on the actions of fore-passed yeeres: Let vs discourse a while on that *Elizabethes* life, whose death wee lament with such hartie complaints.

She was borne of a father of famous memory, *Henry* the eight, deriued from a mother of great vertue, Anne *Bullein*; and descended so royallie, and from so mightie Princes, that *Europe* knew not her equall, eyther in birth, bewtie, or perfection: Greater then *Alexander* she was, for the world which he subdued by force, she conquered by loue; her beautie was so great, that it rather was enuied then

equalled; beloued then praysed, admired then described. Her power so great that whole kingdomes were affrighted at her name, and many rich countries made happy by her protection; her learning so admirable that as from east and west many nations resorted to Rome: not for any wonder they expected in the Cittie, but onely to beholde *Liuy*: So many from all parts repayred to her kingdome, where eyther they were inchaunted with beauty, amased at her greatnes, enriched by her bountie, confirmed by her wisdome, or confounded in their Iudgments. Her chastitie so great, that the question is whether the conquest of her enemies wrought her more fame, or the continence and gouernement shee had in her selfe, more merrit: In a word, she enioyed so much grace, as all the graces possessed not together; and hee that had the grace to see her grace, accompted it his happinesse to be so graced.

The desires her beauty kindled, her modesty quenched; the attempts which ambition intēded, her constancie ouercame: The peace which al kingdomes affected, her pollicy effected: and her state which her greatest foes enuied, her wisdom maintained: her countrie was the fortresse of banisht men: the sanctuary of the distressed: the harbour of the wronged: the enricher of her allies: the bane of her enemies: in a word, the world had nothing more praise-worthie in it, then that it knew her. I will not rip vp the rare perfections of her youth, neither her ⟨*sig.* A 4 *recto*⟩ fatall daunger before her comming to the Crowne, nor her sundrie good fortunes in the gouernment of her kingdome, nor the continuance of her peace, nor the prosperitie of her warres, least the memorie of these things added to her losse, should make our sorrowes stronger then our sufferance could admit of. But for my owne part I may say this of her, that if this Soueraigne Princesse had dyed among those ancient *Thracians*, who wept at the birth of their children, and sung and feasted at their deaths: they would haue changed their custome, and bewayled her infinitely. For by her death, alas what miserie are wee not acquainted with? wee lost that head whereof wee bee the members; the gouernesse of our fortunes and felicitie, the life of all our peace, the death of all our ioy.

Since her departure, Iustice scale is distempered, prudence mirrour is dimmed, strength's pillers are shaken, Temperance vessell is emptied, the Oliue (that peace bare) is leaueles, the oyle of mercy is wasted, liberalities hands are closed; the head of magnificence droopeth, pittie hath hir smiles changed, the lawes are silent, and

⟨*Woman*, v. 1. 274–300⟩

pardon tongueles. Alas what should I say? if *Petrarch* knew not in what Sphere of Planets to lodge his *Lawra*, how shold I guesse in what order of Angels I should plãt our *Elizabeth*? dead she is, but so dead as she is pittied by death himselfe; who being senceles and passionles towards all other creatures, yet hath afforded her this priuiledge, to liue in our sorowes. And to giue her place in heauen, what mortall apprehẽsion dare presume? since in earth our best hopes are wrapped in feare and trembling, and no man can beget that being for another which hee cannot assuredly hope for himselfe? what shee was whilst shee liued, wee iudge, but by the outside, the sence must informe the intellect before he can determine: what she is, for the earth we know, for the soule we leaue it with the *Platonists*, to infinitie: wherein, God that knoweth best of truth can informe truth. When *Pelopidas* the *Theban*, after he had manfully combated against *Alexander Pheræus*, was vnfortunately and ⟨*sig.* A 4 *verso*⟩ mortally wounded; the report is that the *Thessalians* that were present at that battell, neuer laid aside their armour nor drewe the reyne from their horses, neither tyed vp their woundes, vntill they had lamented him, armed and heat⟨ed⟩ in the conflict, they ranne to comfort him; halfe breathles they clipped their horses manes, they shaued themselues: if colde made them chill, the fier of their zeale would not suffer them to kindle fire in their tents: their sorowes shut vp their stomacks from receauing meate: silence and mourning possessed the whole armie. And they that had gotten a victorie ouer fame by their conquest, by the losse of their generall, became slaues to their affections; when the Citties heard of his losse, the magistrate and meane men, the Prince and *Plebeian* came out to meete him: they fixed Crownes on his Hearse, cast flowers on his coarse, & stroue how to honour him being dead, that had so faithfully fought for them in life: yea his enemies contended with the conquerer for Funerall, thinking it a blessing to enioy his bones, whose valour had restrayned their ambition. If for *Pelopidas* the warriour, the Greekes were so passionate, what should wee bee in the losse of *Elizabeth* our peace-maker and Princesse, whose perfections are entombed in her enemies teares: whose losse hath made the mightie weake, the prudent diffident, the rich suspitious, the poore amazed, and all sorts hartles? *Pelopidas* vertues were onely the obiects of *Greece*, *Elizabeths* the wonders of the world: he onely a subduer of a Cittie or prouince, she the terrour of many

36 suspitions *Q* (*turned* u)

kingdomes: hee onely wonderfull in an *Angle*, She famous in the worlds fayre *Anglia*. ⟨*Quarren-don*, p. 466 l. 32⟩

But alas, why talke I of death in so diuine a subiect? she liues as yet in the hartes of her gratefull subiects, because they might not dye with her; liuing, they keepe her aliue in their louing hartes, the memorie of her death in their teares, her name in their tongues, her wordes in their eares, her liuely Image in their lasting imaginations: her mightines in her is an admirable miracle, where nobilitie in the vitious is a grieuous infamie.

⟨*Sig.* B *recto*⟩ Heere like a true *Joseph* hath she lost this cloake of mortalitie, to obtaine an immortall Crowne of glorye, and to escape the embracements of the lewde worlde. How happily hath she cast off the prison of her mortalitie? how happy is she by death, that is deliuered frō the troubles of life? The enamoured *Thisbe* to flye from the iawes of a hungrie Lyonesse, cast off her vayle that shadowed her shoulders; so this beloued of Christ, to escape that Lyon of perdition, that raging wandreth to seeke whom he may deuour, hath disburdened her selfe of her earthly ornamēts, hath choakte the rauenous enemie of mankinde, by casting her earth in his teeth: Happy happy *Elizabeth*, that hath forsaken the *Babilon* of this world, to obtaine her Countrie the heauēly Paradice.

The Moone (as the Philosophers write) is ecclipsed by the shadow of the earth, and nothing more obscureth the soule then the prison of the bodye. Since therfore our *Elizabeth* hath cast off her earthly vayle to get a heauenly Priuiledge; let vs moderate our passions by imagining her felicitie, since what she lost was not in her possession to keep; and what she hath, is a greater purchase then coniecture can apprehend. ⟨*Camp.* 2. 30–6⟩

The generous young man *Crates*, forsooke his possessions to buye an heritage in Philosophye. *Diogines* left his Countrie and house. *Democritus* lost his eyes, to apprehend knowledge. How farre better a match hath our Soueraigne made, that for her possessions in earth, hath got the Paradice in heauen? that for her earthlye prison, hath attayned a heauenly mantion? that for her eyes that beheld the vanities on earth, hath gotten the meanes to beholde the paradice of heauen? *Plato* in his lawe, interdicted the vse of lamentation in Funerals, neither thought he it requisit to lament publiquelie, or conuey the Coarse to his Tombe with teares and sorowfull exclamations, because (as the Philosophers say) teares yeild no remedye in tribulation. But had *Plato* liued to beholde these times, and con- ⟨*Euph.* 308 l. 23⟩

sidered the blessings we possessed whilste she liued; how carefully she guided the helme of ⟨the⟩ common-weale, and faithfully defenced her Countrye from no- ⟨*sig.* B *verso*⟩ uations; how prouidently she fore-stalled the audacious designes of her enemies; how constantly she with-stood her greatest dangers; he would doutles haue remitted a great part of his austeritie, and saluted her Hearse with some lamentable Elegie.

There is a Lake (as *Aristotle* reporteth) neere vnto the riuer of *Eridanus*, wherin (if any Poets fiction may beare credit of faith) proud *Phaeton* being strooken with lightning, was finally drowned. The water of this Lake is in qualitie hot, in odour greeuous, fearfull in beholding. Heerof no creature drinketh, but he dyeth: heer-ouer no bird flyeth, but he is drowned. Of the nature of this riuer, is her losse we lament for: The proudest enemie that beholdeth it is drowned in confusion: The teares that are wept on it, blinde the eyes with their scalding.

The odours that perfume her Hearse, are of the nature of vapours drawne vp by the Sun, which ascend in fume but desend in shewers. He that beholdeth this Hearse, how can he choose but feare, since ouer it he may meditate on the vncertainties of life? what brutish or sauadge nature, beholding this sight and feeding his eyes on her Monument, but will dye with sorow? or what soule houering in the ayre ouer this disconsolate Hearse, dissolueth not into teares? (if exempted soules may be subiect to passions.)

⟨Letter, p. 393 ll. 4–6⟩ I am amazed and can no more, and your iudgements shall require no further discourse at my hands: the reason is, because others glories may be expressed in words and writings, whereas hers cannot be aptly described but in wonder and silence. I will therfore supply with my teares, what I fayle in my wordes: & if any aske why I end so abruptlye: let the Poet answer who can truly iudge of passion, *Curæ leues loquntur ingentes stupent.*

Dixi.

⟨*Sig.* B 2 *recto*⟩

A true Subiects sorowe, for the losse of his late Soueraigne.

I Ioyne not handes with sorowe for a while,
To soothe the time, or please the hungrie eares:

4 constannly *Q*

Nor do inforce my mercinarie stile,
No feigned liuerye my Inuention weares.

Nor do I ground my fabulous discourse
On what before hath vsually bene seene:
My greife doth flowe from a more plentious source,
From her that dy'd a virgin and a Queene.

You Cristall Nimphes that haunt the banks of *Thames*,
Tune your sad Timbrils in this wofull day:
And force the swift windes and the sliding streames
To stand a while and listen to your Lay.

Your fading Temples bound about with yewe,
At euery step your hands deuoutly wring,
Let one notes fall anothers height renewe,
And with compassion your sad *Nænia* sing.

Graces and Muses waite vpon her Hearse:
Three are the first, the last the sacred Nine:
The sad'st of which, in a blacke tragique verse,
Shall sing the *Requiem* passing to her shrine.

⟨*Sig.* B 2 *verso*⟩

An *Ebon* Charriot to support the Beere,
Drawne with the blacke steedes of the gloomy night:
Stooping their stiffe Crests, with a heauie cheere,
Stirring compassion in the peoples sight.

The Pyle prepard where on her body lyes,
In Cipresse shadowes sit you downe forlorne:
Whose bowes be dew'd with plenty of your eyes,
(For her with griefe) the Branches shall adorne.

Let fall your eye-lids like the Sunnes cleere set,
When your pale hands put to the vestall flame:
And from your brests, your sorowes freely let,
Crying one *Beta* and *Elizas* name.

Vpon the Alter, place your Virgin spoyles,
And one by one with comelinesse bestowe:
Dianaes buskins and her hunting toyles,
Her empty quiuer and her stringles bowe.

Let euery Virgin offer vp a teare,
The richest Incence nature can alowe:
And at her tombe (for euer yeare by yeare)
Pay the oblation of a mayden vowe.

And the tru'st vestall the most sacred liuer,
That euer harbored an vnspotted spirit,
Retaine thy vertues, and thy name for euer,
To tell the world thy beautie and thy merrit.
⟨*Sig.* B 3 *recto*⟩
Wher's Collin Clout, or Rowland now become,
That wont to leade our Shepheards in a ring?
(Ah me) the first, pale death hath strooken dombe,
The latter, none incourageth to sing.

But I vnskilfull, a poore Shepheards Lad,
That the hye knowledge onely doe adore:
Would offer more, if I more plenty had,
But comming short, of their aboundant store,

A willing heart that on thy fame could dwell,
Thus bids *Eliza* happily farewell.

FINIS.

Sig. B 3 verso is blank, and sigs. B4–C4 are occupied by the 'True Order' of the funeral, i.e. an enumeration of the officials and individuals taking part in the procession 'from White-hall to the Cathedral Church of Westminster. The 28. day of Aprill. 1603.'; at the beginning, end, and two interior points of which are some inferior verses—but I apprehend that Lyly had no hand in this part of the tract.

NOTES

ENTERTAINMENTS.

P. 410. AT THE TILT-YARD: *A Sonet*: given first, though not the earliest of these Tilt-Yard Speeches, because Segar's chapter forms the best introduction to them. It was assigned to George Peele by Dyce (1839) and succeeding editors, only because it appears at the end of Peele's *Polyhymnia . . . Printed by Richard Jhones.* 1590, 4°, a blank-verse description (written of course later) of the occasion at which this 'Sonet' was sung. In the Drummond copy of *Polyhymnia* in the Edinburgh University Library, 'finish' is printed at the end of Peele's poem, and the 'Sonet' appended on the verso of the leaf without initials or signature of any kind. A MS. of *Polyhymnia* in some Oxfordshire house, from which Dyce supplied the defects of the slightly-mutilated Drummond copy, lacks, he tells us, the 'Sonet'; which is, further, found without the *Polyhymnia* in the Garrick Collection, whence it was reprinted by Beloe (*Anec. of Lit.* vol. ii. p. 5). I submit that there is no good evidence of Peele's authorship. The second stanza reproduces Lyly's phrases and ideas, and I make no doubt that it is really his; copied, possibly, by Peele at the end of his own *Polyhymnia* MS. as a good poem (by a friend? and possible collaborator in the lost *Hunting of Cupid*?—the Lylian trace is very marked in Drummond's fragmentary notes) on the same occasion (given in Dyce's *Peele*, ed. 1861, pp. 603–4). A like cause may have led Collier to suppose the Gardener's and Mole-catcher's speeches at Theobalds, May, 1591, speeches indisputably Lyly's, to be, like the Hermit's speech on the same occasion, by Peele. Lyly's position in the Revels Office, apart from his repute as the Court dramatist, would single him out as the proper person to devise such a show as Segar describes, even had not Sir Henry Lee sought his aid before (cf. below, and Biograph. Appendix, p. 384). The present, however, is probably the occasion of his introduction to George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, 1558–1605, who employs him later. A variation of the poem in four stanzas, of which the fourth is our third, introducing the Latin beginnings of various Psalms, is found in *Rawlinson MS. Poet.* 148, f. 19, subscribed 'q^{d} S^{r} Henry Leigh'; and in Robert Dowland's *Mvsicall Banqvet*, 1610, No. 8 is a poem assigned to 'Sir Henry Lea,' consisting of four stanzas written after Elizabeth's death which recall the vein and some phrases of this 'Sonet.'

P. 412. A CARTELL FOR A CHALLENG: this and the two following speeches formed part of a manuscript collection made by Henry Ferrers (1549–1633) of Baddesley Clinton in Warwickshire, from which William Hamper in 1820 printed them, and the Quarrendon speeches below, under the title of *Masques: Performed before Queen Elizabeth. From a coeval copy . . . . Chiswick, Printed by C. Whittingham, College House*, 1820. In his Introduction Mr. Hamper supposed these three speeches to be delivered at the Tilt-yard on the occasion of Sir Henry Lee's resignation of the Championship in 1590, and the remainder at Quarrendon on Elizabeth's visit in 1592, attributing them all to George Ferrers of the *Mirrour for Magistrates* and *The Princely Pleasures*, who, however, died in 1579. I have no hesitation in assigning them all to Lyly, on grounds of style, matter, and general correspondence to other speeches also assigned to him, e.g. the opening words of this *Cartell*, the likeness in tone and conception of the two first to that delivered by the Earl of Cumberland in 1600 (pp. 415–6), and the dialogue at Quarrendon between Constancy and Liberty, which is redolent of Lyly. I regard all these Tilt-yard speeches as incidents in a long connexion of Lyly with Lee and the Earl of Cumberland, of which we see other signs in his election to Parliament for Aylesbury in Feb. 1592–3 and Oct. 1601, and for Appleby in Sept. 1597 (Life, p. 48). And Mr. Hamper is obviously wrong in assigning these three speeches to Nov. 17, 1590. There is nothing internal to connect the two first, which, being to the same effect, are probably for different occasions, with any particular place, though it may be the Tilt-yard; the second seems to belong to some date anterior to 1590, or, if the occasion be that referred to in the first Quarrendon speech, it may be the Tilt-yard, 1591; and the third, in which the retired champion, who still, Segar tells us, continued to preside over the annual occasion, presents his son, must be in some subsequent year, 1592 or later.

P. 413, 1. SHAMPANIE: lists or field of contention, Fr. *campagne* (Hamper); but more probably the reference is to the tilt run by Sir Henry and others at Greenwich to pleasure Le Champany or De Champany, ambassador from the Low Countries. See Nichols' *Progresses*, iii. p. 50.

11. *posting horse*: that on which he rode hither.

15. THE OWLD KNIGHT: Sir Henry Lee, born 1530, died 1610.

27. *end . . . contynuance*: this merely forced antithesis is thoroughly Lylian; see above, p. 121 bott.

31. *oneley sonne*: he had two sons, John and Henry, both of whom died while yet under age: Lipscomb's *Hist. of Bucks*, ii. 405.

P. 414, 5. *this little*: a word possibly omitted; no doubt some piece of jewellery. Cf. *Quarrendon*, p. 455.

15. ODE. *Of Cynthia*: printed anonymously in Davison's *Poetical*

Rapsody, 1602. Nothing to show whether the 'shew' was at the Tiltyard, Westminster, at Greenwich, or some other of the royal palaces, or at one of Cumberland's own castles, Appleby or Bromeham in Westmoreland, or Skipton in Yorks. Nor can I urge more than a possibility of Lyly's authorship: the verses are more like Sir John Davies'. Cf. note on Harefield Ent. authorship, p. 535 below. A clumsy stanza of Cumberland's appears as No. 1 in Robert Dowland's *Mvsicall Banqvet*, 1610.

P. 415, 10. A COPIE OF MY LORD OF COMBRLANDE'S SPEECHE, &c.: the date shows the occasion to be the anniversary of the Queen's accession. Whitaker (*Hist. of Craven*, p. 357) implies that it is in Cumberland's autograph and of his authorship. The authorship at least is Lyly's, by the style, the allusions to the Twins of Hippocrates (*Euph.* ii. 5 l. 13), Ixion embracing a shadow (vol. ii. 454 l. 44), nightshade as a solace (poem on the Bee, vol. iii. p. 497 l. 10), and the tone of sadness affected, as above, pp. 412–3, and cf. *Endim.* ii. 1. 8–16, 41. Cumberland's own letters, of which Whitaker prints several, seem illiterate. The speech, though introductory of the sad Knight, may refer to Cumberland's own losses and sacrifices in naval adventure; or the sad Knight may even be Lyly himself, his patron consenting to subserve his purpose of complaint.

P. 416, 5. *wrappes up*: absorb, carry off—a confusion with *rape*?

27. *wheeld about . . . will wheele*: like Ixion; cf. ll. 32–4, below.

P. 417, 1. AT THEOBALDS: GARDENER'S SPEECH: the occasion of this and the following speech was the Queen's visit to Theobalds in May, 1591, proved by the mention of 'Pymms,' and of 'thirty-three years' since 1558 in the inscription on the box. In Burleigh's diary (Murdin, p. 796) occurs—'1591. May 10. The Queen came to Theobalds from Hackney. May 16. The Queen dyned abrode in the Chamb. called the Queens Arbor in Company of the French Ambassador and L.' This is probably the arbour and gardens which the Gardener says were devised at Pymmes by 'the youngest son of this honourable old man,' i. e. by Sir Robert Cecil, Burleigh's second son. If we may trust the Hermit's Speech, written by Peele for this occasion, and the mock writ which formed its sequel (Nichols' *Progresses*, iii. 74–5), Burleigh had, for some years past, when not at Court, been living in retirement (at Pymmes?), leaving Theobalds in occupation of Sir Robert. Collier first printed the Hermit's Speech (*Hist. Dram. Poet.* i. 274–9) signed 'Finis. G. P.' from a MS. in his possession; and Dyce, reprinting it in his edition of Peele, appended these two, as delivered on the same occasion, 'from a MS. in Peele's handwriting, which has been obligingly lent to me by Mr. Collier, who was not possessed of it when he gave his excellent *History* to the public,' giving no further proof of Peele's authorship. Mr. Bullen followed Dyce in printing all three as Peele's; but no one really familiar with Lyly's work will question his authorship of the two prose ones, which

teem with his phrases and ideas, while the inscription on the box is exactly modelled on the doggrel oracles of *Mother Bombie* (iii. 1. 40 ; 4. 121, 143, 149, 162, 177 ; v. 2. 16). Peele may have copied them, as a friend's work, to complete his record of the occasion ; but does not seem to have signed them. Cf. the parallel case of the *Sonet* above. Nichols was wrong in printing Davies' *Conference betweene a Gent. Huisher and a Post . . . at Mr. Secretary's house* (Harl. MS. 286, ff. 248–9) as part of the same occasion ; for Cecil, though knighted now (May 20), was not made Secretary till 1596.

8. *At Pymms, some four miles hence* : Dyce queries *Mimms* ? i. e. the manor of N. Mimms, 7 m. west of Theobalds, held at this time by Sir Ralph Coningsby, sheriff of Herts (Salmon's *Hist. of Herts*, p. 63). But Norden's *Speculum Britanniæ. The first parte . . . Middlesex . . .* 1593, 4°, p. 18, mentions Pymmes 'a proper little house of the Right Hon^ble. Lord Burghley' ; and in the *Calendar of Hatfield MSS.* vol. iii. p. 204, Gilbert Talbot dates a letter to Burleigh 'At your Lordships house at Pymes, this 20^th of December 1586.' Bacon's *Atlas*, 1891, marks 'Pymmes Park' at Edmonton, six miles south of Theobalds, just west of the great north road. Lyson's *Env. of Lond.* 1795, vol. ii. p. 259, says it was named after a family settled at Edmonton, temp. Ed. II, and is mentioned among the property of which Robert Earl of Salisbury died seised in 1612. The village of Pimsbrook lies a little to the west.

26. *partly-coloured* : parti-coloured. 'Partly-coloured harts-ease,' Greene's *Qvip*, sig. B, ed. 1620 (Dyce).

P. 418, 1. *arbour all of eglantine* : the plant specially associated with Elizabeth, e. g. above (Tilt-yard), p. 411 top, below, p. 474 l. 23 ; 'the sun of Spain' of course alluding to the Armada. In the *Cal. of Hatfield MSS.* vol. iv. p. 394, under date Oct. 20, 1593, in an inventory of linen to be used at her next visit, occurs 'cloths for the rock in the Queens Harbour.'

8. *the box* : the vehicle for the usual costly present ; cf. 'My jewel' in the inscription.

16. *cony-gat* : rabbit-burrow ; ME. *gate*, way, path.

35. *Hackney* : *Cal. of Hatfield MSS.* vol. iv. p. 115 'A short progress of Her Majesty. 1591 May.—Tuesday the 4^th May from Greenwich to Hackney, and there six days. Monday the 10^th May from Hackney to Theobalds, and there four days,' &c. ; but the visit was prolonged.

P. 421. COWDRAY ENTERTAINMENT : the edition from which I print is obviously older than Nichols' quarto, and contains very little beyond the actual speeches and verses. As in the case of Elvetham, and the Bisham, &c. Speeches, Lyly probably sold the bare MS. of the speeches to the printer, who supplied the brief necessary framework (cf. p. 430 l. 1 'because I was not there,' &c.). With the later amplification, chiefly to introduce some notabilities by name, Lyly probably had nothing to do : as with the

Elvetham Ent., it might be the work of the noble host's secretary, though the omission of the three poems may be merely due to Nichols.

P. 421, 4. *in Progresse*: from London she visited in August Sir William More at Loseley near Guildford: and thence proceeded (probably on the 18th, not 14th—on the 16th she is still near Guildford—Nichols, iii. 84—yet Q is particular, p. 422 l. 7) 10 miles to dine at Farnham Castle, continuing on the same day some 20 miles southwards to Cowdray, just east of Midhurst in Sussex. Her subsequent stages included Chichester, Petworth, Stanstead, and Portsmouth (Nichols, iii. 80–1, 96–7).

6. *Lord Montacute*: Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague (1526–92), owner also of Battle Abbey, a staunch Roman Catholic, but on the whole loyal to the throne. The resort of Catholics to Cowdray was uninterfered with by the government, and Montacute sat at the trial of the Queen of Scots, 1587. His first wife, Lady Jane Ratcliff, died in childbirth of the eldest son Anthony; his second, Magdalen Dacre, bore him five sons and three daughters, and was present on this occasion (we gather from Q^2), as were her eldest and third sons, George and Henry, and the eldest daughter Elizabeth, married to Sir Robert Dormer (Nichols' Preface, ed. 1823, p. xxviii).

9. *Thomas Scarlet*: printer of *Midas*, 1592, 4°, and *Mother Bombie*, 1594, 4°.

P. 422, 10. *bridge*: over the Arun, which runs through the park.

14. *Saterday*: the dates affixed to the days in Nichols' *Progresses*, 1823, are probably his own addition.

P. 423, 10. *Tuus, O Regina*, &c.: Virg. *Æn.* i. 80–1.

16. *shot at the Deere*: the Countess of Kildare, who joined the shooting, was Elizabeth Fitzgerald, *née* Howard, daughter of the Lord Admiral.

P. 424, 11. *the Priory*: 'must be that of Esseburn, Eseburn or Oseburn, near Midhurst, founded by Sir John Bohun, temp. Henry iii' (Nichols' Pref. p. xxviii).

12. *her Lordes*: Burleigh dates 'from the Court at Cowdrain, August 18, 1591' (Rymer, *Fœd.* vol. xvi. p. 116).

26. *rough-hewed*: i.e. hued, his face stained, or='rough' as p. 480 l. 6.

P. 425, 32. *on copheigth*: from the height or vantage of a cop or crest: cf. N.E.D., s. v. *cop* sb. ii. 8.

38. *clemencie . . . tasted*: he had been largely implicated by Barker's confessions in the Ridolfi conspiracy of 1571; see Murdin, pp. 104–5, &c.

P. 427, 11. *The Anglers Speech* is redolent of *Euphues* and *Endimion*; but, further, the technical knowledge it shows may, like the knowledge of hawking and hunting shown elsewhere, be a reflection of Lyly's connexion with the Office of Tentes and Toyles.

P. 428, 4. *Noble*: 6*s.* 8*d.* (gold).

5. *maydes*: the fish called 'mermaides,' *Elvetham Ent.*, p. 449 l. 12.

27. *states*: cf. *Quarrendon*, p. 456 l. 11, and *Whip*, vol. iii. 420 l. 103 'Ye States and Nobles of this land.'

30. *picke ouer*: pitch above—an obsolete variant.

P. 429, 7. *hit*: i. e. light.

Note. *the Lorde Admirall* of Q^2 is Lord Howard of Effingham. Of the rest here named, Glemham married Anne, d. of Thos. Sackville, Earl of Dorset, Parker had some considerable military fame, and Goring and Caryll are unimportant.

P. 431. ELVETHAM ENTERTAINMENT: 'j die Octobris 1591 John wolf Entred for his copie, the honorable entertaynement gyven to the quenes maiestie in progresse at Elvetham in Hampshire by the righte honorable the Erle of Hertford . . . vj^{d},' *Sta. Reg.* (ed. Arb.) ii. 596. In this case the absence of prose speeches makes Lyly's authorship less obvious. The non-euphuistic narrative is clearly not his. Though its style is not perhaps markedly distinct from the narrative style of the *Glasse*, yet he could hardly divest himself so completely of habits of composition strongly visible at Cowdray a month before; and he would have avoided the inartistic explanations of pp. 433–4, 441–2. But since the action as described in the narrative is throughout in close relation with the set speeches, it seems clear that the author of the latter devised the whole entertainment and must have collaborated loosely with the narrator. The latter was probably some confidential secretary of Lord Hertford's, who could best supply details of the landscape, domestic, or culinary effects he had helped to organize, while Lyly could impart to him the musical details in which the tract abounds. To the same hand we may attribute the added matter of the third edition, in which room is also found for some additional verses by the poet. To the actual songs and speeches I have felt that Watson might urge some claim; because the Latin verse is much better than Lyly's elsewhere, and Watson is about the best Latin verse-writer of his day (cf. 'Doctior est nobis,' 'Fronte serenata,' ll. 16, 22 of the Poet's speech, with ll. 13, 29 of the 'Protrepticon' to the *Hecatompathia*), because the song 'With fragrant flowers,' p. 439, is signed 'Tho. Watson' in *Englands Helicon* (1600), because 'a second Sunne,' p. 444, is applied to his mistress several times in the *Hecatompathia* (sonnets 35, 39, 44), where, too, an Echo is employed (son. 25), while Watson's knowledge of music and musicians was probably in advance of Lyly's own. But Watson would hardly remain anonymous, nor, perhaps, describe himself as 'modicum poetam,' 436 l. 2, while for the anonymity and the modesty we have parallels in Lyly's case. No connexion between Watson and Hertford is recorded, nor does other dramatic work of his survive; while Lyly's position and experience in the Revels Office would make him a natural person from whom to seek aid in such devices. The blank verse exactly resembles in movement, and mediocrity, much of that in *The Woman*; where, too, we find 'a second sonne' (i. 1. 80), 'But all in

vaine' (Prol. l. 9, and here, p. 442 l. 22), and the very striking reproduction, with the same double arrangement, of the verses handed to Elizabeth by Sylvanus (iii. 1. 111–5, and here, p. 445 ll. 33–6). Watson doesn't deal in fairies; and some of the songs seem too slight for him, e. g. 'Elisa is the fairest Queene,' which is very like 'Happie houre, happie daie,' of the Quarrendon Speeches, p. 463, while Sylvanus, and his grief at the Queen's departure, are suggested by Sylvanus' lamenting speech in Gascoigne's *Princely Pleasures*, from which Lyly borrows elsewhere. On p. 445 l. 28 we have the proverb about water as a cure for wantonness, as in *M. Bomb.* iii. 4. 24–5. In the Poet's speech, too, we have Lyly's favourite allusion to Baucis and Philemon, his borrowing of the line 'Dicite Iö Pæan' as elsewhere, and his constant trick of personifying Envy in opposition to the Queen. On the whole, while some collaboration between the two friends, both living in St. Bartholomew's (W. died Sept. 1592), is possible, Lyly's claim seems good enough to all except the song 'With fragrant flowers'—cf. note on p. 439 l. 28.

4. *in Progresse*: the same as that of Cowdray. From Portsmouth she visited the Earl of Southampton at Titchfield at the beginning of September, then Southampton, Winchester, Farley near Basing (about the 13th), and Odiham, reaching Elvetham, in the north-east corner of the county, on the 20th. She quitted Elvetham on Thursday the 23rd, was at Farnham Castle on the 24th, and Sutton Place on the 26th, whence she returned to Richmond (Nichols, iii. 98–100, 121).

6. *the Earle of Hertford*: Edward Seymour, eldest (1539?–1621) surviving son of the Protector Somerset. Created Earl of Hertford by Elizabeth, he angered her by marrying a sister of Lady Jane Grey, and was fined £5000 and imprisoned till his wife's death in 1568. His second wife, Frances Howard, daughter of Lord Howard of Effingham, was the hostess on this occasion. See essay on *Endim.* vol. iii. p. 99.

P. 432, 19. *fourteene score* (sc. yards): a measure in archery; cf. 2 *Hen. IV*, iii. 2. 52.

28. *Chaundrie*: place for candles. *Ewery*: for ewers, table-linen and towels.

P. 433, 25. *priuie*: privet, used in Breton.

P. 434, 7. *vltimum in executione*, &c.: theological commonplace about the creation of man, or of woman. Cf. *Euph.* ii. p. 86 l. 5 note.

28. *her owne house*: 'Odiam, now famous for a royal palace,' Camden, *Britt.* i. 121.

P. 435, 1. *veridicus vates*, &c.: i. e. Lyly himself, who doubtless furnished these explanations. *Cothurnatus* (below), properly of tragic poets, but also of serious and lofty verse. The writer seems to be recalling Senec. *Ep.* i. 8 'Quam multa Publilii non excalceatis, sed cothurnatis dicenda sunt!'

21. *lituris*: Ov. *Tr.* iii. 1. 15 'Littera suffusas quod habet maculosa lituras.'

26. *Philæmonis*: Ov. *Met.* viii. 629 sqq.

P. 436, 18. *Limulus*: apparently of sidelong motion. In Plaut. *Bacch* v. 2. 12 'limulis (oculis) intuentur.'

37. *castriq3 superni Custodes*: *Il.* v. 749 πύλαι μύκον οὐρανοῦ, ἂς ἔχον Ὧραι.

P. 437, 4. *Dicite Iö Pæan*, &c.: Ov. *Ar. Am.* ii. 1. Cf. *Mid.* v. 3. 135; *King's Welc.* p. 505.

22. *vnacquainted light*: again, p. 444 l. 5, and *Loves Met.* i. 2. 145.

P. 439, 6. *to malice*: *Euph.* ii. 41 l. 23 'I malice you,' and 139 l. 18.

24. *second Troy*: Spenser had used 'Troynovant' for London, *F. Q.* iii. 9. 45.

28. *with verdure newly dight*: confirming the title of the song in *Englands Helicon*, 'The Nimphes meeting their May Queene, entertaine her with this Dittie,' where it is subscribed 'Tho. Watson.' Possibly first composed, whether by Watson or Lyly, for a royal maying at Greenwich, or for the entertainment of this year at Theobalds. The line 'O beauteous Queene of second Troy' occurs in a May poem addressed to Elizabeth and printed in Watson's *The first set of Italian Madrigals*, 1590, 4° (Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* ii. 494), and I incline to his authorship of this song. Antony Nixon in *Great Brittaines Generall Joyes* (noticed by Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* ii. 51) plagiarized and padded it out into a stanza of eight decasyllable lines.

P. 440, 21. *Thomas Morley*: 1557–1604? Our text shows he was made organist long before 1591. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

P. 441, 13. *foure . . . Gentlemen*: for the first, second, and fourth (Carew) see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* *Maruin* must be of the Mervyns of Petersfield, Hants.

16. *some deuise*: these water-sports were suggested to Hertford by those at Kenilworth in 1575.

P. 443, 9. *neuer yet . . . Nereus . . . vaine*: so below, p. 446 'who neuer sings but truth.' Hesiod. *Theog.* 233 Νηρέα δ' ἀψευδέα καὶ ἀληθέα γείνατο Πόντος.

P. 445, 9. *printing oracles . . . leafe*: favourite notion with Lyly. Cf. *Euph.* ii. 113 l. 22 'an enchaunted leafe, a verse of Pythia.'

33. *Aöniis prior*, &c.: lines reproduced, with the same inversion of them, by Pandora in her prophetic vein, *Woman*, iii. 1. 111–5.

P. 446, 26. *the Bonaduenture*: the Earl of Cumberland commanded a Queen's ship called the 'Elizabeth Bonaventur,' of 600 tons, against the Armada in 1588; it had been Drake's flagship in 1585.

P. 447, 15. *The Plowmans Song*: the earliest printed form of this charming song, which Elizabeth had the taste to admire. It was reprinted in *Englands Helicon*, 1600, with title 'Phillida and Coridon' and signature 'N. Breton'; and was, says Hazlitt (*Handbook*, p. 60) 'afterwards

produced as a separate publication under the title of the *Shepherds Delight* (Roxb. Ball. i. 188).' It appears also in *Rawlinson MS. Poet.* 85 (assigned 'late in 16th cent.'), fol. 3, with several slight variations, signed 'Britton,' and near others similarly signed. Grosart printed it among Breton's works from a MS. of the late F. W. Cosens (which he dates 1586–96), where it is copied without signature but with several others of Breton's. Probably it is his, since it forms no part of any device and is merely introduced by the musicians; but there is the possibility that it is Lyly's, its anonymity causing the ascription to Breton, whose other Phyllida-and-Corydon pieces are not in couplets, nor yet in this rapid and deftly-touched manner. Collier (*Bibl. Cat.* i. 81) claimed for Breton *The Passionate Shepherd* of 1604, on the ground of some likeness to the diction of this poem, viz. to ll. 4–6 of p. 448.

P. 448, 16. *bord and cord*: Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*, bk. ii. p. 75, quoting this without further detail, suggests that Fives is a derivative from this game of five to five.

P. 449, 12. *Mermaides*: cf. *Cowdray Ent.* p. 428 l. 5.

19. *leaches*: jelly, of cream, isinglass, sugar, and almonds (Halliwell).

32. *Aureola, the Queene of Fairy land*: in these most interesting lines we have the elves of Teutonic superstition, living underground, dancing in rings at night, and possessed of supernatural attributes and powers of blessing and cursing, conjoined with (1) Auberon (Oberon), the fairy-king of romance, familiar to English readers from Lord Berners' translation of *Huon de Bordeaux* (1st ed. c. 1534, 2nd 1570), and (2) a new feature, the fairy-queen Aureola, who seems, from the line about the nightly-falling stars, to be a personification of the Earth itself. Chaucer in his *Marchantes Tale* had made the classical underworld-rulers, Pluto and Proserpina (confessedly taken from Claudian), sovereigns of an English fairy-world, which dances in pleasant spots and interests itself in mortal affairs. Lyly, as we saw, p. 401, had found his way to Chaucer before the writing of *Gallathea* and *Endimion*, and had introduced fairies in both those plays; and his conception of the fairy-queen may possibly be coloured by the following lines from Claudian's *Raptus Proserpinae*, ii. 294–9:

> 'quicquid liquidus complectitur aer
> Quicquid alit tellus, quicquid salis aequora verrunt,
> Quod fluvii volvunt, quod nutrivere paludes,
> Cuncta tuis pariter cedent animalia regnis,
> Lunari subiecta globo; qui septimus auras
> Ambit et aeternis mortalia separat astris.'

The name Aureola, which is not classical nor yet Spenserian, was applied mediaevally to the celestial crown assigned to virgins; and was chosen by Lyly probably with reference to the actual flower-crown she here offers to a virgin-queen. In *effect* it is equivalent to Titania, which Ovid uses for

Diana. Whether Lyly had any near predecessor in this fairy-sketch, to which he adds somewhat at Quarrendon in the following year (pp. 454-7), must remain uncertain. Greene's *James the Fourth*, which introduces Oberon dancing with fairies, and to which I conceive Shakespeare *was* indebted in several points, is of unknown date (ent. S. R. 1594, printed 1598): but Halliwell in his folio edition of Shakespeare (16 vols. 1853-65, vol. v. p. 86), after a loose and incorrect notice of this Elvetham Entertainment of 1591, mentions that in Greene's *Groatsworth of Witte*, 1592, a player boasts of having performed the part of the King of Fairies with applause—he was, he says, 'famous for Delphrygus, and the King of the Fairies.' Much of the material for deciding the question must have perished.

P. 450, 10. *song of sixe partes . . . Flute*: the same six instruments are enumerated in the title of Thomas Morley's *First Booke of Consort Lessons . . . for sixe Instruments*, 1611. The bandora (or pandora) and cithern were like a guitar, with wire strings, played by a plectrum, the bandora acting as a bass to the cithern.

P. 451, note. *depart*: no instance quoted before *F. Q.* (1590) iii. 7. 20. See *The Woman*, Intr. vol. iii. p. 232.

P. 452, 8. *protested*, &c. (and note): the minimizing in Q^3 must be of Hertford's prompting, like the omission of the details of the banquet, pp. 448-9. In Nov. 1595 he was again sent to the Tower, for petitioning for recognition of the validity of his first marriage, but released on the following Jan. 3.

P. 453. SPEECHES AT QUARRENDON: Hamper considered these speeches, with the three on pp. 412-4, as by George Ferrers of *The Mirrour for Magistrates*, because found in a manuscript collection by Henry Ferrers, 'his namesake if not his relative.' But the relationship is problematical; George Ferrers died in 1579; and Henry (1549-1633), for whom they have also been claimed (*D. N. B.* art. 'Lee, Sir Henry,' and cf. art. 'Ferrers, George,' by S. L. L.), though Wood asserts him to have written some scattered verse, is not certainly known for a poet (Hunter's *Chorus Vatum*, Addit. MS. 24,491, p. 421). The employment of Lyly's practised hand is much more probable, especially if Lee had used him before; and the general style and contents are clearly Lylian, e. g. the elaborate balance of the Chaplain's opening, the Page's euphuism, the conceits of the Legacy, and the close resemblance of the dialogue between Constancy and Liberty to the subjects and style of *Loves Metamorphosis*. The occasion is the Queen's two days' visit to Sir Henry Lee at Quarrendon, some two miles north-west of Aylesbury, in Aug. 1592, as is proved by the heading of the dialogue in *The Phœnix Nest*, 1593 (given p. 458, footnote; and cf. Nichols' *Progresses*, iii. pp. 125, 129), and by internal allusions, e. g. 'the old Knight,' Loricus' retirement, &c., which link this with previous Tilt-yard occasions. For Sir Henry Lee (1530-1610) see

above, pp. 384, 410–4, 517–8. The *D. N. B.* thinks he joined the Cadiz expedition in 1596.

The general idea of the first day's entertainment, which, in the absence of stage-directions, seems not of very clear or happy design, is that 'the olde knight,' Sir Henry Lee, whom the Fairy Queen has deprived of sight and liberty as a punishment for wandering love, recovers both by the Queen's visit and interpretation of certain 'enchaunted tables'; while other ladies who, essaying the undoing of the charm, have become victims and prisoners to inconstancy (p. 456 ll. 36 sq.), are also released, and Inconstancy herself converted. The idea of the second day is simple, to thinness.

P. 454, 7. *Queene of Fayries*: see note on *Elvetham*, p. 449 l. 32.

12. *At the celebrating*, &c.: i. e. the anniversary of the Queen's accession, Nov. 17, kept annually by a joust at the Tilt-yard. If the speech be taken literally, Sir Henry Lee, having by his retirement in 1590 declared his inability to joust in future, had in 1591, to make a show of service, thrust himself into the arena to endure any shock that might (apparently) be inflicted; and his passive inertia is now explained by enchantment which still continues. Cf. note on 'A Cartell,' &c., p. 518.

P. 455, 10. *Scarborows warning*: among the Roxburghe Ballads (iii. 154) is one (perhaps later) in black letter about two men slain fighting for the love of one Ann Scarborow: but *Harl. Misc.* x. 257 prints one, with a refrain 'And take Scarborow warnynge everichone,' referring to the surprise of Scarborough Castle in Mary's reign, 1557, by Thos. Stafford, who had landed in Scotland from France with but few men. It was recaptured within six days, and Stafford beheaded. The proverb, then, means '*no* warning'; though Fuller, who tells the story (*Worthies*, Yorks. ed. Nuttall, iii. 398) suggests a second explanation.

21. *The olde Knightes Tale*: not, I think, in immediate sequence to last speech: cf. ll. 16–7 and the presentation of a new jewel, p. 457 l. 26.

36. *Not far from hence . . . saluted*: this might refer to Aureola's speech in *Elvetham Ent.*, only there is no mention of her inviting the Queen to a feast in her bower, nor of jousts, on that occasion. Possibly the reference is to some features in the Theobalds entertainment, May, 1591, of which record is lost.

P. 456, 9–10. *enchaunted pictures . . . woordes*, &c.: probably a series of Emblems, like those reproduced in Nichols' *Progresses*, ii. 124–7 as adorning a wainscoted closet at Hawsted Place, Suffolk, which the Queen visited in 1578.

17. *One asked*, &c.: presumably, the Queen.

26. *Piller that was crounde*: cf. the quotation from Segar, above, p. 411 top; and *Endim.* iii. 4. 155.

P. 457, 13. *teene*: AS. *teóna*, injury, vexation.

17. *be extended*: with allusion to the legal sense of 'seizure.'

23. *resolution*: solution of the 'tables'; st. 5, above, and p. 459 ll. 5–6.

26. *woorthles meede*: another jewel.

32. *Cœlumq' solumq' beavit*: below, p. 469 ll. 3–4 'hath made the weather fayre, & the ground fruitfull at this progresse.'

P. 458, 1. *The Songe*, &c.: sung by the ladies alluded to above, st. 8; *the two Ladies* being Constancy and Inconstancy (or Liberty), who seem by an inconsistency to be imagined as also among the prisoners.

6. *Knightes restored*: cf. below, p. 459 ll. 2–6.

P. 459, 5. *enchaunted tables*: cf. above, stt. 5, 11.

11. *though . . . speake after you*: showing that she is speaking *first*: or the Thanksgiving must be pronounced by Constancy, as in *Ph. Nest.*

P. 460, 14. *Acquisito termino cessat motus*: *The Woman*, i. 1. 128–9 Nature threatens the Planets 'Be sure I will dissolue your harmonie, When once you touche the fixed period.' Cf. *Euph.* i. 288 l. 35.

P. 461, 21. *Li. It is a coulde comforte*, &c.: the argument from this point bears strong resemblance to that between Niobe and Silvestris in *Loves Met.* iii. 1. 80–133.

P. 462, 14–6. *this simple woorke*: another present. *Loose*: same pun on Helen, *Euph.* i. 179 ll. 8–9.

P. 463, 8. *Semper eadem*: the Queen's favourite motto.

P. 464, 22. *Loricus*: probably for *loricatus*, alluding to his late office as Champion.

P. 465, 18. *uncoth*: unknown, unfrequented, as *Maydes Met.* i. 1. 238.

P. 466, 32. *Subsilire in cœlum*, &c.: I cannot find it.

38–9. *to lyue, to die*, &c.: so to live as to die willingly.

P. 467, 6. *Testament*: was this conceit a pathetic reference to the loss of his surviving son? cf. Tilt-yard, p. 413 l. 31, note.

20. *will say . . . good hand*: vouch for its authenticity.

P. 468, 2. *Soule . . . gueste*: either an allusion to, or anticipation of, the famous lines 'Go, soul, the body's guest,' attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh, and first printed in the second ed. of Davison's *Poetical Rapsody*, 1608. They are found in *Harl. MS.* 6910, fol. 141 (c. 1596); Mr. Bullen knows of no earlier copy, nor I.—The present lines recall the form of contemporary wills, which commence with a statement of the physical and mental condition of the testator, and bequeath his body to the ground and his soul to his Maker. The 5th stanza, like the 1st (and cf. p. 469 l. 29 his 'best payment . . onlie good prayers'), looks like a reminder that his services were yet unrewarded. Lyly seems to have recalled Loricus' oratory and this 'Testament' in his own petitions to the Queen of 1598 and 1601: cf. above, pp. 65, 71.

24–5. *Stellatus . . . Renatus*: names perhaps of religious suggestion ('glorified' and 'born anew'), but possibly a Latinization of real names (Starre, Stareleigh, Rennie? &c.).

P. 469, 3. *weather . . . ground*, &c.: cf. above, p. 457 l. 32 'Cœlumq' solumq' beavit.'

31. *The Legacye*: to be 'annexed (as a codicil) to his former Will' i. e. the verses of pp. 467–8.

P. 470, 2. *priuate*: pun on 'privet,' but to transpose with *succorie* would violate accord with the other items.

9. *to springe pleasure*: cf. *Mid.* iv. 3. 48 'spring the partridge.'

P. 471. SPEECHES AT BISHAM, SUDELEY, AND RYCOTE. No reader, probably, will require proof of the authorship of the Bisham speeches, which in style and matter are the exact Lyly. The Wild Man is repeated from *Cowdray* of the preceding year; Pan is the same in speech and manner as in *Midas*; Ceres has Nymphs as in *Loves Met.* (cf. *Woman*, iii. 1. 50). So, too, with those at Sudeley: apart from style, there are favourite phrases and allusions, and a general resemblance to *Loves Met.*, while no other writer could possibly rival the claim of the Pliny-soaked Lyly to the song 'Hearbes, wordes, and stones.' In the Rycote speeches the likeness is not so glaring, but quite obvious, even had we not the printer's address to tell us all three sets are by one hand. Even Nichols (Pref. p. xxvii) notes that 'the entertainments of this Progress are marvellously full of quips and conundrums'; and had Lyly's recognized text ever received due attention, we should not have waited till now for the identification of work so obviously his.

3. *this last Progresse*: we left the Queen at Quarrendon. The date of the Bisham visit is fixed with probability as Aug. 21 by a letter from Mr. Thomas Posthumus Hoby at Bisham, dated Aug. 14 and stating that the Queen 'had appointed to be there on that day sennight' (Nichols' *Progresses*, iii. 124). 'Early in September we find the Queen in Gloucestershire, when she visited John Higford, Esq. lord of the manor of Alderton . . . On the 12th of that month her Majesty was at Sudeley Castle, the mansion of Giles Lord Chandos [she seems to have reached Sudeley on Sat. the 10th, and left it on the 13th, cf. p. 484 l. 4 note]; and thence, after resting some days at Woodstock, to Oxford on the 22nd' (*Ib.* p. 129). On Thursday the 28th she left Oxford for Rycote, which she quitted on Mon., Oct. 2 (pp. 485 l. 2, 489 l. 23); and when Law-term began she was at Windsor (*Nich.* iii. 214).

5. *the Lady Rvssels, at Bissam*: Bisham Abbey in Berks., on the Thames, some 2 m. from Great Marlow and 10 from Windsor, on the death (1566) of Sir John Hoby, the translator of Castiglione, passed to his widow Elizabeth, third daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke of Gidea Hall, Essex. She married as her second husband (1574) John, Lord Russell, who died in 1584. By her first she had two sons, Edward and Thomas Posthumus, both living at the time of this visit, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Anne, who died in 1571: by her second, two daughters, also named Elizabeth and Anne, who may be represented by

the Isabel and Sybil of the dialogue. For Lady Russell's literary and learned repute, see *D. N. B.* art. 'Hoby, sir Thomas.' She died in 1609. For Lords Chandos and Norris cf. below, under Sudeley and Rycote.

10. *Ioseph Barnes*: printed and published 1585–1618. Printer to Oxford University as early as 1585 (*Sta. Reg.* ed. Arb. ii. 793).

P. 474, 2. *Dotterels . . . dance*: cf. 'We have another leg strain'd for this dottrel,' B. Jonson's *Devil is an Ass*, iv. 6 (Nares).

23. *Roses, Eglĕtine, harts-ease*: specially selected as the Queen's flowers; *Theob.* pp. 417–8.

P. 475, 12. *Fraunce, to weaken Rebels*: 4,000 men under Lord Willoughby de Eresby were sent in 1590, and 4,000 under Essex in 1591, to assist Henri IV against the Spanish opposition.

13. *Flaunders*: she had supported the Netherlands against Spain since 1585. The Spanish siege of Ostend was now progressing. See below, pp. 486–7.

17. *hedlesse*: Norfolk beheaded 1572, Mary Stuart, 1587; the Babington conspirators put to death with tortures in 1586.

20. *Baucis*: Ovid. *Metam.* viii. 630 sqq.—a favourite allusion with Lyly.

P. 476, 7. *Swel Ceres*, &c.: this song is included in *Englands Helicon*, 1600 as 'sung . . at Bissam . . in prograce. The Authors name vnknowne to me,' i. e. to 'A. B.' the 'Collector.'

P. 477, 10. *the Castle*: Sudeley Castle, near Winchcomb in Gloucestershire and about 6 m. north-east of Cheltenham, was built temp. Henry VI. The owner and host on this occasion was Giles Brydges, third Lord Chandos, 1547–1594; for whom, with the whole family and the castle, see Sir S. E. Brydges' lengthy Introduction to these speeches, pp. 17–53. Chandos' wife, who long survived him, was Lady Frances Clinton, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln: she had two daughters, Katharine and Elizabeth, now aged 16 and 14 respectively.

22. *lewdnes*: ignorance.

P. 478, 1. *Nescis temeraria*, &c.: Ov. *Met.* i. 514.

11. *Nec prece*, &c.: Ov. *Fast.* ii. 806.

17. *Tantœne animis*, &c.: *Aen.* i. 11.

22. *surbated*: wearied, properly 'bruised'; OF. *surbatre*.

P. 479, 14. *My hart and tongue*, &c.: this song is included in *Englands Helicon*, 1600 as 'sung . . . at Sudley Castell . . . in prograce. The Author thereof vnknowne.' It also appears with music in John Dowland's *A Pilgrims Solace*, 1612.

30. *Nimpha mane*, &c.: combined from Ov. *Met.* i. 505, 518.

P. 480, 3. *dunghill cock*, &c.: *Fabulæ Æsopicæ plures quingentis*, Lyons, 1571, No. 188, 'Gallus repertor Vnionis'; also Phaedrus, ii. 12 'Pullus ad Margaritam.'

5. *broomy*: stiff, stubbly: N. E. D. has one instance, 1709.

6. *rough hewen*: rough fashioned, rough, as p. 485 l. 7. Contrast 'rough-hewed' (*Cowdray*, p. 424 l. 26).

23. *table*: picture. *Euph.* ii. 6 l. 32.

P. 481, 1. *The thirde day*: Monday, Sept. 12.

31. *Cutter*: i. e. sheep-shearer; or, perhaps, dandy, swaggerer, one who cuts a dash (as often). Cf. p. 484 ll. 1–2.

32. *beane*, &c.: properly a Twelfth-Night custom, N.E.D. s.v. For the singular *peaze* cf. *Euph.* ii. 5 l. 10.

P. 482, 21. *Cut.*: i. e. Cutty (Cuthbert), or for Cud.[dy]. From p. 483 ll. 12–3 the Cutter does not sing the song.

26. *plaide*: gambled.

29. *Hearbes, wordes, and stones*, &c.: this song appears in *Englands Helicon*, 1600, 1614, signed '*Anonimus*,' and headed 'Another Song before her Maiestie at Oxford, sung by a comely Sheepheard, attended on by sundrie other Sheepheards and Nimphes.' Since this part of the Sudeley entertainment was not actually given, Lyly must have made the song serve at Oxford a fortnight later. Wood (*Annals*, i) says that on her entry (Fri., Sept. 22) 'From the Undergraduates she had an Oration and Verses spoken by two of them, and from the Bachelaurs and Masters the like'; while Stringer mentions a discussion on the following Tuesday 'An Morbi curantur per Fascinationem & per Daemones?' (Nich. iii. 158) but possibly these lines were introduced as part of some show offered on an evening. See Biog. Append. pp. 379–80.

P. 483, 5. *seldome so well*, &c.: Sannaz. *Arcadia*, Pros. iv 'molti commendarono le rime leggiadre, e tra rustici pastori non usitate.'

7. *leripoope*: properly the *quantum sufficit* of knowledge for a degree, *liripipium* being an academic hood. Cf. *Saph.* i. 3. 6 note, *M. Bomb.* i. 3. 128. Sense-accent on '*he onlie*.'

16. *Taylers crafte*: i. e. too cramped, or too nicely-dexterous, or else comparing the plectrum's movement to that of the needle. *Faste*, because a hurt hand would stop his playing.

26. *eight partes*: Latin Grammar joke: *tolerable* for 'declinable.'

P. 484, 3. *seuenth of September*: 'the Queen's birthday' (Nichols).

4. *the eleuenth*: should be the day of the Queen's arrival; but Melibœus is speaking on the 12th (cf. *moisture*, l. 6), and since Sunday preceded the rainy day (pp. 477 l. 34, 481 l. 1), she must have come on the 10th.

14. *hemlocke and honie*: alluding to the practice of smoking bees by burning hemlock. *Euph.* i. 194 l. 17, and cf. the collocation in *Saph.* (Prol. at Court).

30. *dueties*: respect to their superiors.

32. *shepheards weedes*: some product of Cotswold wool.

P. 485, 1. *Rycote*: 10 m. E. of Oxford on the way to Thame. A drawing of the house, built temp. Henry VI–VIII, is given in Nichols, iii. 169. It was pulled down early in the last century; but the fine

Perpendicular chapel remains, though in decay. See my Introd. to Basse's *Poet. Works*, p. xvi.

3. *an olde gentle-man*: the host, Sir Henry Norris (1525?–1601), son of Anne Boleyn's alleged lover, created by Elizabeth Baron Norris of Rycote, which came to him, 1559, by his wife Margaret, daughter of John Williams of Thame.

14. *my foure boies*: five of the six sons enumerated by Dugdale (*Baronage*, 1675, ii. 404) were living, viz. John, Edward, Henry, Thomas, and Maximilian; William the eldest, having died in 1579. But Sir John, the second and most famous, was now in England for a brief interval (see *D. N. B.*) and therefore probably at Rycote. Only from four sons are letters presented, below; that to 'Lady Squemish' being from one of the supposed authors of the last two. Fuller (*Worthies*, 1662 fol., Oxfordshire) gives the order William, John, Thomas, Henry, Maximilian, Edward: the *D. N. B.* follows Dugdale: the order of the following letters agrees with neither.

21. *the Crowe my wife*: Fuller mentions this nickname applied by Elizabeth to Lady Norris, 'being (as it seemeth) black in complexion,' and quotes the Queen's letter of condolence (22 Sept. 1597) on Sir John's death, beginning—'My own Crow.'

28. *Qui color ater*, &c.: 'Cui color albus erat, nunc est contrarius albo,' Ov. *Met.* ii. 541.

P. 486, 4. *A letter . . . Irish lacq*$_3$: i. e. from Sir Thomas Norris, d. 1559, who had, with the exception of a brief visit home in 1583, been serving in Ireland since 1579 (cf. 'ten years absence,' l. 18). He was in England for a few months in 1593, and on his brother John's death in 1597 succeeded him as President of Munster.

26. *comming frō Flaunders*: i. e. from Sir Edward Norris, d. 1603, who after much service and much quarrelling in Flanders was made governor of Ostend in 1590, and was now defending it against the Spanish siege.

33. *p̄nk*: small Dutch boat; Hakluyt *Voyages*, i. 610 (Whitney).

P. 487, 17. *the second . . . . the thirde*: both letters are from men embarking for Brittany (cf. the French Page). The 'trunchion' of the third perhaps indicates the fourth son Henry (d. 1599), who was sent out in May, 1592 to report on the condition of the English force, rather than the youngest son Maximilian, to whom we may assign the second, and who was killed fighting in Brittany under his brother John in 1593. Yet the 'trunchion' would be still more appropriate to Sir John Norris, who was actually in command of the 3,000 foot sent to Brittany in April, 1591. See note on p. 485 l. 14.

P. 488, 7. *pax*: sacred tablet, the kissing of which replaced the 'kiss of peace' in Rom. Cath. worship.

17. *your L.*: i. e. his mother, Lady Norris.

P. 489, 14. *my daughter*: no mention of her in Fuller or Dugdale, but evidently married in Jersey. The Channel Islands have been English since the Conquest.

P. 491. HAREFIELD ENTERTAINMENT: Harefield lies near the river Colne, in the N.W. corner of Middlesex, three to four miles N. of Uxbridge, and three to four miles E. of Chalfont St. Peter in Bucks. In 1585 John Newdigate exchanged the manor for that of Arbury in Warwickshire with Sir Edmund Anderson, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who in 1601 conveyed it to Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper, to his wife Alice, Countess-Dowager of Derby, and to her daughters after her. They were the Queen's hosts on this occasion for three nights, July 31–Aug. 2, 1602. The Countess held the house and manor till her death in 1637 (Milton's *Arcades* was performed here in 1634), and by the marriage of her eldest daughter, Lady Jane Stanley, it passed to the family of Grey, Lord Chandos, 1647, and then by marriage of his son's widow to Sir William Sedley. About 1660 Harefield Place was burnt down, owing, it is said, to Sir Charles Sedley reading in bed. In 1675 the manor returned by purchase to the Newdigate family, and the house was rebuilt shortly afterwards; but Sir Roger Newdigate, living on his Warwickshire estate at Arbury, sold Harefield Place in 1760, though he retained the manor and built Harefield Lodge nearer Uxbridge in 1786. In 1823, when Nichols published the second edition of his *Progresses*, house and manor were again united in the possession of the Newdigate family, in whom the estates, with those at Arbury, are still vested; though the present Harefield Place was erected about a century ago on another site than the old one, neither is it, nor yet Harefield Park and Harefield Grove a mile or two to the north, in actual occupation by the family. (Nichols' *Progresses*, iii. 581–5; Kelly's *Directory of Middlesex*, 1899.)

Sir Thomas Egerton (1540?–1617), natural son of Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley, Cheshire, had attracted Elizabeth's notice by his forensic abilities: he should not, she said, plead against her, and he became Solicitor-General 1592, Master of the Rolls 1594, and Lord Keeper 1596. In July, 1603, he was created Baron Ellesmere by James I, and Lord High Chancellor. He died at York House in the Strand, March 15, 1616–7. His marriage to Alice, sixth daughter of Sir John Spencer of Althorp and widow of Ferdinando fifth Earl of Derby, had occurred in Oct. 1600. The cost of the Queen's present visit, as revealed by the full accounts preserved in the *Egerton Papers*, pp. 340–57 (Camden Soc. No. 12, ed. J. P. Collier, 1840), was not far short of £2000, i.e. about £16,000 present value, and this notwithstanding the extensive contributions in kind made by neighbours and friends all over the country.

Chamberlain, writing to Carleton on Nov. 19 (Nich. iii. 600) says, 'I send you here the Queen's Entertainment at the Lord Keeper's. If you have seen or heard it already, it is but so much labour lost'; from

which it might be argued that it existed in printed form, but no such quarto is known, or entered on the Sta. Reg. in Aug.–December, 1602. Failing such, the Entertainment, as here presented, is made up (1) of Nichols' reprint of a copy made in 1803 of a contemporary MS. in possession of Sir Roger Newdigate. This MS. must have survived the Harefield fire c. 1660 and been transferred to Arbury by Sir Roger in or before 1760; but, whether then or earlier, it got itself hidden between the leaves of a copy of Strype's *Annals of the Reformation* (1709 fol.), where it was first found in 1803 by the Rev. Ralph Churton, to whom Sir Roger had presented the volume. Fortunately Mr. Churton took a copy before returning the MS. to Arbury, where it was again mislaid. After Sir Roger's death in 1806 it could not be found; nor did the Churton transcript, which had followed it to Arbury, turn up till 1820, when Nichols was allowed to print it: (2) of the earliest accessible printed version of the *Lottery*, that namely of the third edition of Davison's *Poetical Rapsody*, 1611 (it appeared first in the 2nd? ed. 1608, of which a copy exists at Britwell: Mr. Bullen reports only three trifling variations). It is there announced as 'presented . . . at the Lord Chancellor's house, 1601'; but its connexion with this occasion is proved by Manningham's *Diary* (*Harl. MS.* 5353, f. 95), where among the entries for Feb. 1602[–3] (ff. 91–102) occurs 'Some [16] of the lotteries w^{ch} were the last Sumer [i. e. that of 1602] at hir M^{ties} being wth the L. Keeper,' followed immediately on the same leaf by a mention of and quotation from the 'dialogue betwee[n]e the bayly and a dary mayd.' Moreover in a MS. among the Conway Papers printed by P. Cunningham 1845 (*Shak. Soc. Papers*, 1844–9, vol. ii. art. ix), the St. Swithin song, Mariner's song (not his speech), and 'The severall Lottes' are given under the heading 'The Devise to entertayne hir M^{ty} at Harfielde, the house of S^{r} Thomas Egerton Lo. Keeper and his Wife the Countess of Darbye,' while in the margin appears 'In hir Ma^{ts} progresse. 1602.' Lastly, in the *Egerton Papers*, among the money accounts of the visit already alluded to, occurs (p. 343) '6 August, 1602. Rewardes to the vaulters, players, and dauncers. Of this x^{li} to Burbidges players for Othello, lxiiij^{li} xviij^{s} x^{d}. *Rewarde to M^{r} Lillyes man, which brought the lotterye boxe to Harefield*, per M^{r} Andr. Leigh, . . . x^{s}'; and '20 August, 1602. Payd more by me [Arthur Mainwaring] for lotterie guiftes, as by my booke and by bill also apeareth, being paide to M^{r} Stewarde . . . 18li 2s 9d.' I have, however, abstained from inserting the *Lottery* in the Newdigate MS., as also from altering the order of the latter, though of course Place's farewell should form the last item.

Lyly's authorship, of the prose at least, is not to my mind doubtful; I had decided for it before I found the significant proof of his connexion with the affair just italicized from the *Egerton Papers* (cf. ib. p. 346 'for carriage of tentes from St. Johnes . . . ix^{s}'). The euphuism is modified—

it is now twenty-two years since he published the Second Part of *Euphues*: yet it is strong enough to identify his hand in the Mariner's speech and the farewell speech of Place; and there are the old puns, the old appeal to proverbs, and a general likeness to the manner of previous entertainments, especially in the opposition of nymphs and satyrs (cf. Pan and the two shepherdesses in the Bisham speeches) and in the introduction of the rustic figures of Joan and the Bayly, besides the detailed resemblances noted in the margin. The customary attribution of the *Lottery* to Sir John Davies rests mainly on the initials 'I. D.' appended to it by Davison in the second and third editions of his *Poetical Rapsody*, where it appears between two poems undoubtedly by that author. Doubtless Davison meant it for his; but his attributions are not always free from doubt, and, were the manuscript copy from which he printed recoverable, it would not surprise me to find the D merely one of Lyly's straggling L's. The Mariner's song and speech are sufficiently Lylian; Lyly's connexion with the Mariner is proved by the Egerton Papers, which have no mention of Davies (or any other poet), to whom it is unlikely that the Lots alone would have been assigned. Grosart gave to him, not only the *Lottery*, but the whole Entertainment (*Davies' Works*, ii. clxxii–viii). The parallels he quotes for the prose portions are naught; but a line he cites from the *Contention*, given at Cecil's reception of the Queen at his Strand house Dec. 6, 1602—'Beauties fresh rose, and Vertues living booke'—must I think be an amplification of St. Swithin's first line; and nos. iv, vii, x, xv, xvii of Davies' *Hymnes of Astræa*, 1599, have some resemblance, chiefly of movement, to this song, as to the *Ode. Of Cynthia*, 1600: e. g. Hymne x, last stanza—

'Renowned art thou (sweet moneth) for this,
Emonge thy dayes her birth-day is;
Grace, plenty, peace and honour,
In one faire hour with her were borne,
Now since they still her crowne adorne
And still attend vpon her.'

On the whole I admit Davies' probable authorship of St. Swithin, his possible of the *Lots*; and it may be that the contents of the Conway MS. exactly define his share, though I think the Mariner's song is more like Lyly.—The following comment in Chamberlain's letter to Carleton of Dec. 23 (Nichols, iii. 601) is interesting: 'You liked the Lord Keeper's Devices so ill, that I care not to get Mr. Secretary's, that were not much better, saving a pretty Dialogue of John Davies 'twixt a Maid, a Widow, and a Wife,' &c. In truth this Harefield Entertainment, like the rest, is no great things; yet there is a pleasant freshness and naturalness about Joan and the Bayly, and about Place.

P. 491, 7. *Queene entered*, &c.: the Queen wrote from Greenwich, July 15; she was at Sir William Russell's at Chiswick July 28; thence she

went to Ambrose Copinger's at Harlington (near West Drayton on the G. W. R.); and thence to Harefield on July 31, apparently a Saturday, for Joan on her arrival wants to keep her 'all this night and to-morrow,' in order to send her into the harvest-field on Monday. She proceeded to Sir William Clarke's, near Burnham, and the Progress was continued throughout August and September, two or three weeks being spent at her own palace of Oatlands in Surrey. She was at Richmond on Oct. 8 (Nichols, iii. 578–9, 595–600).

8. *the Dayrie howse*: Churton identified this with a house called 'Dew's farm' in the time of Sir Roger Newdigate, who said that the Queen was here first welcomed by allegorical persons who attended her to a long avenue of elms leading to the house (Nichols, iii. 583, 587, notes).

18. *greene rushes*: cf. *Saph.* ii. 4. 98 'straungers haue greene rushes.'

19. *chirkinge*: chirping. *Frisketts:* N. E. D. compares OF. *friquet*, a small lively sparrow.

P. 492, 5. *ware*: wear, grow.

10. *Carpenters and Bricklayers*: *Eg. Papers*, p. 348, Thomas Sle's account for 'carpenters and Brick leaers' for alterations in kitchens and dining-room, together with other outside labour, amounts to 199li. 9s. 11d.

18. *sillibub*: syllabub, properly wine mixed with milk and sugar.

23. *loath to learne to praise*: i. e. we are accustomed to do so.

24. *jenitings*: early apple; 'ginnitings,' Bacon's essay *Of Gardens* (Skeat).

25. *able-johns*: apple-johns, cf. N. E. D.

P. 493, 18. *hower glasse, stopped*: cf. *Ode. Of Cynthia*, 1600, p. 414 'Times yong howres attend her still.' In the illustration to *Elvetham Ent.* Neæra in her pinnace holds aloft an hour-glass.

22. *godbwy*: god be with you, good-bye.

P. 494, 38. *my daughter Truth*: see title-page of *Loves Metamorphosis*, vol. iii. p. 299.

14. *guiltlesse Lady*: 'giltless sainte' of Conway MS. is the better reading. St. Swithin's Day is July 15.

16. *La. Walsingham*: not Sir Francis' widow, who had died suddenly on June 18 of this year; but the wife (*née* Awdrey Shelton) of Sir Thomas Walsingham 1568–1630, who had been knighted by Elizabeth.

P. 496, 7. *the Lady . . . burning iron*, &c.: alluding to the legend that Emma of Normandy cleared herself of a charge of unchastity A.D. 1043 by stepping unharmed over nine redhot ploughshares, having seen St. Swithin (d. 862) in a vision the previous night (*Annal. Monastici*, ii. 21, Rolls Series: and *D. N. B.*).

P. 497, 6. *inchaunted Castle of Loue*: probably alluding to the tract mentioned in Laneham's *Letter* as among Capt. Cox's books, and entered on Sta. Reg. to Thos. Purfoote in the period July 22, 1564—July 22, 1565.

Its title is thus given by Ames 'The castle of loue, translated out of Spaynyshe into Englyshe, by John Bowrchier, knyght, lord Bernes, at the instance of lady Elyzabeth Carew, which book treateth of loue betwene Leriano and Laureola, daughter to the king of Masedonia.' 12mo. (Herbert and Dibdin's *Ames*, iii. 195: and *Shak. Soc. Papers*, 1844-9, vol. iv. p. 32.)

15. *this Anchor*: cf. *Egert. Pap.* p. 343 '10 August, 1602 Payde to the goldsmith, part for the anchor and for other matters . . . viij^{li}.'

P. 498, 1. *Candean*: Candian, Cretan, i.e. Ariadne. 'Candia' was the Venetian version of the Saracenic 'Khandax' (Smith's *Dict. Gk. Rom. Geog.*).

5. *Clymen*: Clymene, mother of Phaethon by Apollo (Ov. *Met.* i. 756; Hyg. *Fab.* 156).

P. 499, 3. *Lord Chancellors house*: i.e. he was Lord Chancellor in 1608. See introd. note.

5. *Carricke*: carrack, large ship for freight or fighting. Mr. Bullen (*Poet. Rhap.* ii. 179) cites Grosart (Davies' *Works*, vol. ii. p. clxxiii) as thinking there is allusion to the large Spanish carrick laden with treasure from the East Indies captured by Sir Richard Levison and Sir William Morrison in June, 1602.

9. *Fortune*: I know of no vessel explicitly so named by Elizabeth, but cf. *Elvetham*, p. 446 l. 27 note.

12. *no fishing to the Sea*, &c.: quoted as 'an olde saying,' *Cowdray*, p. 428 l. 12; 'a Prouerb . . . not yet forgotten,' 1671, N. E. D. Grosart (*Works of Davies*, ii. p. clxxix) quotes an instance from Greene's *James IV*, i. 2.

27. *sharking*: piracy, a shark being a needy adventurer. *Lay vsurie*, &c., because from that he can clear himself.

P. 500, 20, marg. *Lo. Derbyes Wife*: Elizabeth, daughter of Lyly's patron, the Earl of Oxford, and wife of William, sixth Earl of Derby, who had succeeded to the title on the death of Ferdinando, 1594, without male issue. Of the other drawers, *M^{rs}. Vauissour* (No. 15) is Anne Vavasour, the maid of honour, old Sir Henry Lee's *inamorata*; *Mrs. Kiddermister* (No. 22) is probably the wife of 'Mr. Kiddermaister,' who figures in the *Egerton Papers*, p. 351, as contributing a buck, game, sweetmeats, &c.

P. 505, 1. KING OF DENMARK'S WELCOME: I think it possible that Lyly devised the showering tree and wrote the song here given, the more so that the latter is not found in Ben Jonson's brief *Entertainment at Theobalds*, July 24, 1606, where three Hours welcome the kings with allusion to the shower—

> 'Vouchsafe your thousand welcomes in this shewer,
> The master vows, not Sybil's leaves were truer.'

Henry Roberts' account says 'Before these Royall Persons came neere the house of Theobals, there was strewed in the highwayes aboundance

of leaves coloured greene, cut like oaken leaves, on every one of which was written, in large Romaine letters of golde, "*Welcome, Welcome*"' (Nichols' *Prog. Jas. I*, ii. 62). Of the City pageants on July 31st, the song of shepherd and shepherdess (with following or preceding dialogue) at Fleet Street Conduit (Ludgate Circus), is very Lylian in manner (which the former song is not), and the motto 'Deus nobis haec otia fecit' was used by Lyly at Cowdray. The talk of 'two Sunnes' (cf. *Elvetham*, p. 444 'a second Sunne') suggests Lyly for the Theobalds song. Roberts says 'Then rode they on, without stay, to Fleete Conduit, which was garnished sweetly (on the toppe was placed delightfull musicke); and were presented with other Speaches, which were graciously accepted' (*Ib.* p. 68). Sir John Harington, writing of these pageants under date August 3, says 'that at the Fleet was in form of a pastoral; a Shepherd, standing by a shady fountain with his Shepherdess, conjured her now by her oath to give place to his affection, since she had promised to do so, when there should be two kings in one kingdom peaceably' (*Ib.* p. 73).

A FUNERAL ORATION.

P. 509, 8. *Written: by Infelice Academico Ignoto*: in his later years Lyly is perpetually harping on his claims as a scholar. For remarks introductory to this composition see Biographical Appendix, p. 388, above.

P. 511, 6. *to beholde Liuy*: Plin. *Epist.* ii. 3 'Nunquamne legisti, Gaditanum quendam Titi Livii nomine gloriaque commotum, ad visendum eum ab ultimo terrarum orbe venisse, statimque ut viderat abiisse?'

30. *ancient Thracians*, &c.: grounded perhaps on Plut. *Consol. ad Apollonium*, c. 22, where it is said that only effeminate nations, Egyptians, Syrians, Lydians, make great mourning for the dead. Cf. too cc. 23, 27.

P. 512, 1. *Petrarch . . . in what Sphere*, &c.: perhaps thinking of Sonn. 278 l. 13 'E vo sol in pensar cangiando 'l pelo, Qual ella è oggi, e 'n qual parte dimora,' &c.

16–32. *the report is that the Thessalians . . . restrayned their ambition*: closely from Plutarch's *Life of Pelopidas*, c. 33, though less closely in the last three lines.

P. 513, 20. *the Babilon of this world*: maintaining the image of Thisbe. Cf. Ov. *Met.* iv. 55 sqq.

22. *The Moone . . . ecclipsed*, &c.: Plut. *De Placitis Philosoph.* ii. 29. 4.

23. *prison of the bodye*: Plato's *Phaedo*, 82–3, as in *Camp.* i. 2. 30–6.

29. *Crates . . . Diogines*, &c.: Plut. *De Inimicorum Utilitate*, c. 2 ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ πατρίδος στέρησιν, καὶ χρημάτων ἀποβολὴν ἐφόδιον σχολῆς ἐποιήσαντο καὶ φιλοσοφίας, ὡς Διογένης καὶ Κράτης. Ζήνων δέ, τῆς ναυκληρίας αὐτῷ συντριβείσης, πυθόμενος εἶπεν, Εὖ γε, ὦ τύχη, ποιεῖς, εἰς τὸν τρίβωνα συν-

ελαύνουσα ἡμᾶς. The instances of Crates and Zeno occurred in *Euph.* i. 308 l. 23, 314 l. 36.

31. *Democritus lost his eyes*: Plut. *De Curiositate*, c. 12, *denies* the truth of the story that Democritus of Abdera voluntarily blinded himself by gazing at the blaze of light reflected from a mirror, that his contemplations might not be subject to disturbance from the eyesight.

36. *Plato . . . interdicted . . . lamentation*: *Repub.* iii. 387 D, *Laws* xii. 949. Probably Lyly's source was Plut. *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, c. 22.

P. 514, 8. *a Lake (as Aristotle reporteth) neere . . . Eridanus*, &c.: Arist. *De Mirab. Auscult.* c. 81 Ταύτας δὲ τὰς νήσους, φασὶ προκεχωκέναι τὸν Ἠριδανὸν ποταμόν. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ λίμνη, ὡς ἔοικε, πλησίον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὕδωρ ἔχουσα θερμόν· ὀσμὴ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς βαρεῖα καὶ χαλεπὴ ἀποπνεῖ, καὶ οὔτε ζῷον οὐδὲν πίνει ἐξ αὐτῆς, οὔτ' ὄρνεον ὑπερίπταται, ἀλλὰ πίπτει καὶ ἀποθνήσκει . . . Μυθεύουσι δ' οἱ ἐγχώριοι Φαέθοντα κεραυνωθέντα πεσεῖν εἰς ταύτην τὴν λίμνην. Pliny, xxxvii. 11 does not reproduce this.

25. *I am amazed*, &c.: cf. Letter to Cecil on Burleigh's death, p. 393 ll. 4–6.

31. *Curæ leues*, &c.: Seneca, *Phaedra*, 615.

P. 516, 9. *Collin Clout . . . Rowland*: Spenser had died on Jan. 16, 1598–9, in King Street, Westminster. Rowland was the pastoral name assumed by Michael Drayton in his *Rowlands Sacrifice to the Nine Muses*, published in the same volume with *Idea*, 1593, 4°. If he wrote no elegy, he was punctual in his welcome of the new reign with a poem 'To the Maiestie of King James,' which met with no gracious reception. I know no similar composition which I can claim for Lyly.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON SENTENCE-STRUCTURE IN *EUPHUES*.

In my desire to treat Euphuism in as small a compass as possible I may seem to have done but scant justice to its elaborate sentence-structure, the main point in the advantage it conferred on English Prose. What I have said on this head is comprised in the paragraph on Antithesis, which stands at the head of my analysis (pp. 120–1) and in a passage on p. 145; and it may be that the examples chosen hardly give an adequate idea of the extreme complexity to which the structural balance is sometimes carried. Attempts have been made to reduce these complex forms under definite formulae of double or triple structure: but the variety in the examples which have been, or might be, quoted convinces me that such attempts are in reality mistaken. What needs assertion, and is not, perhaps, asserted with sufficient distinctness in the paragraph referred to, is the constant presence in *Euphues* of a duplicating, triplicating, or multiplying habit, applicable at almost any point in the structure of a sentence.

It arises from an unusual activity and alertness in the composing brain, which continually thrusts upon the writer parallel or opposed instances, and parallel forms of expression; and it is encouraged by the perception that such doubling and tripling may be made to minister excellently to that exact balance or Antithesis which is Lyly's dominant artistic principle. To a sentence, a clause, an epithet, an adjectival or adverbial phrase, just written, he constantly adds a second, a third, and sometimes many more, of an almost or exactly parallel structure[1], indulging the multiplying habit according as his fancy or memory happens to be fertile or restricted in its momentary direction, and working over the sentence afterwards with critical touching and readjustment and insertion of alliterative devices to increase, or define more sharply, the innumerable points of balance. Simply to assert this general principle of composition, issuing in numerous sentence-forms infinitely variable by the accidents of the working brain, seems to me better than to attempt to classify the sentence-forms actually used; for I believe their number is too large for such classification to be profitable, and might have been much larger had *Euphues* been of twice its present length. Except for the details, the shorter forms, I do not believe that he formed or followed patterns at all, even as an unconscious habit; but that his elaborate sentences simply grew, under the guidance of the *general* habit indicated, working fitfully, as the preference and mental upthrow of the moment dictated, and were polished afterwards into a regularity always limited by the freedom of their first appearance. As example I invite the reader to examine the three paragraphs on pp. 192-3 'As touchinge my residence . . . entised with lasciuiosnesse,' where he will note not only the constant presence of the duplicating tendency, but the varying extent to which it is carried

[1] To this exact structural balance of parts of speech, this 'similarity of position and of grammatical function' as Mr. Child words it (p. 52 of his treatise), the term 'parison' or 'parisonity' has been applied; a term which, though it is too late now to change it, and though I have felt bound to reproduce it once at least to make sure that the reader would identify the feature so often discussed, I think inappropriate, partly as clashing with the general term of Sound-likeness applied to Lyly's alliterative and other devices discussed on pp. 123-5, partly as ill representing the fact it is used to denote. Sound, the ear, enters of course largely into the shaping of the sentences of every writer with a care for form; and has its share in this matter of clause parallelism, inasmuch as clauses constructed of like parts of speech will sound in a measure alike, will possess, that is, the same rhythm, varying only with the variation in the number of syllables or words in either clause; while, further, some of the devices of sound-likeness *may* be employed to mark the parallelism more distinctly. But in hardly any, if any, case do these alliterative devices accompany, step by step, the elaborate clause-parallelism referred to, the effect of which is really due to the fact that the words chosen are *grammatically correspondent*. It would remain, were all forms of sound-likeness (except the inseparable rhythm) absent; it would remain, were the sense of the two clauses neither antithetic, nor parallel, but wholly different; and its apparent connexion with either sound or sense amounts, I believe, to no more than that grammatical symbols are apprehended, through the ear, by the intelligence. For 'parisonity' therefore I would put simply 'clause-parallelism.'

(e.g. ll. 21–4 on both pages, ll. 1–5 p. 193, ll. 25–8 p. 192, ll. 13–4 p. 193), and the variety of arrangement still left even where regularity has been imported by alliterative devices; evincing, I think, the freedom of first composition no less than the careful retouching and heightening of what had been once written.

One other principle of structure seems of sufficient generality to be noted—a point, just mentioned by Dr. Schwan (*Englische Studien*, vi. 98), to which my attention has been recently called by Professor M. W. Sampson of Indiana University—the habit, namely, of *subdivision* (Prof. Sampson calls it 'progressive balance'), by which the second of two statements or suggestions is split up into two others, the second of these again split up, and so on. Its instances are not perhaps often very perfect, but its principle is, I think, fairly distinguishable from that just noted, as a continuous hanging chain, from each of whose supporting links one other and superfluous link depends, would be distinguishable from a number of links very variously strung, some with many superfluous links attached, some supporting two or three little branching chains, the whole forming in fact not so much a chain as a piece of irregularly-made chain-mail. At bottom this second habit is merely an application of the first (the doubling, multiplying, or chain-mail habit) to the common inartistic trick of taking the last word or suggestion as the starting-point of something further, a trick I have noted (vol. iii. p. 436) in contemporary verse, and in some lines which I attribute to Lyly himself. Seldom, I think, is it carried beyond three links; and after long search I cannot find a better instance than this which I give on Prof. Sampson's suggestion and with his comment—

Euph. ii. 198 'This noble man I found so ready being but a straunger, to do me good, that neyther I ought to forget him, neyther cease to pray for him, that as he hath the wisdome of Nestor, so he may haue the age, that hauing the policies of Vlysses, he may haue his honor, worthye to lyue long, by whome so manye lyue in quiet, and not vnworthy to be aduaunced, by whose care so many haue beene preferred.' Two things are predicated of Burleigh, 1. his lack of acquaintance with Euphues, 2. his goodness. His goodness inspires 1. lasting memory, 2. prayer. The prayer is twofold: 1. may he have the age of Nestor, 2. may he have the honor of Ulysses. And both age and honor are shown to be his due.

The fourth step, it will be noticed, is not a further subdivision, but merely a parallel continuation of the division made in the third step; and such parallel heaping up of an equal number of clauses or suggestions on either side is, I think, far more common, as it is much more easy, than any continued subdivision, e. g. i. 186 ll. 26–32, 185 ll. 11–9, 247 ll. 13–8, 26–32. In fact this second principle, though distinguishable, tends in practice to merge itself in the freer method of the first; and in any case is more often noticeable as a matter of structure than of sense, e. g. i. 186 ll. 14–6.

ERRATA ET ADDENDA

Vol. i. pp. 21, 34, 48, 60 *for* G. F. Baker *read* G. P. Baker.

p. 149 ll. 7–10. Lodge's *Rosalynde* is more euphuistic in style than I have here admitted. Though not so elaborate in its balance, it often reproduces Lyly's phrases; and in course and conduct the tale is somewhat indebted to *Gallathea*, between which and *As You Like It* it forms a connecting link.

p. 327 (note on p. 179 l. 7). Lodge's allusion, in his reply (1580?) to Gosson's *Schoole* (Lodge's *Works*, iii. p. 20, Hunterian Club), to Alexander's scar, 'neither is euery one Alexander y^t^ hath a stare [? starr, scar] in his cheke,' is perhaps derived from the present passage.

p. 330 (note on p. 188 l. 23). Marston's *Pigmalions Image* did not appear till 1598.

p. 335 (note on p. 198 l. 23). The tale of Titus and Gisippus, in which the latter abandons his love Sempronia to his friend, is from Boccaccio's *Decameron* (Day x, Nov. 8). It had been reproduced by Sir Thos. Elyot in his *Gouernor*, 1531, whose account was closely followed in a dull poem entitled 'The most wonderful and pleasaunt History of Titus and Gisippus, whereby is fully declared the figure of perfect frendshyp: drawen into English metre by Edward Lewicke. Anno 1562.' The tale reappears, under the names of Septimius, Alcander, and Hypatia, in Goldsmith's *Bee* (Collier's *Poetical Decameron*, ii. 79–85).

p. 386 l. 8 *for* William Watson *read* Thomas Watson.

p. 477 l. 19 *a black sheepe is a perilous beast*: this expression, repeated *Endim.* ii. 2. 154, forms, with the added line 'Cuius contrarium falsum est' ('which nobody can deny'), the refrain of an old ballad, of pre-Reformation days, directed against the rapacity of the Mendicant friars. It is printed, with five others, in *Early Eng. Poetry*, vol. 13, 1844 (Percy Society), from a MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

pp. 522–3 (note on *Elvetham Entertainment*). Collier (*Poet. Decameron*, i. 131 sqq.) introduces a mention of it into a discussion of early blank verse. He considers that 'all the poetry in the piece is much above an ordinary scribbler,' and quotes with approval Aureola's lines (pp. 449–50), and the first sixteen of the English version of the opening address of the Poet, identifying him (as do I) with the author, whom he thinks may possibly be Chapman, 'though at present we have nothing before us to lead to such a conclusion.'

Vol. ii. p. 230 *for* 1599 (*twice*) *read* 1600 *in accord with vol. iii. p.* 336, *footnote*.

p. 265 ll. 17 sqq. In regard to my suggestion that the songs in Lyly's plays were handed to the boys separately along with the music, and so not given in the prompt-copy, I find some confirmation in Lansdowne MS. 807, where in the play *The Buggbears*—an early translation or adaptation, Herr Schücking tells us, of Grazzini's *La Spiritata*, Florence 1561—of five songs I find only the first, a comic duet (i. 3), embodied in the text, the rest (which are unrepresented, says Herr Schücking, in the Italian) being copied out all together at the end of the piece (fol. 75 v.), and the fourth, that of Iphigenia, which alone is

heralded in the text at all (iii. 5), being repeated on f. 76 r. with the air to which it was to be sung.

p. 311. As possibly indebted for suggestion to Lyly's *Campaspe* may be just worth mention William Goddard's 'A Satyricall Dialogue, or a sharplye inuective conference, betweene Alexander the great and that trulye woman-hater Diogynes. Imprinted in the Lowe countryes for all such gentlewomen as are not altogether Idle nor yet well occupyed.' The satire is written in the couplet; and the line

'They burne all books wherein their faults they find'

alludes, says Collier (*Poet. Decameron*, i. 305–7), to the sentence passed and executed upon Marston, and fixes the date of the production c. 1600, when the order would be recent.

p. 542 add to note on p. 321 l. 63 'liued by sauours' the following title—*A True and admirable Historie of a Mayden of Confolens, in the Prouince of Poictiers: that for the space of three yeeres and more hath liued and yet doth, without receiuing either meate or drink*, &c. . . . 1603, 8° (translated by A. M. i.e. Anth. Munday from the French of Nicholas Coeffeteau).

Vol. iii. p. 13 *in last two lines of footnote, for* 1595 *and* 1585 *read* 1598 *and* 1588 *respectively, in accord with the corrected dates of vol. i. p.* 394.

p. 261 l. 54 *for* necte . . . sui (*the error of Q*) *read* nocte . . . sinu.

p. 272 l. 66 *for* these . . . interlaced . . . floodes (*the reading of Q and Fairholt*) *we should probably read* the . . . interlace . . . woodes.

p. 296 (penultimate line of text) *for* 1529 *read* 1599.

pp. 448–502. Of my collection of Poems probably assignable to Lyly I find that Nos. 21, 24, 27, 30, 35, 37, 41[1], 59 were also printed, from the various Music-Books, by Collier in his *Lyrical Poems* (Percy Society—*Early English Poetry*, vol. 13, 1844). For No. 21 he suggested Michael Drayton as author; while he seems to think that No. 24 was written by Dowland himself to 'the Countess of Denmark,' to whom, as then Lutenist to the King of Denmark, he dedicates his volume of 1600. He takes No. 35 from William Bailey's *New Book of Tablature for the Lute*, &c., 1596. Lyly's possible authorship of anything he admired would not be likely to occur to Collier.

Note on Vol. I, p. 381, l. 12

The Money Accounts in the Egerton Papers

Dr. Furnivall draws my attention to the fact that the sheet signed 'Arth. Maynwaringe' was among Collier's forgeries: and I see Mr. Sidney Lee in his *Life of Shakespeare*, ed. 1898, p. 236, says 'This document, which Collier reprinted in his *Egerton Papers* (Camden Soc.), p. 343, was authoritatively pronounced by experts in 1860 to be "a shameful forgery" (cf. Ingleby's *Complete View of the Shakespeare Controversy*, 1861, pp. 261–5).' I must frankly regret my ignorance that it had been thus discredited. We lose the allusion to *Othello* (see below, and p. 534), and those to 'M[r]. Lillyes man,' 'lotterie guiftes,' and 'the anchor' (p. 497, l. 15 note). The *external* proof of Lyly's connexion with the occasion disappears; but the entry for carriage of tentes from S[t]. Johnes' still stands, being from Thos. Sle's account, which is not impugned. (R.W.B. Nov. 25, 1902.)

END OF VOL. I

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